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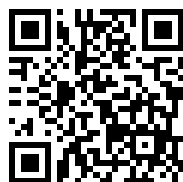
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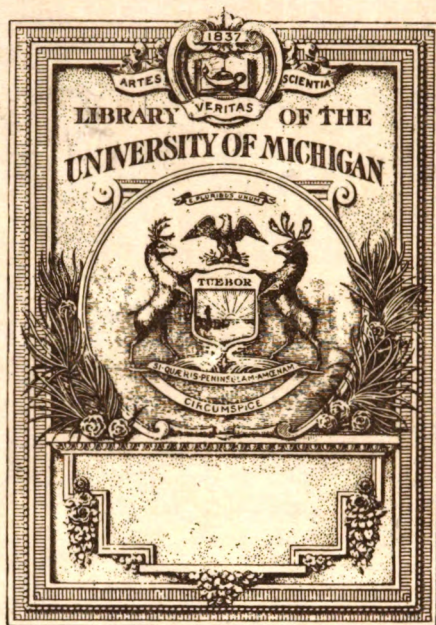
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MINISTRY OF RECONSTRUCTION.

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ADULT EDUCATION COMMITTEE.

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# FINAL REPORT.

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Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty.

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To the RIGHT HONOURABLE D. LLOYD GEORGE, M.P., Prime Minister.  
SIR,

I HAVE the honour on behalf of the Adult Education Committee to present the Committee's Final Report.

(i) We were appointed in July, 1917, as a Sub-Committee of the Reconstruction Committee, over which you presided. When the Reconstruction Committee was superseded by the establishment of the Ministry of Reconstruction we became a Committee of the Department, and our three Interim Reports have been presented to the Minister of Reconstruction. As there has been no appointment of a Minister to succeed Sir Auckland Geddes, and as the matters raised by our terms of reference are not within the scope of any single Department of State, this Report is presented to you as head of the Government.

(ii) Our terms of reference were:—

“ To consider the provision for, and possibilities of, Adult Education (other than technical or vocational) in Great Britain, and to make recommendations.”

In considering the different subjects included within these terms of reference, the Committee necessarily covered a wide field. It may be convenient, therefore, to present shortly some of the main considerations which were impressed upon it in the course of its investigations.

(iii) Long ago some foreign critics pronounced us a profoundly uneducated people who knew no foreign languages, worked short hours, substituted “good form” for efficiency, depreciated teachers, had no respect for knowledge, were given over to sport and games, holidays and “week-ends,” not to mention strikes and drink. The Germans used to declare that it was their schoolmasters that won them the wars of 1864, 1866, 1870; and they certainly showed in this war what formidable strength can be produced by a universal scientific systematic instruction resulting in an extraordinary unanimity of national aim and an undeniable capacity of sacrifice for an ideal. That the ideal chosen was a narrow and selfish one does not make the effort put forth less wonderful. There is some danger of a popular confusion on this point, and of all organisation, especially educational organisation, being repudiated as Prussianism. And it is a healthy instinct in us to feel that even the best prepared machine directed by a wrong spirit can be beaten on its own chosen ground by the voluntary self-organising activities of a free people. We see how much the German machine left lacking of individual initiative, of varied forms of development, of buoyancy of spirit—qualities which can only grow up in an atmosphere of freedom. But some of the best lessons are those taught by the enemy, and the lesson we have to learn is how to combine this essential freedom and individuality with a good deal more efficiency and system and organisation, in which points we are still behind both France and America. Never was the lesson more needed than now, when we are taking education in its true sense, and are beginning to see that all our present urgent problems come back to it as their basis and postulate. Thus the international problem, how to strengthen world-peace in the future, can have no hope of solution until the map of Europe is re-drawn on sound lines of nationality, but with guarantees for other factors too, such as religious and racial minorities, and until the peoples of the world are ready to intervene actively in future, every time that settlement is endangered. Clearly this requires that at least in the two peoples of the British Empire and the United States every intelligent man shall have some appreciation of the danger and the consequent duty it imposes on him. How is this possible without a far more educated public?

(iv.) Or if we take the Imperial position, we see it has been for ever altered by the war; by the action of the Dominions coming out to fight, not for us, but for the ideals common to us with them; by their determination to have a say in questions of peace and war without any diminution of their own autonomy. Some way or other we have to readjust to these new facts the future relation between Britain and the Dominions. Everything will depend on mutual understanding and sympathy. How is this possible without a public educated out of its mistrust of the term "Empire," and educated up to the vast potentialities implied in a World Commonwealth of British democracies?

(v.) Then there are our home problems, which hardly waited even till peace was in sight to burst upon us. Is the State to buy up the railways, mines, shipping, and "the trade" as it modestly calls itself? What sort of Cabinet are we to have in future, and what sort of Second Chamber? Can we shake off the baser sort of politician and the dark methods of the caucus, the secret funds and the sale of honours, without weakening the practicability and the efficiency of the two-party system? Is it not manifest that a democracy which has to solve these questions must be an educated democracy? And what of the new form of society that is trying to build itself under the hands of Labour, Labour which has been awakened by the war to a new sense of unity and power and a new reading of social justice? Is "Labour Unrest" likely to turn into industrial harmony between employers and employed at the mere twanging of a harp? Is the tremendous question of women's standing as industrial competitors against men, with its incalculable results on family life and sexual morality, to be settled by an uneducated generation? Or, to deal honestly yet wisely with the two cankers of our society, drink and prostitution, can we trust to anything but the education of that social conscience which is now so callous? The politicians will not take up these problems till there is a public demand, and that means a more enlightened public—in other words, the extension of a true education into adult life.

(vi.) It is evident that education for the adult must proceed by different methods, in a different order, from those mostly used hitherto in the education of the young. The adult, even when he has forgotten most of what he learnt at school before he was 14, cannot be put back to the spelling book and the multiplication table. In the interval between 14 and 18 he has been receiving an education, formless indeed and fragmentary, but emphatic enough, and in its way effective, the education of practical life. His adult education must be taken up at this point and on this plane. It must work from his existing avocation and interests, must begin by answering his existing inquiries and perplexities, and go on to the satisfaction of his aspirations. It must show him the reasons that underlie his daily work, the way in which that work has come to be arranged as it is, and how it can be arranged better, the relation of his work to that of others, and its place in the economics of the nation and of the world. This method, starting from the immediate concrete fact, and working back to the rationale of that fact, has produced surprising results in the educational experiment among youths which was carried on in the camps of Brocton and Rugeley since February, 1917. Recruits of 18 years old from the textile districts might there be seen learning, and eagerly learning, geography, history, arithmetic, chemistry, physics and the outlines of many other branches of knowledge. Where, for instance—to give only one example among a group of recruits from the woollen districts—do the different sorts of wool come from, what has been the history of the industry, what are the



qualities peculiar to wool which make it the best clothing material, what chemical methods are employed upon it, and what mechanical principles are embodied in the machines in woollen factories? The same educational method was there applied to all the subjects taught. Recruits are digging a trench: how many carts will they need to carry off what is dug out? By the end of a day they have found out by actual trial, and have learnt a good deal of arithmetic even up to "cubic measure." The old problem, the "evaluation of  $\pi$ ," or determination of the ratio which a circle's circumference bears to its diameter, became a very "live" thing when it was being worked out by actual measurement of round saucers, biscuit tins, saucepans and cylinder heads. And there is no lack of interest in an outline course of chemistry which begins by giving each member of the class a taste of poison gas and its antidote. Of course, all this is the logical order in education, the order which ought to be followed in the education of the young. Instead of beginning with abstractions of number and form, it ought to have begun with the objects themselves, as children begin by counting actual oranges and apples and handling actual hoops and bricks.

The chief results, in a summary form, of the early Army experiments have been to bring out—

- (1) The size and promising character of the field—many thousands of recruits at the age of 18 eager for education in the proper sense.
- (2) The extraordinary number of men capable of being developed into teachers out of the rank and file of any battalion.
- (3) The interesting and very encouraging impression made on visiting the different classes actually at work on an excellent method of question and answer between teacher and class.
- (4) The way in which the ordinary military man, when once he sees the scheme at work, realises the possibilities in the scheme and grasps the difference between education and mere technical drill.

(vii.) But in the education of the adult it is simply the only order which he can understand or which can grip his mind. He begins the study of economics not with the abstract definitions of value and exchange, but from the insistent facts of his own wages, his own cost of living, and the aims of his own trade union. So in the study of history, the past can only be visualised for him by his approaching it through the facts of the present, with which it has to be brought into constant juxtaposition, whether for analogy or for contrast. Or take a course in architecture: for the adult student, even more than the young, this should not start on a "grammar of form" and such abstractions, but should begin with some actual cathedral or castle or old house, eliciting from its structure the aims of the period in which it was built and the causes which had produced its evolution from the period and style precedent. There is something about the mind of a man who has had no "schooling" from 16 to 18 which absolutely requires that the mental process shall begin by crystallising, as it were, about some visible palpable object. He has been accustomed to think, so to speak, in concrete terms; general conceptions as such are unfamiliar to him till embodied in particular actual cases. But for this slowness he makes up by an exceptionally firm grasp; the conception so apprehended becomes a part of his very self.

(viii.) The practical moral to be drawn from this consideration of the mental procedure of adult students is that for them, if for them alone, we require an educational method which begins at the opposite end to the method of the primer and the blackboard. To carry out such an

educational method we need teachers who will work in a new way, sympathetic, imaginative, resourceful, utilising local environment and history as the ground from which to start, acting as comrades and fellow students with the members studying in their classes. We need to think out educational methods and possibilities from the new point of view, that of the adult learning to be a citizen. All this can only be effected by giving him a share of responsibility for his own education, a choice of the subjects which he is to study, and of the teacher who is to help him in the study. He must co-operate actively with that teacher and with his own fellow-workers.

(ix.) This is the experience of the University Tutorial Class Movement. Its success has been due largely to its always being left to spontaneous initiative. A tutorial class consists of men who have felt the need and desire for such mental discipline so strongly that they have themselves formed a class and then asked to be supplied with a teacher approved by themselves. The class is "run" by them, and therefore they all take a keen pride in its success. The subject of study is one chosen by them, under advice, of course, and with supervision by competent educational authorities. There is free and ample discussion in which all learn to take part. They learn, too, to put their thoughts into their own words and to express them in written form. Men who begin inarticulate, hardly able to read without a strain, come in one or two sessions to express themselves on paper with notable clearness and force. Above all, they learn from discussion with the teacher and with each other to rise above their original prejudices and limitations, to see that there are two sides to every question, to have an open mind and a sense of the paramount duty of truth; that is, they are educated.

(x.) These considerations on educational method suggest what experience amply confirms. It is a truism that, educationally speaking, the worker is largely made by his work; the craftsman's faculties are developed and moulded by the exercise of his craft. This fact may be utilised to make handwork not the enemy, but the ally of adult education. It is evident that this is an idea capable of the widest extension, and that on it there might be built up a progressive course of knowledge, of the most practical and realistic kind, in the elements of mechanics, physics, chemistry, electricity and other sciences, or even the outstanding facts of geography and history, economics and politics. This might do much to counterbalance the growing tyranny of machinery, and mitigate the increasing soullessness of much of our industrial conditions.

(xi.) The Committee has based its conclusions upon the following propositions:—

1. That the main purpose of education is to fit a man for life, and therefore in a civilised community to fit him for his place as a member of that community.

2. That the family, the school, the trade union or profession, the local town or district, are successive stages which reach their fullness and completion in the community, and that therefore, while each part of the process of education must be related to its appropriate stage, the goal of all education must be citizenship—that is, the rights and duties of each individual as a member of the community; and the whole process must be the development of the individual in his relation to the community.

3. That the essence of democracy being not passive but active participation by all in citizenship, education in a democratic country must aim at fitting each individual progressively not only for his personal, domestic and vocational duties, but, above all, for those duties of citizenship for

which these earlier stages are training grounds; that is, he must learn (a) what his nation is, and what it stands for in its past history and literature, and what is its place among the other nations of the modern world; (b) what are his duties to it, from the elementary duties of sharing in its defence and submitting to its laws up to the duty of helping to maintain and even to elevate its standards and ideals; (c) the economic, political and international conditions on which his nation's efficiency and well-being depend; its relation to the other constituent parts of the Commonwealth of British nations called the Empire, and the degree to which it can now or in the future enter into closer relations with other civilised nations for the just treatment of less developed races, for the furtherance of international co-operation in science, medicine, law, commerce, arts, and for the increasing establishment of world-peace.

4. That while it is true that the great mass of a people in the modern industrial world cannot study Blue Books or become close students of history, geography, or economics, yet it is also a truth, and a truth brought out by this war, that there is latent in the mass of our people a capacity far beyond what was recognised, a capacity to rise to the conception of great issues and to face the difficulties of fundamental problems when these can be visualised in a familiar form. They only require teachers and leaders whom they can trust; and here, as always, the successful working of democracy depends upon the people recognising "the natural aristocracy that is among any body of men." It follows that while the thoughtful and studious, who will naturally lead the opinions of their fellows in mine, factory or shop, can never be more than a few thousand, yet the millions of the rank and file can certainly get the two educational essentials which will enable them to recognise those natural leaders; these two essentials being (a) the development of an open habit of mind, clear-sighted and truth-loving, proof against sophisms, shibboleths, claptrap phrases and cant; (b) the possession of certain elementary information and essential facts about such main questions as the Empire, the relations between Capital and Labour, the relations between science and production, and other such subjects.

5. THAT THE NECESSARY CONCLUSION IS THAT ADULT EDUCATION MUST NOT BE REGARDED AS A LUXURY FOR A FEW EXCEPTIONAL PERSONS HERE AND THERE, NOR AS A THING WHICH CONCERNS ONLY A SHORT SPAN OF EARLY MANHOOD, BUT THAT ADULT EDUCATION IS A PERMANENT NATIONAL NECESSITY, AN INSEPARABLE ASPECT OF CITIZENSHIP, AND THEREFORE SHOULD BE BOTH UNIVERSAL AND LIFELONG.

6. THAT THE OPPORTUNITY FOR ADULT EDUCATION SHOULD BE SPREAD UNIFORMLY AND SYSTEMATICALLY OVER THE WHOLE COMMUNITY, AS A PRIMARY OBLIGATION ON THAT COMMUNITY IN ITS OWN INTEREST AND AS A CHIEF PART OF ITS DUTY TO ITS INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS, AND THAT THEREFORE EVERY ENCOURAGEMENT AND ASSISTANCE SHOULD BE GIVEN TO VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS, SO THAT THEIR WORK, NOW NECESSARILY SPORADIC AND DISCONNECTED, MAY BE DEVELOPED AND FIND ITS PROPER PLACE IN THE NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM.

7. That the economic recovery of the nation, the sound exercise of the new spirit of assertion among the rank and file, the proper use of their responsibilities by millions of new voters, all alike depend on there being a far wider body of intelligent public opinion after the war than there was before, and that such a public opinion can only be created gradually by a long, thorough, universal process of education continued into and throughout the life of the adult.

8. That such a process needs to be planned out at once and set going immediately as part of the general work of reconstruction.

9. That this plan should build upon existing lines, such as the tutorial classes and other successful experiments, or develop from popular institutions such as Eisteddfodau, and should utilise the existing facilities while providing for their further extension, and removing the obstacles, industrial, social and financial, which at present hamper them.

*The Committee's First Report:—*

(xii.) The Committee's First Interim Report, which was completed in March, 1918, was therefore on the subject of industrial and social conditions in relation to adult education. The purpose underlying the demand for adult education was found to be largely a growing appreciation of the responsibilities of citizenship. An uneducated democracy cannot be other than a failure. Nor can the new developments of education for children and adolescents supersede the need of education for adults; rather they will accentuate the need. It has also been emphasized by the rapid spread of an interest in the problems of Reconstruction. There is a growing demand and a growing effort to meet it. But it can only be adequately met by an organisation which is universal, systematic, and financially stable, that is to say by a national organisation. The first step must be to deal with the conditions which at present stand in the way; such as excessive hours of labour, fatigue—whether due to monotony or to unduly exhausting work—insecurity of employment, lack of holidays. On all these points the Committee offer definite recommendations.<sup>1</sup> The work-people are themselves coming to be conscious that such changes are necessary. They realise that modern industry tends to become more and more mechanical, that it provides less educational interest in the work itself, and offers little opportunity to satisfy intellectual, social, or artistic impulses. They demand "industrial control" on the ground that industrial democracy is as essential to individual freedom as is political democracy. The social conditions also stand in the way. Inadequate housing (nearly half the population living more than one to a room), squalid surroundings, low wages, especially in rural districts, lack of village halls or public rooms—all these create a vicious circle to which the women are tied down even more than the men. These conditions call for reform on moral and social grounds; though the Committee would not allow that they are not also desirable on economic grounds. "For no one can doubt that we are at a turning point in our national history. A new era has come upon us. We cannot stand still. We cannot return to the old ways, the old abuses, the old stupidities. As with our international relations, so with the relations of classes and individuals inside our own nation; if they do not henceforth get better they must needs get worse, and that means moving towards an abyss. It is in our power to make the new era one of such progress as to repay us even for the immeasurable cost, the price in lives lost, in manhood crippled and in homes desolated.

"Only by rising to the height of our enlarged vision of social duty can we do justice to the spirit generated in our people by the long effort of common aspiration and common suffering. To allow this spirit to die away unused would be a waste compared to which the material waste of the war would be a little thing; it would be a national sin, unpardonable in the eyes of our posterity. We stand at the bar of history for judgment, and we shall be judged by the use we make of this unique opportunity. It is unique in many ways, most of all in the fact that the

<sup>1</sup> Interim Report: Industrial and Social Conditions in relation to Adult Education. Cd. 9107. Par. 19.



public not only has its conscience aroused and its heart stirred, but also has its mind open and receptive of new ideas to an unprecedented degree.

"It is not the lack of goodwill that is to be feared. But goodwill without mental effort, without intelligent provision, is worse than ineffectual; it is a moral opiate. The real lack in our national history has been the lack of bold and clear thinking. We have been well-meaning, we have had good principles; where we have failed is in the courage and the foresight to carry out our principles into our corporate life.

"This corporate life itself has only been made visible and real to us (as on a fiery background) by the glow and illumination of the war. We have been made conscious that we are heirs to a majestic inheritance, and that we have corresponding obligations. We have awakened to the splendid qualities that were latent in our people, the rank and file of the common people who before this war were often adjudged to be decadent, to have lost their patriotism, their religious faith, and their response to leadership; we were even told they were physically degenerate. Now we see what potentialities lie in these people, and what a charge lies upon us to give to these powers free-play. There is stirring through the whole country a sense of the duty we owe to our children, and to our grand-children, to save them not only from the repetition of such a world-war and from the burdens of a crushing militarism, but to save them also from the obvious peril of civil dissension at home. We owe it also to our own dead that they shall not have died in vain, but that their sacrifice shall prove to have created a better England for the future generation."<sup>1</sup>

*The Committee's Second Report:—*

(xiii.) Our Second Interim Report was on Education in the Army. This was completed in July, and issued in the autumn, of 1918. Our objects in the critical period between the armistice and demobilisation were to assist the soldiers to turn themselves again into citizens, and more efficient citizens. We saw what a volume of educational work was going on in the camps, and we give details in an Appendix to the present Report. The war itself, its issues and problems, the Army life itself with its atmosphere of new interests and strong common feeling, have created a new educational opportunity. But the real driving force was the enthusiasm of certain pioneers. Much was due to the Y.M.C.A., who secured the co-operation of all British Universities. The work was extended to the camps abroad and to the Dominions' Forces. Many of the recommendations we made have been carried out by the Army Authorities. There is now in operation a large programme of education, both technical and otherwise, under which systematic teaching is given in the army itself, and whereby officers and men, when suitable, are allowed a period of study or professional training at universities and other institutions. We concluded the Second Interim Report with sixteen recommendations,<sup>2</sup> and are glad to see that now the Army is being made a centre both of vocational instruction and of humane education and a true school of training for citizenship.

*The Committee's Third Interim Report:—*

(xiv.) At the request of Dr. Addison, Minister of Reconstruction, the Committee undertook to consider the whole question of Libraries and Museums. This formed the subject of the Committee's Third Interim Report,<sup>3</sup> which was completed in May, 1919. We made a survey of the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* Par. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Interim Report: Education in the Army. Cd. 9225, Par. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Interim Report: Libraries and Museums. Cd. 9237.

existing libraries, which proved to be far more numerous and extensive than is generally recognized, and we gave reasons for supporting the proposal to transfer the administration of public libraries to the Local Education Authority, and recommended the union of educational and library administration, especially in England and Wales. We considered separately the creation of rural libraries under the administration of the county education authorities, and also the development of technical and commercial libraries. We pointed out that adult education requires a plentiful supply of books and a free use of loan-boxes of books on the plan already begun by the Central Library for Students. We proposed a scheme for the development of this method, which would require an assured income of £2,000 a year for ten years. We recommended that public libraries should be able to obtain any Government documents free of charge on application, that these documents should no longer be issued in an inconvenient folio form, and that they should be obtainable from any post office. We also sketched the use of local museums and the better use of them for educational purposes, and suggested that State grants for this purpose should be made through the Board of Education.

*The Final Report.*

(xv.) The Report, as here continued and concluded, may be divided into three parts. (A) deals with the past history and surveys the present state of the movement.<sup>1</sup> (B) deals with the principles of, and the present state of the demand for, higher education among adults; the relation of adult education to other movements; and the quality and standard of the work done.<sup>2</sup> (C) deals with the constructive side, including the general possibilities of adult education, the functions of Universities, Local Authorities, Voluntary Organisations, and the State; the provision of teachers, the development of rural education, the relation between technical and humane education. It then proceeds to discuss the finance and organisation of adult education, and closes with general conclusions and a summary of practical recommendations.<sup>3</sup> The Appendix contains a digest of some relevant facts not included in the body of the Report.

(xvi.) The full Committee has held fifteen meetings. Most of the meetings have been held at Balliol College, Oxford, and all of them have extended over at least two consecutive days. In this way we have been able to give continuous attention to our work during four or five sessions at each meeting and to meet the convenience of those of our members who had to travel a considerable distance to attend the Committee. In addition to meetings of the full Committee there have been numerous meetings of Sub-Committees to which the Committee referred specific questions. The Committee has not taken formal evidence; but we have collectively and individually and by means of our Sub-Committees brought into consultation and conference a considerable number of people whose advice and assistance were necessary to us in our enquiries. To these ladies and gentlemen we wish to offer our sincere thanks, and particularly to those amongst them who have submitted valuable memoranda to the Committee.

I am,  
Sir,  
Your obedient Servant,  
ARTHUR L. SMITH,  
*Chairman.*

<sup>1</sup> Chapters I and II and Appendix I.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter III.

<sup>3</sup> Chapters IV-XIII

## CHAPTER I.

**THE HISTORY OF ADULT EDUCATION SINCE 1800.**

## (I) INTRODUCTORY.

1. It is not our intention to attempt in this chapter to offer any detailed account of the development of adult education in Great Britain. Even the briefest examination of its previous history, however, reveals characteristics and tendencies which are of importance to any attempt to estimate its significance at the present day. The demand for higher education among adult men and women, though, as our subsequent chapters show, it has grown with peculiar rapidity during the past decade, is not the product of the present century. It has a history which can be traced at least to the end of the eighteenth century, and the efforts to which it has given birth, if in the earlier periods intermittent and unorganised, have shown sufficient continuity and power of self-renewal to entitle it to be regarded as a permanent characteristic of our society. They have not maintained a regular level or a steady advance, and they have rarely been crystallised in permanent institutions. The inquirer who traces the record of particular experiments will find that the failures have been as numerous as the successes. But failure has been the foundation of renewed effort, and when one attempt to organise adult education has collapsed, another has soon followed it, because the demand for education amongst adults has remained. The fact that throughout almost the whole nineteenth century constant efforts have been made to build up a system of higher education suited to the needs of adult men and women suggests that they are not the outcome of a merely evanescent interest or fashion, but are founded on permanent needs, which, when disappointed in one direction, seek satisfaction in another.

2. As we point out below, in speaking of the motives which are giving an impetus to educational effort to-day, a significant feature of the whole movement since its inception has been the intimate relationship between adult education and other departments of social effort. Education is not a self-contained specialism which can progress while other aspects of social life remain stationary. It is the expression in one sphere of activity—that concerned with the training of mind and character—of the interests and ideals which dominate the rest. What they make it, that it will be; and there is a sense in which its progress owes more to the impact of economic changes and social developments than to the deliberate attempts of educationalists to improve it. Adult education, in particular, since it is concerned with minds which are already mature, cannot be interpreted in isolation from the interests and pre-occupations which form the background to the intellectual activities of each generation. Its history during the last century has reflected the different currents of thought which have found their other expressions in religious growth, economic reconstruction, scientific discoveries and inventions, political agitation and social ferment. It has drawn inspiration from churches and chapels, from the achievements of physical science, from the development of cheap literature and of a popular press, from Co-operation and Trade Unionism, from Chartism and more recent political developments. It will continue, we think, to be influenced in the future by a not less wide and various range of interests.

3. The connection of adult education with the quality and progress of other kinds of educational activity, though more indirect, has been equally important. Born in an age when the majority of the population received no school education in childhood and when large numbers could neither read nor write, when the universities which existed were divorced from popular life more completely than at any previous

period of history and when the State did nothing to fill the gap left by the decay of ancient foundations and the growth of new urban populations to which they were inaccessible, adult education owed its early developments not to the extension of any already existing educational system, but to the initiative of individual pioneers and the struggles of unlettered men and women for a fuller and more human life. But throughout its history its achievements have been in turn limited and stimulated by the progress made in other departments of education, upon which has depended the previous preparation of its students, the quality and supply of its teachers, the access to opportunities of advanced study, and, most important of all, the belief of the general community in the value and possibilities of intellectual discipline. In the absence of the earlier stages of training, experiments in adult education too often have resembled an attempt to roof a house before the walls were completed. As those stages have gradually been improved and systematized, efforts to build up adult education, which were previously in the nature of forlorn, if heroic, enterprises, have received a broad foundation in the more general diffusion of intellectual interests, and are at length finding their proper place as one element in a training which extends through childhood and adolescence to manhood and womanhood. There has, of course, been action and reaction. In recent years the impetus to the improvement of the preparatory stages of education has come to some extent, at least, from men and women who have learned, as adults, the value of education to themselves, and who, because they have done so, have desired to increase the educational opportunities open to the next generation. But from the early nineteenth century to the present day there has been a close correspondence between the development of adult education and the preparation for it offered by other kinds of educational progress. The earlier undertakings were hampered by the absence of any universal system of elementary education as well as by demoralizing industrial conditions. If later movements, though still impeded in the same way by the gap—now happily to be partially filled—between 14 and 18, have been more successful, it is partly because the general educational environment has been more favourable.

## (II) ADULT EDUCATION, 1800–1850.

### (a) *The Early Adult Schools.*

4. The opening decades of the nineteenth century were an age of projects of educational reform. In 1807 the first Education Bill was introduced by Whitbread into the House of Commons and thrown out by the House of Lords. The National Society for Educating the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church was founded in 1811, and the British and Foreign School Society in 1814. The technique of teaching was debated by the rival champions, Bell and Lancaster.<sup>1</sup> The Utilitarians seized eagerly on the idea of schools for all, and Place and Mill, encouraged by Bentham, laboured hard to promote unsectarian education in London.<sup>2</sup> In 1818 a Select Committee of the House of Commons presented a report on “The Education of the Lower Orders.” In 1820 an Education Bill, introduced by Brougham, met the same reception as that of Whitbread.

<sup>1</sup> Dobbs, *Education and Social Movements*, pp. 145–154. We desire to acknowledge our indebtedness to Mr. Dobbs' valuable book for some of the matter contained in the first half of this chapter.

<sup>2</sup> Wallas, *Life of Francis Place*, chapter IV.

5. Attempts to provide for the education of adults did not begin with the nineteenth century. But they derived a new stimulus from the social and intellectual ferment which accompanied the break-up of the old régime. The history of adult education during the last hundred years falls into two broad divisions, of which one extends from 1800 to 1850, and the other from 1850 to the present day. To the experiments which were made in the first of these two periods, three main currents contributed. The first was that of religion, the second that of physical science, the third of social and political agitation. The early nineteenth century had inherited from the eighteenth the beginnings of a system of religious instruction for adults. Under the guidance of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (founded in 1698), a large number of Charity Schools had been established in the course of the eighteenth century, and in 1711 the Society had issued a circular recommending the establishment of evening schools for adults. The attempt to provide such education attained its fullest development in Wales, where, about 1730, Griffith Jones, rector of Llanddowror, and a corresponding member of the S.P.C.K., established a system of "circulating schools" (*i.e.*, schools with itinerant teachers) "to instruct both the young and old ignorant people,"<sup>1</sup> and in particular to enable them to read the Bible in Welsh. A report on the work of these schools between 1737 and 1760 states that their number during that time had been 3,185, and that they had enrolled 150,213 scholars. A new impetus to such education, both in England and in Wales, was given by the religious revival of the latter part of the eighteenth century. In Wales, Thomas Charles, of Bala, carried on from 1785 to 1814 the work of Griffith Jones, with the result that "on Sunday," according to one historian, "the whole country was turned into a school, where all taught and were taught in turn." In England, William Singleton, a Methodist, and Samuel Fox, a member of the Society of Friends, had in 1798 opened at Nottingham an Adult School for Bible-reading and instruction in writing and arithmetic.<sup>2</sup> From 1790 to 1800, Hannah and Martha More instructed the miners of Somerset in the Scriptures, and, in particular, in such practical applications of them to contemporary circumstances as might lead their pupils "to see more clearly the advantages you derive from the government and constitution of this country, and to observe the benefits flowing from the distinction of rank and fortune, which has enabled the rich so liberally to assist the low."<sup>3</sup> In 1812, William Smith, a Methodist, with the aid of Stephen Prust, a Bristol merchant, opened two schools for men and women. A society was formed at Bristol under the name of "An Institution for instructing Adult Persons to read the Holy Scriptures."<sup>4</sup> By the beginning of 1814 it was estimated that the number of schools in the city had increased to 54, and that at the end of two years the number of persons who had been taught to read amounted to one thousand, apart from those who had received instruction in the Congregational Schools. The movement spread rapidly to other parts of the country, largely through the efforts of members of the Society of Friends. Before 1820 schools had been established at Plymouth, London, Yarmouth, Leeds, Sheffield and Ipswich, as well as in the rural districts of Berkshire and Buckinghamshire.

6. The dominant note of these experiments was a mixture of piety, genuine philanthropy, and political apprehension. "Where," Arthur

<sup>1</sup> David Evans, *The Sunday Schools of Wales*, p. 94. Sadler, *Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere*, pp. 14-17.

<sup>2</sup> Rowntree and Binns, *A History of the Adult School Movement*.

<sup>3</sup> Hannah More, *The Mendip Annals*. Hammond, *The Town Labourer*, pp. 225-230.

<sup>4</sup> Pole, *History of the Origin and Progress of Adult Schools*. Sadler, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18.

Young had asked in 1798, "are the lower classes to hear the Word of God? Where are they to learn the doctrine of that truly excellent religion which exhorts to content and submission to the higher powers?"<sup>1</sup> To the politician alarmed by the growth of political agitation, as to the earnest Christian anxious for the redemption of souls, or the humanitarian reformer shocked by the idle and dissolute habits of the poor, the answer seemed to lie in education. It must not indeed be over-ambitious, or it would arouse more unrest than it prevented. "If the projectors are serious," wrote a clerical critic of some educational proposals in 1822, "it is sufficient to reply that their scheme of refining the intellectual powers of the lower classes, were it practicable, would put the whole community into an unnatural state of excitement; and they would do well to consider that the possessing these classes with the absurd notion that they are upon a footing with their superiors, in respect of their rights to mental improvement, may be in effect as dangerous to the public peace as the projects of certain revolutionary maniacs who teach the people that the convenience of man, and not the will of God, has consigned them to labour and privation."<sup>2</sup> But administered in judicious doses education would at once open the gates of the next world and allay discontent in this. Even those who protested against teaching the poor writing and arithmetic, on the ground that "such a degree of knowledge would produce in them a disrelish for the laborious occupations of life," were constrained to admit that it was "desirable that they should be generally instructed in reading, if only for the best of purposes—that they may read the Scriptures."<sup>3</sup> Moreover, if religion made it a charitable duty to teach the poor, practical reasons made it socially advantageous. A population which was ignorant was thriftless, and a population which was thriftless was expensive and even dangerous. "We have," urged a manual issued by an educational society, "a deep interest in their (the poor's) morals. As in every country they are numerous, it involves our personal security. We are obliged upon innumerable occasions to entrust them with our property; and, what is of greater importance, the minds of our children may be materially influenced by the good or bad qualities of the servants in whose care they spend so much of their time. The higher ranks are thus deeply interested in providing a moral and religious education for the whole of the poor. As these are enabled to rise in the scale of civilization, they will feel more repugnance to the degradation of Parish Relief, and the enormous sums extracted from the industrious part of the community will be saved." These maxims were enunciated primarily with reference to the education of children. Their application to adults was given by the efforts of Hannah More to convince the Mendip villagers that the misfortunes of this life have been "permitted by an All-wise and Gracious Providence to unite all ranks of people together; to show the poor how immediately dependent they are upon the rich; and to show both rich and poor that they are all dependent upon Himself,"<sup>4</sup> as well as by Dr. Pole's appeal to the rich to support the adult classes established in Bristol. "Give liberally," he wrote, "because adult education will put an end to existing crimes and encourage the principles upon which society depends for its security. The lower classes will not then be so dependent on the more provident members of society as they are now. . . . Industry, frugality and

<sup>1</sup> Young, *An Inquiry into the State of Mind among the Lower Classes*.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. J. Twist, *The Policy of Educating the Poor*.

<sup>3</sup> *Remarks on the Poor Bill . . . by one of H.M.'s Justices of the Peace in the County of Lincoln*, 1807. Quoted, Dobbs, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

<sup>4</sup> Hannah More, *op. cit.*



economy will be their possession. They will also have learned better to practise meekness, Christian fortitude and resignation. Our poor rate will then be lightened and men exalted by piety and blessed with affluence will yield springs of benevolence and charity to refresh, to console, and to instruct those who are placed in the vale of human life."<sup>1</sup>

(b) *The Mechanics' Institutes.*

7. If one source of educational effort is to be sought in the desire to supply religious instruction which might prop the established social order, another sprang from the new scientific discoveries by which that order was being undermined. Adam Smith in the "*Wealth of Nations*" had contrasted the intelligence which the variety of his occupations produced in the shepherd or the husbandman with the "*torpor of mind*" of the mechanic, "*whose whole life is spent in performing a few simple operations,*" and had pleaded for universal education as an antidote to the mental degeneracy which might otherwise be the result of economic specialization.<sup>2</sup> Thirty years later it seemed that specialization was beginning to be its own corrective, by confronting the workman, in the exercise of his daily occupation, with problems arising from the progressive application of science to industry. The industrial revolution, in creating both a new kind of industry and a new type of industrial population, had also created a new demand for scientific teaching, by which "*man shall extend his acquaintance with the universe of mind and shall acquire the means of enlarging his dominion over the universe of matter.*"<sup>3</sup> The result was the appearance of a semi-technical literature such as the "*Mechanic's Magazine*," of books which had as their object "*to guide the toils of productive industry by the lights of science and the lessons of economy,*"<sup>4</sup> of organisations such as the "*Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*,"<sup>5</sup> of which Brougham was chairman and which Peacock named "*the steam-intellect society*," and, most important for our purpose, of the educational institutions known as "*Mechanics' Institutes.*"

8. The history of the Mechanics' Institutes<sup>6</sup> extends from 1799, when Dr. George Birkbeck was appointed Professor of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry in "*Anderson's University*" at Glasgow, to the 'fifties of the nineteenth century, when the Institutes, which had considerably changed their character, were beginning to be merged in the modern movement for technical instruction. Birkbeck's predecessor, Dr. John Anderson, Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, had been in the habit of giving lectures upon experimental physics, which were attended, among others, by a certain number of workmen. Birkbeck himself, in the course of visiting the Glasgow workshops in order to superintend the making of some apparatus for his use at the College, found that the men in the shops were keenly interested in the new machines, and crowded with special curiosity round a model of the centrifugal pump. "*Why,*" he asked, as many have asked since, "*are these minds left without the means of obtaining that knowledge which they so ardently desire, and why are the avenues to science barred against them because they are poor?*" Undeterred by criticism upon

<sup>1</sup> Pole, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, Book V., Chapter I., Part II.

<sup>3</sup> Address of Dr. Birkbeck to the London Mechanics' Institute, 1825.

<sup>4</sup> Ure, *Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain*, Dedication.

<sup>5</sup> Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

<sup>6</sup> Hudson, *History of Adult Education*. Dobbs, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-189. Sadler, *op. cit.*, 21-31.

his "dreams of youthful enthusiasm," and by the predictions of the College authorities that "the mechanics would not come, that if they did come they would not listen, and that if they listened they would not understand," he threw his lectures open to workmen. The second was attended by 200, the third by 300, and the fourth by 500. "For three successive seasons I had the gratification of lecturing to 500 mechanics. An audience more orderly, attentive, and apparently comprehending I never witnessed."

9. Dr. Birkbeck left Glasgow in 1804, his classes being continued by his successor, Dr. Ure. In the twenty years following 1815 the movement to establish Mechanics' Institutes spread rapidly. The Edinburgh School of Arts was founded in 1821, the Glasgow Mechanics' Institution (by seceders from Anderson's Institution) in 1823, the London Mechanics' Institution and the Manchester Mechanics' Institution in 1824; and in the following year institutes were established in Huddersfield, Leeds, and a large number of other industrial towns. In 1837 a Union of Mechanics' and other Literary and Scientific Institutions was founded in the West Riding of Yorkshire. In 1839 a Metropolitan Association came into existence, and in 1847 a Lancashire and Cheshire Union of Mechanics' Institutions. In 1851 it was estimated that there were 610 institutes in England with a membership of over 600,000, that the number of lectures delivered in 1850 was 3,054, and that the number of students attending classes was 16,029.<sup>1</sup>

10. Education less than most social activities can be measured by statistics. What was the inner significance of this imposing record? The dominant aim of the movement was well expressed in the prospectus of the Manchester Mechanics' Institute. "This Society," it is stated, "has been formed for the purpose of enabling mechanics and artizans, of whatever trade they may be, to become acquainted with such branches of science as are of practical application in the exercise of that trade, that they may possess a more thorough knowledge of their business, acquire a greater degree of skill in the practice of it, and be qualified to make improvements and even new inventions in the arts which they respectively profess. It is not intended to teach the trade of the machine maker, the dyer, the carpenter, the mason or any other practical business; but there is no art which does not depend more or less on scientific principles, and to search out what these are, and to point out their practical application, will form the chief objects of this Institution."<sup>2</sup>

11. Such a movement started with certain obvious initial advantages. For one thing, its eminently practical motive gave it a utilitarian character which was highly congenial to the spirit of the early nineteenth century. Occasionally a warning was raised against educating the working classes. "Suppose," argued a country gentleman, "that some friend of humanity were to attempt to improve the condition of the beasts of the field—to teach the horse his power, and the cow her value—would he be that tractable and useful animal he is, would she be so profuse of her treasures to a helpless infant? Could anything be more impolitic?" But science was a field in which there was comparatively little danger of encouraging the dangerous doctrines of "the Owenites, the Cooperites, and the Huntites"; there was more likelihood, indeed, of its producing new Watts and Stephensons. The economists were delighted at the spectacle of workmen giving their leisure hours to studying the scientific foundations of industry; to those who objected that they would in time "tread on the heels of the rich," Brougham—a

<sup>1</sup> Hudson, *op. cit.*, p. iv. *sq.*, quoted Dobbs, *op. cit.*, p. 175.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Dobbs, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

pillar both of the Mechanics' Institutes and of the new political economy—retorted, "that is the sort of treading on the heel I like to see." For another thing the movement had genuine educational merits. It started from living interests. There has always been a strong strain of scientific curiosity among the English working classes, particularly in the North of England. "I have often heard working men," wrote Friedrich Engels in 1844, "whose fustian jackets scarcely held together, speak upon geological, astronomical and other subjects, with more knowledge than the most cultivated bourgeois in Germany possesses."<sup>1</sup> The Mechanics' Institutes aimed at satisfying the desire of workmen in an age of scientific triumphs to understand the secret of the new power which was revolutionising industry. They filled a gap for which there was no other provision.

12. In the period before state-aided education the lectures given at the London Institute on "Mechanical Science, Chemistry, Stenography, Curvilinear Figures, Electricity, the Blowpipe, Pneumatics, Hydrostatics, and Astronomy," conducted on a background of classics and mathematics, met needs which were afterwards supplied by Evening Schools, Technical Colleges and University Extension Lectures. It was not until 1848 that the first library to be supported out of the rates was established at Warrington. "In Great Britain," a witness informed the Select Committee on Public Libraries in 1849, "there are no free lending libraries of any kind."<sup>2</sup> It was not the least valuable part of the work accomplished by the Mechanics' Institutes that, like the Co-operative Societies to be described later, they did something to meet this deficiency. In the earlier period, at least, the Institutes commanded the services of able and enthusiastic teachers. Not less important, they began by being democratic, though, like very many educational movements, they tended later to relapse into the hands of coteries for whom wealth and leisure made continuous interest less severe a strain than it was for men engaged in prolonged and arduous labour. It was emphasized that the Institutes were to be financed by those who used them. Attempts were made to ensure that a majority in each committee of management should consist of working people; in London two-thirds were to be drawn from them. "It was one of their favourite anticipations," wrote the editor of the "Mechanics' Magazine," a self-appointed censor who made it his object to hold the movement to its original ideals, "that the mechanics of the metropolis would ere long, with their own savings and with their own hands, erect such a temple of science as would excel in size and commodiousness at least the proudest structures which patrician influence had ever reared."

13. The Mechanics' Institutes were an important step in the development of modern scientific and technological instruction. The Birkbeck Institute in London perpetuates the name of the founder of the movement. At Manchester, Huddersfield and elsewhere Technical Colleges have developed without a break from Mechanics' Institutes founded in the first half of the nineteenth century. The important Birmingham and Midland Institute sprang in 1853 from the same source. By making elementary instruction in science accessible to a large number of working people and creating a demand for cheap scientific literature, the movement exercised a valuable educational influence. It suffered, however, from certain defects which caused its original impetus to be almost exhausted by the middle of the nineteenth century. The instruction which the institutes offered was unsystematic, and it became more unsystematic as the desire to attract

<sup>1</sup> Engels, *State of the Working Classes*, p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> *Select Committee on Public Libraries*, 1849, Q. 281, quoted Dobbs, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

large audiences led to the popularisation of the teaching. The policy of paying lecturers had been given up soon after the movement started, and when lecturers were unpaid isolated lectures naturally tended to take the place of continuous courses: "out of one hundred lectures recently delivered at 43 Institutes," wrote Hole, the author of a description of them which appeared in the middle of the century, "there were, on the average, scarcely two lectures to each subject."<sup>1</sup> The system of class teaching had fallen off, and in many places virtually come to an end, by 1850. In that year, in 59 Institutes in the Yorkshire Union giving class instruction, only one-quarter of the 11,183 members were attending the classes, and of these four-fifths were in the elementary classes. Leeds, the largest institution in the Kingdom, had only 73 class students. Seventy-three of the Institutes had been obliged to suspend all but their discussion and language classes. The total number of persons attending classes in the 610 Institutes in England and Wales was stated to be only 16,020.

14. The temptation of an educational movement, when the first impulse which created it is exhausted, especially of a movement which is not sheltered by endowments against changes of fashion, is to struggle to maintain its existence by lowering the demands which it makes upon students, instead of by maintaining its quality and waiting till the demand for serious education revives. The result is normally the process of degeneration which seems to have overtaken the Mechanics' Institutes. At the same time many of them, within a few years after their foundation, ceased to be Mechanics' Institutes in anything but name. It is a common experience that institutions designed for one class tend to be absorbed by another. As the interest of the working class members flagged, "Mechanics" ceased to join the "Institutes," and as the mechanics dropped out the middle class came in, with the result that the movement tended, in the words of an indignant correspondent, "to be swallowed up by the vortex of gentility." In Manchester, where special efforts were made to retain the original membership, the working class members of the Institute averaged in the six years from 1835-1841 only 309 out of 1,184 members.

#### (c) *Chartism and Co-operation.*

15. The interest in the practical achievements of science which produced the Mechanics' Institutes was only one element in the educational ferment of the early nineteenth century. Another, and for our purpose a more significant, aspect of it was the growth of movements which had as their motive what may be called, in the largest sense, political education. One of the criticisms which had been passed on the Institutes by some of their members was that they were too exclusively utilitarian. "Nothing can persuade us," stated a group of mechanics in 1824, "but that all systems of education are false which do not teach a man his political duties and rights."<sup>2</sup> The enthusiasm for knowledge as a means to the right ordering of social life, which was sometimes chilled by the somewhat frigid temperature of the "temples of science," found expression in movements in which political reform, economic reconstruction, and adult education were mingled as hardly distinguishable elements in the effort to prepare a new social order. If technical education in England springs ultimately from the Mechanics' Institutes, social and civic education, though its history runs for long periods underground, can be traced to the educational idealism which was one side of most working class movements up to 1850—of Co-operation, of Chartism, and of early Trade Unionism.

<sup>1</sup> Hole, *History and Management of Literary, Scientific and Mechanics' Institutes*.

<sup>2</sup> *Mechanics' Magazine*, Sept. 11, 1824, quoted Dobbs, *op. cit.*, p. 176.



16. The watersheds from which this kind of educational effort descended were two, the French Revolution and the transformation of all traditional social relationships by the growth of the new industrial system. Both together brought ordinary men into politics, and set them discussing momentous questions. From 1790 onwards there was a great growth of political associations, of pamphlet literature and of a popular press. The foundation of the London Corresponding Society in 1792, on the basis of a penny subscription, by Hardy, a Scottish shoemaker, was a sign that classes which had hitherto left politics to their betters were beginning to reflect, to criticise, and to discuss. The writings of Paine were widely read. A correspondent from Staffordshire could inform the Government in 1792 that "they are in the hands of most of the people of this neighbourhood and especially of the journeymen potters."<sup>1</sup> Lancashire was a strong-hold of Sunday Schools, and Sunday Schools, by producing "many working men of sufficient talent to become readers, writers and speakers in the village meetings for parliamentary reform,"<sup>2</sup> prepared the way for Hampden Clubs and political discussion. Bamford describes how at Middleton, a village nine miles from Manchester, still haunted by "boggarts" and fairies, "a small band of readers and enquirers after truth," a druggist and apothecary, a weaver who was also a herb doctor, a shoemaker and several other weavers, would meet at his father's house to read "Political Justice" and "such other of the current publications as their small means enabled them to obtain," while the rabble burned Paine in effigy outside the window, and shouted "Down wi' o' t' Jacobins."<sup>3</sup> What Paine and the French Revolution did for one generation, Cobbett and the Reform agitation did for the next; and as the social consequences of the industrial revolution revealed themselves they produced a new body of social theory, which was eagerly debated in working class circles and the popular press. By the twenties of the nineteenth century both political discussion and practical grievances had diffused among considerable numbers of men and women the habit of criticism and speculation which is the natural condition of educational endeavour.

17. Such an atmosphere produced agitators as readily as students. It was only gradually that education detached itself from propaganda. The formulation of education as an end to be deliberately pursued by Governments and by popular organisations, if it could be attributed to any one person, might be ascribed with some justice to Robert Owen.<sup>4</sup> Though the Government did not listen, some of those concerned with popular organizations did; and it is due to Owen, more than to any other individual, that of the three democratic movements in England during the first half of the nineteenth century, Co-operation, Chartism, and Trade Unionism, each paid a tribute to liberal education as a social ideal, however imperfectly they may have contributed to realizing that ideal in practice. The emphasis which Owen laid upon education sprang naturally from the character of his moral and political teaching. To posterity he is best known by the movements for practical reform which he initiated. The most successful cotton spinner of his day, he humanised the conditions of employment in his own mills, when mills were still the pest-houses described by Gaskell, and used his experience to urge Governments to introduce factory legislation and operatives to abolish the profit-maker by co-operation. In his own eyes his practical reforms were important mainly as particular illustrations of the principle

<sup>1</sup> Quoted Brown, *The French Revolution in English History*, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted Dobbs, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

<sup>3</sup> Bamford, *Passages in the Life of a Radical*, vol. I., pp. 52, 53.

<sup>4</sup> For Owen, see *The Life of Robert Owen* (by Owen himself); Podmore, *The Life of Robert Owen*; and Beer, *A History of British Socialism*.

which he believed himself to have discovered, and which, if thoroughly applied, was to regenerate mankind. That principle is that character is formed not by man, but for men, that man is the creature of circumstances, and that human nature may be indefinitely modified for the better by improving its environment. "Any general character from the best to the worst, from the most ignorant to the most enlightened, can be given to any community, even to the world at large, by the application of proper means, which means are to a great extent at the command and under the control of those who have power in the affairs of men."<sup>1</sup> But education is one of the most powerful instruments for the formation of character. Hence the first duty of Governments is education.

18. The statesmen whom Owen invited to New Lanark to verify for themselves the response of character to environment applauded the curious results of his philanthropy, but disregarded his proposals. It was through his influence on working class movements that his ideas on education were diffused among a wider audience and perpetuated as among the fundamentals of the democratic programme. The doctrine which provided chartists, co-operators and trade unionists with a philosophy interpreting the causes of popular suffering and offering a social ideal for which to strive, was the doctrine of Owen, and the importance of education stood too near the heart of it to be discarded when it passed from the study to the marketplace. Hence each of these movements produced statements of the necessity of organising a system of education not only for children but for adults, and, some attempts, at least, to devise practical measures for meeting it.

19. The ablest of the early working class expressions of the demand for higher education came not from the Co-operative Societies with which Owen's name is imperishably associated, but from the leader of a movement which failed, William Lovett.<sup>2</sup> Lovett's social doctrines were those which he had learned from Owen and Hodgskin. The pre-eminent importance which he ascribed to education was a triumph of idealism in an age of economic misery, and he deserves a place in history, not only as the parent of Chartism, but as the first and greatest of working-class educational reformers. Like his friends, Francis Place and Thomas Cooper, he was one of the workmen of whom it may be said that amid heart-breaking discouragements, poverty and failing health and political persecution, the hunger for knowledge "haunted them like a passion."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Owen, *First Essay on the Formation of Character*.

<sup>2</sup> For Lovett, see *William Lovett, Life and Struggles* (by Lovett himself); Hovell, *The Chartist Movement*; Beer, *A History of British Socialism*; Wallas, *Life of Francis Place*; Dobbs, *Education and Social Movements*.

<sup>3</sup> "My desire for information was, however, too strong to be turned aside, and often have I been sent away from a bookstall when the owner became offended at my standing reading, which I used to do until I was turned away. . . . I used to borrow books from a man who kept a small shop . . . leaving a small sum as a deposit." At the age of 20 he had worked through "the histories of Greece and Rome and some translated works of Greek and Roman writers; Hume, Smollet, Fielding's novels and Robertson's works; some of Hume's essays, some translations from French writers, and much on geography; some books on anatomy and surgery: some relating to science and the arts and many magazines." When unemployed he read "many volumes in history, voyages and travels, politics, law and philosophy, Adam Smith and Locke, and especially Hume's 'Essays' and 'Treatises.' . . . I taught myself decimals, equations, the square, cube and biquadrate roots. I got some knowledge of logarithms and algebra." (Wallas, *Life of Francis Place*.)

"Historical reading, or the grammar of some language, or translation was my first employment on week-day mornings, whether I rose at 3 or 4, until 7 o'clock, when I sat down to the stall. A book or a periodical in my hand while I breakfasted gave another half-hour's reading. I had another half-hour and sometimes an hour's reading or study of language from 1 to 2 o'clock, at the time of dinner. . . . I sat at work till 8, sometimes 9, at night; I then either read or walked about our little room and committed *Hamlet* to memory or the rhymes of some other poet, until compelled to go to bed from sheer exhaustion." (Cooper, *Autobiography*.)

As a member and afterwards the president of the cabinetmakers' trade union, manager of the first co-operative store established in London, an attendant at the London Mechanics' Institute, where he heard Birkbeck lecture, the colleague of Cleave, Hetherington and Watson in their struggle for a free press, a disciple of Owen and founder of the London Working Men's Association, and through it the parent of the Chartist Movement, for which he drafted the famous Six Points of 1837, Lovett touched almost every social agitation of the period from 1820 to 1840. It is the more significant that to the end of his life he should have reiterated his belief in education as the foundation of all other kinds of popular progress. His own views upon it were expressed in his address on "National Education" (1837) and his later work, which he wrote in gaol, "Chartism" (1840). Education ought to be the right of all. "Is it consistent with justice that the knowledge required to make a man acquainted with his rights and duties should be purposely withheld from him, and that then he should be upbraided and deprived of his rights on the plea of ignorance?" It is the one irresistible weapon:—"How can a corrupt Government stand against an enlightened people?" It should be provided free at the public cost and administered by locally elected bodies. It should begin with infancy and be continued in adult life. The people themselves (for, as time went on, he grew more and more to distrust the State) should accumulate funds for education by voluntary contributions. If everyone who had signed the National Petition would subscribe one penny per week, £256,600 would be raised; and £256,600 would support 80 halls, 710 travelling libraries, 20,000 tracts per week and 4 missionaries. A people who did this "would be gradually accumulating means of instruction and amusement and in devising sources of refined enjoyment to which the millions are strangers. It would be industriously employed in politically, intellectually and morally training fathers, mothers, and children to know their rights and perform their duties. And with a people so trained exclusive power, corruption and injustice would soon cease to have an existence."<sup>1</sup>

20. When Lovett formulated this programme only seven years had elapsed since the State had made its first grant of £20,000 to Education. Such schools as existed were provided by voluntary societies, and, of course, the public assistance of adult education was still in the remote future. The Chartists themselves did something on a humble scale to fill the gap. Not only did the London Working Men's Association give a prominent place amongst its objects to that of "promoting by all means available the education of the rising generation," but individuals connected with the movement laboured hard to provide facilities for education. The National Association for promoting the Political and Social Improvement of the People, which was founded in 1840, opened a hall in Holborn where working men and women were to meet for lectures, concerts and classes. Lovett not only played a prominent part in the agitation for a free press, and drafted a petition to Parliament urging that museums and art galleries should be opened on Sundays, but himself taught for some years in London. Cooper—shoemaker, musician, journalist and poet, who by incredible labour and at the cost of destroying his health had taught himself the elements of Latin, Greek, French, Mathematics, Music and English Literature—established in Leicester "the Shakesperian Association of Leicester Chartists," where he lectured on Literature and History to starving stocking-makers. Chartist Churches were established at Birmingham, at Bath, and in parts of

<sup>1</sup> Hovell, *The Chartist Movement*, pp. 206-7.

Scotland, and conducted classes for children and young men. At Deptford there was a "Working-men's Church" whose members were said to study the New Testament in Greek.<sup>1</sup> That the first independent political movement of the English working classes should have produced spontaneously a demand for education as an indispensable element "in the mental and moral dignity of a pure democracy," and should have put forward an educational programme as advanced as any that has since been realised, is a comment upon the superficial, though common, complaint that English people do not care for education. It would be truer to say that it is only within recent years that they have begun to be offered an education worth caring for. To those who remember the condition of England in the 'forties of the last century few episodes are more moving than these efforts of men, half-famished by material want and dogged by the agents of the Government, to assert their right to a share not only in political power but in the kingdom of the spirit.

21. In order to endure, educational effort must normally be embodied in some permanent institution. Chartism had a profound influence on the lives of individuals, and the educational ideals which it advanced become a tradition which has coloured the thought of all subsequent working-class movements. They led in the 'forties to attempts on the part of certain trade unions<sup>2</sup> to provide educational facilities for their members. In 1842 the Journeymen Steam Engine and Machine Makers' Friendly Society established a mutual improvement class at Manchester. In 1845 the Glasgow Branch of the Scottish United Operative Masons "formed a class for mutual instruction and an association for moral, physical and intellectual improvement." In 1848 the London Society of Bookmakers established a library, as did the London Society of Compositors a few years later. In 1850 the Flint Glassmakers' magazine urged "the education of every man in our trade, beginning at the oldest and coming down to the youngest." "If you do not wish to stand as you are," wrote the Editor, "and suffer more oppressions, we say to you, 'get knowledge, and in getting knowledge you get power.' Let me earnestly advise you to educate. Get intelligence instead of alcohol; it is sweeter and more lasting." The effect of Chartism in rousing the minds of middle-class sympathisers to the demand for popular education is equally noticeable. Carlyle's book "Chartism" ended with a plea for it—"Universal Education is the first great thing we mean." The People's College, established at Sheffield in 1842, was planned on lines which recall Lovett's scheme of education, and the better known Working Men's College in London, of which we speak below, was founded under the influence of the emotions which the Chartist agitation had aroused in the group of men who became later known as the Christian Socialists.

22. Though the indirect influence of Chartism in stimulating education was considerable, its practical experiments left no permanent legacy behind them, because Chartism itself, as an organised agitation, had no existence after the fiasco of 1848. The vehicle by which the educational aims of the working classes were carried forward was a movement which had developed about the same time and under similar influences, but which had a much longer and more prosperous life. Co-operation, which at the present day is a potent and growing educational force, had begun its career in the 'twenties of the nineteenth century as one of several attempts to realise Owen's ideal of a social order based not

<sup>1</sup> Hovell, *The Chartist Movement*, pp. 202-3.

<sup>2</sup> Webb. *History of Trade Unionism*.



on competition but on brotherhood. Such an order was impossible without the training of intellect and character for the service of the community.

23. Hence education, of a kind which would now be called civic, occupied a prominent place in the plans of the early co-operators. The Co-operative and Economical Society, which it was proposed to establish in London in 1821 as a result of Owen's propaganda, included among its purposes the education of the members' children, and "periodical meetings of the whole society for the purposes of mutual instruction, and of rational recreation and amusement."<sup>1</sup> The community founded by Owen at Ralahine, in addition to its economic objects, was to promote "the mental and moral improvement of the Adult members."<sup>2</sup> The Co-operative Society established at Birmingham in 1828 maintained a library and debating club, and proposed to establish a school where children would receive an education "better than even the higher classes are receiving," and to arrange for concerts and lectures for the benefit of their adult members. A group of co-operators at Salford, in 1831, "took a couple of large rooms and opened a school for the instruction of boys and girls and such adults as might think it worth while to learn what we had to teach." Some stocking-frame weavers at Sutton-in-Ashfield wrote to Owen in 1834 that, "believing that knowledge is power, we shall appropriate the upper room . . . to the purpose of a school, lecture-room, etc."<sup>3</sup> When co-operators, though cherishing as their ultimate goal the establishment of "self-supporting home colonies," settled down to pursuing, as one step in that direction, the method of co-operative trade on which the movement subsequently built up its prosperity, they still treated education "for the common benefit" as an essential part of their programme. The Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers, the formation of which in 1844 may be regarded as the starting point of modern co-operation, not only proposed "as soon as practicable . . . to arrange the powers of production, distribution, education and government," but in 1848 established an Educational Department, and down to the passage of the Industrial and Provident Societies Act in 1852 made regular, though illegal, quarterly grants for educational purposes. When, in preparing their rules for registration under that Act, they inserted a clause devoting ten per cent. of their profits to education, the Registrar declined to sign them, on the ground that the proportion was excessive, with the result that the proportion finally allotted was 2½ per cent.<sup>4</sup>

24. Their example was widely followed. Libraries, classes and lectures were established by a considerable number of the early co-operative societies; and the present educational work of co-operators, which, as we point out later, has recently been expanded and systematised, may be traced directly to the origin of the movement in the first half of the nineteenth century. Co-operative education is, in short, as old as the Co-operative Movement itself. This connection of education with what has sometimes been regarded as merely one kind of trading venture will cause surprise only to those who have not been touched by the co-operative spirit. For co-operation was not merely a method of trading, and the connection is not accidental but essential. On its economic side the movement was an attempt to organize society, disintegrated by the competitive forces of the new industrialism,

<sup>1</sup> Webb. *Industrial Co-operation*, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> Dobbs, *op. cit.*, pp. 216 and 221.

<sup>4</sup> Webb, *Industrial Co-operation*, p. 69.

on the basis of mutual service. On its educational side it was an attempt to create by training the personal qualities and social habits which might make such an organisation possible.

### (III.) ADULT EDUCATION SINCE 1850.

25. The year 1850, which was in more than one way a turning point in English social history, is also a natural division between one period of educational activity and another. Revolutionary effort had collapsed finally in 1848. The years from 1850 to 1870 were a time of rising wages and falling prices. The days of squalid misery and distant visions seemed, as the economists had foretold, to be settling into a long afternoon of more or less equable, if uninspired, prosperity. Working class idealism had received a rude shock from the fiasco of Chartism, and was directed to the prosaic task of building trade unionism and co-operation on a sound economic foundation.

26. In the sphere of educational effort, the character of the agencies at work and the motives behind them underwent an equally noticeable change. Certain movements which we have already described, in particular the Adult Schools and Co-operation, expanded; on their more recent activities we touch shortly below. But in the main the forces which entered the field were new. They consisted first of the revival and multiplication of University Institutions; secondly, of the creation of a national system of elementary, and later of higher, education provided by the State; thirdly, of the revival of the demand for higher education on the part of working men and women, inspired by somewhat the same motives as had guided the chartists and early co-operators, but attacking the problem on a higher plane and with the equipment provided by a more effective training in childhood. At the beginning of the period adult education was still the spontaneous effort of a few working-class enthusiasts to provide for themselves educational opportunities in a world where any general system of education was still unknown. At the end the spontaneous demand remained, and was, indeed, more insistent than ever before. But in the interval both the Universities and the State had begun to do something to aid its satisfaction, and it was no longer a substitute for the earlier stages of education, but the completion of them.

#### (a) *State-aided Evening Schools.*

27. Upon the significance for our subject of the creation of a national system of elementary education we need not dwell. Its effect was not only to lay the foundations of all later educational effort, but fundamentally to change the character of the evening classes, which, as we point out later, are the commonest organ, though not, of course, the only organ, of adult education at the present day. When in 1851 the Committee of Council on Education for the first time made grants in aid of evening schools, their object was to assist elementary, not secondary or higher, education, and it would appear that a considerable proportion of the attendants at the evening schools then existing were adults who desired to obtain as men the elementary education which they had failed to receive as children. The Revised Code of 1862 stated definitely that the evening school "should differ in nothing from the morning or afternoon meetings, except in the scholars who attend. Its business is not secondary, but continued elementary instruction." The passage of the Acts of 1870 and 1876 had indirectly two important effects upon evening education. The immediate consequence of the great development of elementary schools was

a diminution in the number of students desiring elementary education in the evening, and in 1872 the new position was recognised by a regulation providing that persons over 18 were not as a rule to be reckoned—an age which was raised in 1882 to 21. This policy was reversed by the code of 1890 and 1893. The former excused students in evening schools from examination in elementary subjects if they produced certificates that they had been scholars in an elementary school and had passed Standard V. in the elementary subjects. Under the latter the conception of an evening school which had hitherto prevailed was revolutionized. No students were compelled to take the elementary subjects; and the attendance of persons over 21 years of age was recognised for grants. Henceforward, therefore, evening classes were to be what they now are, an organ not of elementary, but of advanced, education, including the education of adult men and women. The development had been made possible by the establishment through the Act of 1876 of a universal minimum of elementary education for children. It prepared the way for the extensive growth of classes providing one type or another of higher education for adults, which we describe at length in our next chapter.

### (b) *The People's Colleges.*

28. We have thought it right to allude to the creation of a national system of elementary education, because it was the existence of that system which has laid the broad foundations of adult education, has made its further development more hopeful to-day than when it was first essayed by the early co-operators and chartists, and for every ten students whom they found eager for knowledge has sixty years later produced a hundred. But throughout its history adult education, though it has owed much to the conditions created by the State and later to its direct assistance, has been mainly the work of voluntary movements and organizations. In the generation following 1850 the most significant developments were two, the foundation of Working Men's Colleges, and the revival of university education. The former united adult students not only for intellectual endeavour, but for cultivating the common life of a corporate institution. The latter produced the reform of the old, and the foundation of new, Universities, and led to a movement to extend the influence of university teaching among men and women who had been unable themselves to study in a university.

29. The first Working Men's College founded in England was the People's College, established in Sheffield, in 1842, by the initiative of the Rev. R. S. Bayley, an Independent Minister of the town.<sup>1</sup> It was under his management till 1848, when he left Sheffield, and, thanks mainly to the devotion of the students who formed the committee of management, remained in existence till 1879, the year in which the Firth College was opened. The aim of the College was more akin to the ideal of Lovett than to that of the Mechanics' Institutes. It was to offer a liberal education, to establish a closer contact between teacher and student than was possible between a lecturer and his audience, and to place the problems of government and finance on the shoulders of the students themselves. Of the considerable number of colleges founded under the influence of its example in London, Manchester, Wolverhampton, Cambridge, Oxford, Salford, Halifax, Liverpool, and Leicester, only two, the Working Men's College in London and the Vaughan Memorial College at Leicester, have retained their original name and purpose.

<sup>1</sup> Sadler, *Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere*, pp. 32-36.

30. Like most educational efforts in England the London Working Men's College was the expression of a definite point of view upon social issues—the one tangible outcome, as Ludlow called it, of the Christian Socialist movement. Its foundation in 1854 was the result of the impression made by the work of the Sheffield College on a group of men who, under the influence of the upheaval of 1848, were seeking to discover a path through the industrial evils which had provoked and defeated Chartism. From 1850 onwards, Maurice, Ludlow, Kingsley and Neale were endeavouring to found Co-operative Societies “like the French Working Men's Associations.” They created “the Society for promoting Working Men's Associations” and established in connection with it classes and lectures. In January, 1854, “a conversation took place concerning the establishment of a People's College in London, in connection with the Associations, and Mr. Vansittart Neale read a letter from the Secretary of the People's College, Sheffield, as to its origin and history. The following resolution was carried: ‘That it is referred to the Committee of Teaching and Publication to frame, and, as far as they think fit, carry out a plan for the establishment of a People's College in connection with the Metropolitan Association.’”<sup>1</sup>

31. The College was opened in October, 1854. The brilliance of the band of men who were associated with it, Maurice, Ruskin, Furnivall, Thomas Hughes, Rossetti, Lowes-Dickinson, Neale—to mention only a few names out of many—might suggest that with such teachers any educational undertaking must have prospered, and that the success of the College was due rather to the quality of its staff than to the merits of the institution. Such a view would be a profound mistake. The College flourished because it was based upon a clear insight into the needs of those whom it was intended to serve.

32. Maurice, who was throughout the moving spirit, was inspired by four ideas. The education offered was to be humane, not technical, because a workman “is a person, not a thing, a citizen and not a slave or even a wage-earning animal”; and as such he is entitled, “not merely to receive certain crumbs of knowledge which fall from the rich men's table, but to share with them the deepest and most universal parts of their treasure, those which belong not to classes but to men.” It was to be based on the previous interests of the students, particularly upon their interest in social and political questions, and while it was to aim at detachment, it was not to eschew topics merely because they were controversial. “If you will make men interested in history begin with the topics that are occupying them at the present day. When you substitute pumps and gases you cut yourself off from the most active and energetic thought of the minds with which you have to deal.” It was to be “regular and organic, not taking the form of mere miscellaneous lectures or even of classes not related to each other.” It was not merely to be a system of instruction, but a way of life shared by teachers and students through membership in a corporate institution. “What we wanted was, if possible, to make our teaching a bond of intercourse with the men whom we taught. How that could be, we might never have found out. But the working men themselves had found it out. We heard in 1853 that the people of Sheffield had founded a People's College. The news seemed to us to mark a new era in education. We had belonged to Colleges. They had not merely given us a certain amount of indoctrination in certain subjects; they had not merely prepared us for our

<sup>1</sup> Furnivall, *History of the Working Men's College*, quoted Sadler, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-8.

particular professions; they had borne witness to a culture which is the highest of all cultures. We had formed in those Colleges friendships which we hoped to keep wherever we went. Was it not a glorious thing, then, that working people should lay hold of the name; that they should say, 'We are determined we will have Colleges. Whether you set them up among us or no, we will have them, because we want to connect all our education with our social life, with our fellowship as human beings'?"<sup>1</sup> The emphasis laid on the ethical rather than on the practical aspect of education separated the College from the contemporary Mechanics' Institutes, as the insistence on continuity of study distinguished it from some later movements for the extension of higher education. Both together gave it the character and atmosphere which are at once among the most important and the least easily created of the elements composing the influence of an educational institution. That, in spite of the great increase in the number of its students and of the vicissitudes through which it has passed, it has retained them with remarkable success to the present day is a proof of the insight of its founders and of the devotion with which their successors served their ideals.

### (c) *The University Extension Movement.*

33. The original intention of Maurice had been that the Working Men's College should be conducted in close communication with the existing universities. "The Universities, we hope," he wrote, "will receive persons coming with certificates from our College as readily as from any other, and will grant our students degrees, provided they go through the necessary examinations. How the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London may be disposed to accomplish this object, we cannot, of course, foresee, but we are confident that no fee will hinder working men from having all the advantages that their fellow countrymen possess."<sup>2</sup> Maurice's anticipation that adult students would pass from the London College to Oxford and Cambridge was not realised. But, in the meantime, Oxford and Cambridge themselves were in the throes of a reconstruction which altered their character more profoundly than any change since the Reformation. Its effects were felt far beyond the two ancient Universities. It led to the revival of university education, to the movement for University Extension, to the foundation of new universities, and to the later developments in adult education which are described below.

34. Three new University institutions, in addition to Oxford and Cambridge, had been founded before the middle of the nineteenth century, University College, London, in 1826, King's College in 1831, and the University of Durham in 1832. Owen's College, Manchester, was established in 1851. In 1852 appeared the Report of the Royal Commission on the University and Colleges of Oxford—"one of the high landmarks in the history of our modern English life and growth"<sup>3</sup>—which, with the similar Commission on Cambridge and the Executive Commissions that followed, stirred into active life a mass of sleeping endowments, threw the older universities open to the active minds of the middle classes, and made possible all subsequent changes. The phrase "University Extension," originally used in a large sense to describe any scheme for increasing the usefulness of the universities by bringing them into touch with a wider circle of students, occupied a considerable place in the

<sup>1</sup> *Working Men's College Magazine*, February 1859, quoted Sadler, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-9.

<sup>2</sup> Original Circular of the Working Men's College, issued in 1854, quoted Sadler, *op. cit.*

p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Morley, *Life of Gladstone*, Book IV., chapter IV.



evidence submitted to the Commission on Oxford—Sewell suggesting as one step to "University Extension" that part of the endowments of the older universities might properly be used to establish lectureships in industrial towns. "Though it may be impossible," he wrote in 1850,<sup>1</sup> "to bring the masses requiring education to the University, may it not be possible to carry the University to them? At first, by way of experiment, professorships and lectureships might be founded, say, at Birmingham and Manchester. . . . By degrees the system might be extended throughout the whole country, and similar Institutions might be planted in the principal towns in convenient districts, such as Norwich, Exeter, Leeds, Canterbury, Newcastle, &c. Cambridge, of course, would take its own share of the work. By originating such a comprehensive scheme, the Universities would become, as they ought to be, the great centres and springs of education throughout the country, and would command the sympathy and affection of the nation at large."

35. A quarter of a century later the same project was revived by Jowett,<sup>2</sup> who urged that £40,000 a year from the revenues of Oxford College should be applied to establishing colleges in large towns. "At present," he wrote in 1874, "the revenues of the Colleges are deplorably wasted, and in many instances exercise a positively injurious influence on education. It is impossible to suppose that an income of £30,000 or £40,000 a year can be profitably expended upon the education of less than a hundred undergraduates. . . . Not less important than any of the preceding objects is the establishment of Colleges and lectureships in the large towns. To use the revenues of the University for this purpose would not be an alienation, but a most profitable investment of them. While we seemed to be going to the large towns, we should be really drawing them to us. The University has already prepared a scheme for examinations which will give a general direction to higher education. But we must also provide the means of instruction. At present our students are drawn, for the most part, from the upper two hundred thousand. The intelligence of the lower classes is wasted because they have no opportunity of obtaining education beyond the standard of a national school. What the Church did in the Middle Ages the grammar schools and the Universities should do now for them. They should cherish the good seed to be used in the interests of knowledge and for the benefit of mankind. They should open a career for superior natural abilities; they should go out to seek those who cannot come to them. Colleges planted in the great centres of population would continue school education; they would afford to the more active-minded of the working classes the opportunity of self-culture; they would solve the problem of a higher education for women."

36. No immediate step was taken to act on Sewell's suggestion. But the establishment of the University Local Examination at Oxford in 1857, and at Cambridge in 1858, supplied administrative machinery which could be used for the organization of extra-mural lectures. The initiative in giving a practical form to University Extension, as it is understood to-day, was taken by Mr. James Stuart, who in 1867 and 1868 had been engaged in lecturing in the North of England on the invitation of the North of England Council for promoting the Higher Education of Women. The interest which his lectures aroused among working-class audiences, such as were attending the Mechanics' Institute at

<sup>1</sup> Sewell, *Suggestions for the Extension of the University*.

<sup>2</sup> Jowett, *Suggestions for University Reform*, 1874; printed by Campbell, *The Nationalization of the older English Universities*, pp. 183-208.

Crewe and the Pioneers' Hall at Rochdale, led him to consider the possibility of a "peripatetic university" for working people, which should improve upon previous experiments by substituting continuous courses for isolated lectures, by requiring paper work from the students, and by being followed or preceded by a class in which students and lecturers could meet informally in accordance with the practice which, on the suggestion of the students themselves, Mr. Stuart had followed at Rochdale. In 1871 he appealed to the University of Cambridge to organize lecture centres. Cambridge adopted the scheme in 1873, when three courses of 24 lectures were arranged in Derby, Leicester and Nottingham—in the latter city at the request of the Nottingham Trades' Council. London took up the work in 1876 and Oxford in 1878. As new universities were established, it was undertaken by them in their turn. The new movement never took root in Scotland. But prior to the war this type of university extension work was carried on, in one form or another, by all the universities in England and Wales.

37. The present character and prospects of the organization for maintaining local lectures, which has come to be called *par excellence* University Extension, is discussed in a subsequent chapter of our Report, and we do not desire to anticipate now what we have to say about it below. Its history in the 40 years between 1873 and 1914 is marked by success and by failure, both of which throw an instructive light on the problem of adult education at the present day. On the one hand, the system of local lectures bore fruit, as had been suggested in 1850, in the establishment of local University Colleges. The Firth College at Sheffield (1879) and the University College of Nottingham (1881) sprang directly out of the extension work carried on in these cities, while the Yorkshire College at Leeds, founded independently in 1874 as a Science and Technical College, decided to enlarge its scope so as to include the Humanities on the understanding that the University Extension Lectures, which were being carried on in Leeds independently, should be transferred to the College. The University College of Reading (1892) was first founded as a University Extension College, and the Royal Albert Memorial College at Exeter, which originated in the Extension work of the University of Cambridge, was first known as the Technical and University Extension College. Once founded, these institutions were principally concerned, like the older universities, not with adult students but with providing an education for young men and women who were prepared to give three or four years to work in a university. They touched the problem of adult education only in so far as they in their turn organised extension work. But the influence of the University Extension movement has not been confined to planting these off-shoots of the older universities. In addition to producing some serious students, it has shown that there is a considerable body of men and women of mature years, who, without having been able to study in a university, are keenly interested in the subjects which are studied there. It has helped to create a humaner atmosphere in places which are ill-provided with opportunities of self-culture. Through the influence partly of the summer meetings, partly of the individual lecturers themselves, it has forged links between the Universities and sections of the community who have had no other connection with them.

38. If the history of the movement reveals these successes, it reveals on the other hand certain failures. Of the two objects which suggested its inauguration to Professor Stuart—the desire to provide higher education for women, and the desire to provide higher education for working people—the former has been achieved more successfully than

the latter. In certain districts and at certain periods, for example, in Northumberland from 1879 to 1887, University Extension Lectures have appealed to the rank and file of a typical industrial district. But, on the whole, and with exceptions, their influence has been felt mainly among the middle classes, and, probably most of all among women. The conditions which hindered their success among working people have partly been identical with those which have lowered their educational value. Extension lectures have tended to be unduly discontinuous and unsystematic: class work has not on the whole developed to the extent originally intended, and there has been too little regular contact between teacher and students. The University Extension Authorities of Cambridge, London, and Oxford, have, it is true, endeavoured to encourage continuous and systematic work, by attaching special distinction to it. In 1886 Cambridge established a scheme of Affiliated Centres and Affiliation Certificates, since adopted by Oxford, under which the holder is enabled to obtain a degree after two years' residence in the University. Cambridge and Oxford award terminal and sessional certificates, and a Vice-Chancellor's Certificate upon examination, after attendance at a continuous course extending over three or four years. In 1902, the University of London established a Chancellor's University Extension Certificate in the Humanities for a scheme of work extending over five years, which has since been followed by a Diploma in the Humanities.

39. These expedients have done something, no doubt, to encourage individuals to undertake continuous study. But the real causes of the weaknesses of the University Extension system, as it has existed hitherto, lie deeper. As we point out in Appendix I<sup>1</sup>, they are mainly financial. Though the universities bear part, or all, of the cost of maintaining a secretary and an office, the system is not endowed, and the whole cost of the lectures must be met by those attending them and by local subscriptions. In order to pay their way, they must attract large audiences, and in order to attract large audiences, the lectures must be of a kind to appeal to a wide, even though superficial, interest. From this necessity two consequences have followed which are of the same character as those already noticed in connection with the Mechanics' Institutes, and which are almost inseparable, we think, from any movement which rests on the assumption that higher education can be made self-supporting. The first is that short courses of lectures on different subjects have tended to play an excessive part in the work of the movement. Useful for the purpose of arousing interest, such pioneer courses should be designed primarily to prepare for more continuous study; but the exigencies of finance have too often compelled local committees to seek to stimulate interest by unduly varying the subjects. In the second place the necessity of attracting large audiences has made it difficult for the lecturer to establish intimate relations with his students. The creation of such intimacy is possible, no doubt, in the classes by which extension lectures are followed and preceded. But, as we indicate in Appendix I, effective class work has been by no means an invariable concomitant of the lectures, and the qualities which make a lecturer successful in popularizing knowledge for an audience of from 150 to 500 persons are not necessarily those which adapt him for the different work of individual tuition. Two conceptions of University Extension have, in fact, been present in the movement from its origin. The one, which is associated mainly with Cambridge, has looked primarily to the promotion of serious study. The other, which was perhaps the note of the Oxford movement, has been concerned mainly

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 188-9.

with the stimulation of intellectual interest. Both ideals are valuable. But, on the whole, university extension lectures have realized the second more successfully than the first. The developments which we describe below were due partly to the desire for opportunities of more continuous and systematic study than university extension lectures had hitherto, in most cases, provided.

#### (d) *The Latest Developments.*

40. The movements which have been described in this section of the present chapter owed their origin either to the action of the State in the sphere of education, or to the initiative of the Universities and of individuals trained under their influence. At the same time, however, there was going on in the latter half of the nineteenth century a spontaneous growth in the educational interests and activities of popular movements, the results of which, in some ways the most impressive feature in the recent progress of adult education, did not become apparent till the century had ended.

41. Of some of these movements the origin has already been described. Most of the adult schools, of which the first was established in 1798 by Singleton and Fox, had disappeared before 1850. When Hudson published his history of adult education in 1851 he estimated that some 250,000 persons had been taught to read by their aid, but that the number then learning to read through the adult schools was not more than 3,500. The modern development of adult schools may perhaps be dated from 1852, when the Adult School at Severn Street in Birmingham, which had been established in 1845 by Joseph Sturge as a result of his visit to Nottingham, was separated from the Junior Department. Under the influence of Sturge and of William White, a bookseller of Birmingham, the Society of Friends threw itself into the work of promoting adult schools. From 1874 onwards there was a steady growth both in their number and in their educational, as distinct from their religious, activities; and as will be seen from the following chapter they now play an important part in adult education.

42. Equally significant has been the growth of the educational work of the Co-operative Movement. Like other elements in the original ideal of establishing "a self-sufficing home-colony of united interests," Co-operative educational effort underwent a considerable change of direction as the movement achieved practical economic success in the years following 1860. For one thing, there was a less idealistic temper in the second half of the century. If the material achievements of Co-operation did not choke its spiritual enthusiasm, they at least thrust it for a time into the background; and Cooper, a survivor from the heroic age of working-class agitation, lived to lament the contrast between the ragged zealots of 1844 and the pleasure-seeking crowds of the 'eighties.<sup>1</sup> For another thing, the entry of the State into the sphere of education did something at first to supersede voluntary effort. The growth of elementary education and of evening classes conducted by Local Authorities, and the establishment of Public

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<sup>1</sup> *Life of Thomas Cooper*, by himself. "In our old Chartist times, it is true, Lancashire working men were in rags by thousands and many of them lacked food. But their intelligence was demonstrated wherever you went. You would see them in groups discussing the great doctrines of political parties . . . or they were in earnest dispute respecting the teachings of Socialism. Now you will see no such groups in Lancashire. But you will hear well-dressed men talking of co-ops. and their shares in them and building societies. And you will see others, like idiots, leading small greyhound dogs, covered with cloth, in a string."

Libraries, made superfluous much of the educational activity which co-operation had undertaken in the 'sixties. At one time, therefore, it seemed possible that the educational ideals of the movement might be forgotten for want of any sufficiently obvious practical object to which to apply them. When in 1896 a special Committee on Co-operative Education, appointed by the Congress held at Woolwich, investigated the educational work which was being done, it found that of 402 societies who responded to their inquiries 269 had educational funds, and that the amount expended by them in the year 1895 was £36,336, of which over £11,000 was spent on reading rooms, £5,000 upon libraries, £2,000 upon lectures and classes, and nearly £17,000 on lecturers and concerts, chiefly for propagandist purposes.<sup>1</sup> Of this expenditure much, no doubt, was both directly and indirectly of educational value. Part was educational only in name; and since, though a special Education Committee of the Central Board had been established in 1885, it was entirely dependent upon grants made by the Co-operative Union, there was no authority to co-ordinate expenditure or turn it into the most fruitful channels. What the movement lacked was a clear conception of educational policy—of the direction in which to throw its effort and to concentrate its forces—and a central education authority with sufficient financial resources to give such a policy effect.

43. These defects Co-operation shared with most other educational undertakings of the last half of the nineteenth century. Its merits were its own, and they were great. Its influence may be judged by considering the loss which would have been suffered by education had it not existed. Before the period of state-organized evening schools and publicly provided libraries, there would, but for Co-operation, have been far less continued education, especially in the north of England, and far fewer facilities for culture. There might have been, as far as can be judged, no University Extension Movement, at least no Extension Movement in industrial towns. The Workers' Educational Association, which was derived in part from the educational traditions of the Co-operative Movement, would probably not have been founded. Co-operators were, in fact, the one working-class body which continuously and persistently stood for a humane education as an essential element in the social aims of democracy. In addition to the considerable volume of educational work which they carried on themselves, they gave support from time to time to other educational efforts, such as the University Extension Movement, and later Ruskin College and the Workers' Educational Association. Above all, they carried the educational ideals of the 'forties into the educational revival of the present century. It is satisfactory to observe that, as our next chapter shows, the effect of that revival has been to give a new impetus to the educational activities of the Co-operative Movement itself. The appointment of a Director of Studies, the new educational programme promulgated by the Committee appointed in 1914 to survey the educational work of the movement, and the recent decision to establish a Co-operative College are signs that Co-operators realize the importance of adult education both to the success of Co-operation and to the well-being of the community.

44. The movement for the wider diffusion of adult education, which began in the opening years of the present century, was not, therefore, preaching a novel ideal or essaying an unrehearsed experiment. It found a considerable basis of existing effort upon which to build, and could appeal to a population whom thirty years of public education

<sup>1</sup> Mansbridge, *A Survey of Working-Class Educational Movements in England and Scotland*, p. 21.



had prepared to take an interest in more advanced studies. It developed in a social atmosphere more favourable to educational activity than that of the preceding generation. Throughout the last century educational effort has expanded or relapsed in sympathy with other changes in thought and society. If the growth of adult education in the last fifteen or twenty years, like the diffusion of cheap literature, is, from one point of view, a natural consequence of the improved organisation of higher education made possible by the Act of 1902, it is, from another, the expression in education of the desire to establish more successfully the social conditions of effective democracy, which has characterised our own day. Into other manifestations of that desire we need not enter. In the sphere of education it produced an increasing readiness on the part of educationalists to make higher education more widely accessible, and an increasing appreciation of the value of such education among all popular movements.

45. The influence of this educational revival has not been confined to any single class in the community, and its achievements have been inspired by the same variety of motives as characterized the earlier experiments. The mixture of religious and social interests which created the Adult School of the 'fifties has found a new expression in the formation, in close connection with the Society of Friends, of residential colleges such as Woodbrooke (1902) and Fircroft (1909), and educational settlements such as Swarthmore (1909) at Leeds, St. Mary's (1909) at York, and the Homestead (1913) at Wakefield. The educational work of Beechcroft, Birkenhead (1914), and at the settlement at Lemington-on-Tyne is in line with the original aims of the settlement movement.

46. Experiments such as those have been the work of reformers who desired to make education more accessible to the mass of the community for much the same reasons as a hundred years ago inspired the educational work of Robert Owen. But more significant than the efforts of educationalists has been the growth of a demand for education within the ranks of the working-class movement itself. The characteristic feature, indeed, in the recent expansion of adult education, which links it in spirit to the efforts of the early co-operators and chartists more closely than to the movement of the 'eighties for university extension, is that it has sprung spontaneously from the desire of working people for a more humane and civilized society, and that, though assisted by individual reformers, by universities and by the Board of Education, it is the expression in the sphere of education of ideals which find their other applications in the efforts to raise the level, not only of education, but of industrial society and social organization. The most obvious symptoms of the new attitude have been the assumption by working-class organisations of responsibility for the management of Ruskin College, the support given by Trade Unions both to Ruskin College and later to the Labour College, the foundation and expansion on a basis of working-class membership of the Workers' Educational Association, and the growth of the various educational activities with which directly or indirectly that Association is connected. Founded in 1899 by two Americans in order to offer to working-class students "a training in subjects which are essential for working-class leadership, and which are not a direct avenue to anything beyond," Ruskin College was re-organised in 1910 in such a way as to place the entire control of its management in the hands of the working-class societies which support it. It has drawn the 500 or so students whom it has educated almost entirely from the ranks of the trade union movement. The Labour College, originally a secession from Ruskin College, has appealed to the same source. The Workers' Educational Association has combined in

one organization a large number of working-class and educational bodies. By uniting in its 173 branches and 9 districts the educational interests of a large number of different organisations and individuals, it has helped to stimulate and give effective expression to the growing demand for higher education among adult men and women.

47. These recent developments require a fuller examination than can appropriately be given in a historical survey, and are discussed at greater length elsewhere in this Report. Their effect has been felt in three principal ways. They have added largely to the number of actual, and still more to the number of potential, students. They have raised the standard of much of the educational work done by adult men and women, by giving it a more continuous existence and a more systematic organisation. They have drawn the educational demands of voluntary movements into closer relation with the educational resources of Universities, of Local Education Authorities and of the Board of Education. Of the actual growth in volume of the educational work done among adults no exact record is available. It is indisputable, however, that the number of men and women engaged in serious study of one kind or another has increased very largely during the past decade.

48. Even more significant than the growth in the number of adult students and in the area covered by the movement for adult education is the improvement in the quality of the educational work carried out. In its earlier days adult education was associated in the public mind principally with attendance at lectures; and lectures, however inspiring, are too apt to give no more than a temporary stimulus without imposing on those attending them the obligation of serious study. At the present moment lectures play a smaller part in adult education than some form of class-work. The suggestion that the true type of adult education was to be found in the "Tutorial Class," which "will be limited in numbers, but will provide far more thorough and systematic teaching than is possible in a course of lectures"<sup>1</sup> was originally made in the year 1900 by the late Canon Barnett, to whom all plans for extending the influence of the Universities owe an immeasurable debt, as the result of his experience of University Extension work in East London. The machinery for the general organisation of such classes was not created, however, till the foundation of the Workers' Educational Association in 1903. In 1906 a Conference was held at the University of London, which resulted in a proposal to start a tutorial class, and in the autumn of 1907 a class similar in some respects to those afterwards established under the same name met in Battersea under Professor Geddes.<sup>2</sup> In the meantime the interest aroused by the Oxford University Extension Lectures in Rochdale, where a branch of the Workers' Educational Association had recently been established, led to a request from some of those attending it for opportunities of more continuous and systematic study.

49. As a result of a Conference<sup>3</sup> of working-class and educational organisations held at Oxford in 1907, under the auspices of the Workers' Educational Association, a Committee was appointed consisting of seven persons nominated by the Vice-Chancellor and seven persons nominated by the Workers' Educational Association, which issued a Report<sup>4</sup> recommending that Oxford should promote the establishment of tutorial classes, should pay half the cost of conducting

<sup>1</sup> *Canon Barnett: His Life, Work and Friends*, by his Wife, vol. I., p. 338. As long ago as 1887 Canon Barnett had made a similar suggestion:—"Students must have not only the direction of the professor, but the constant care of the tutor." (*Ibid.*, p. 335.)

<sup>2</sup> Mansbridge, *University Tutorial Classes*, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, chapter III.

<sup>4</sup> *Oxford and Working-class Education*, 1908.

them, and should place their management in the hands of a Committee composed in equal numbers of representatives of the University and of working-class organisations. Before the Report appeared, tutorial classes had already been established at Longton in North Staffordshire and Rochdale in Lancashire. In the autumn of 1908 six more classes were established by Oxford, and in that and the year following the Universities of Cambridge, London and Manchester took up the work. The result has been that the movement for the promotion of adult education has turned its energy more and more to the establishment of classes consisting of a sufficiently small number of members to allow of close intercourse between teacher and student, and aiming at a relatively high standard of intellectual attainment. It is not suggested, of course, that these characteristics are confined to university tutorial classes. There are numerous other educational experiments which are influenced by a similar ideal. But the organisation of classes, as distinct from lectures, has been a conspicuous feature in the development of adult education in the past ten years, and it is partly to the example of the university tutorial classes that this emphasis upon the value of class-work is to be ascribed.

50. Taken together, the movements which we have described have established a closer contact than existed in the past between the educational work of adult students and that of both the Universities and public educational bodies. The result has been that there has grown up in the last ten years in connection with most of the universities of England and Wales a body of extra-mural students who do not indeed study in the university, but who are taught by members of its staff, and who, in the words of the Royal Commission of 1912 on the University of London, "desire knowledge, not diplomas or degrees."<sup>1</sup> Thus, as the Commission suggested, the provision for extra-mural students has become a normal part of university work, "essential to a University, not in the narrower sense of being a condition of its existence, but in the broader view which lays upon a place of learning the duty of using its talents to the utmost, and offering its treasures freely to all who can benefit by them and sincerely desire to do so."<sup>2</sup>

51. Equally important has been the response which the growing demand for adult education has evoked on the part of public bodies. Twenty years ago the type of adult education assisted by the State consisted almost exclusively of technical and professional training, because it was hardly realised that any widespread demand for non-vocational education existed. In the last ten years the assistance given to such education from public funds has become considerable. Thus, though the opportunities of humane education open to adults are still few compared with the demand for them, the obligation to assist it has been recognised both by the Universities and by the State. The experimental stage of the movement has, indeed, been passed. It has been proved by practical experience that the desire for higher education is widespread and growing, that students are willing to incur considerable sacrifices in order to obtain it, and that men and women who spend their days in manual labour can in their scanty leisure do work of high intellectual quality. It remains now to diffuse more widely a type of education which has revealed already the power of its appeal, and to extend to all opportunities which have been eagerly grasped by the few who could obtain them. The practical measures by which that extension may take place are discussed in the later chapters of this Report.

<sup>1</sup> *Final Report of the Royal Commission on University Education in London*, Cd. 6717, par. 79.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 79.

## CHAPTER II.

**A GENERAL REVIEW OF ADULT EDUCATION IN GREAT BRITAIN.****(I.) INTRODUCTORY.**

52. Few people are aware of the extent and variety of the educational activities which were carried out in Great Britain before the war and even during the war. No attempt has ever been made, so far as we know, to survey the whole field of adult non-vocational education and to present a connected account of its scope, aims, and methods. We have endeavoured to present an outline of the existing activities in Appendix I. It is in many respects incomplete, but it seeks to draw attention to the main forms which adult education has taken and the chief institutions and movements through which educational influences are brought to bear. The volume of the material, even if it be cast in a summary form, is so large that its inclusion here would have made this chapter unduly long, and would have destroyed the general thread of the narrative. We have, therefore, while fully recognising its importance, deemed it advisable to place the descriptive portion of our survey in an Appendix. This Appendix consists of three parts: a survey of adult education in Great Britain, an account of wartime developments, and a brief review of adult education abroad. The first portion attempts to set out under three heads the educational activities falling within our terms of reference,—(1) Universities, (2) Local Education Authorities, and (3) Voluntary Organisations. The third group includes a wide range of movements, societies and institutions. Realising that this method of treatment was inadequate to present a true picture of adult education in Scotland and Wales, with their distinctive characteristics, we have devoted separate sections to them. Similarly, we have found it necessary to give separate consideration to rural education and education amongst women.

53. It is difficult to define precisely the meaning which should be attached to the term "education." We have, however, deliberately adopted an elastic interpretation of the word in the present chapter, so as to include those activities which, though perhaps primarily recreational, nevertheless exert a valuable educational influence. The educational life of a nation includes not only the formal organised education which is carried on by means of classes and systematic study, but the activities of musical societies, the meetings of mutual improvement societies, or the presentation of good plays. It embraces the activities of a naturalists' society and the creative work of the craftsman, as well as attendance at courses of lectures. By education we mean all the deliberate efforts by which men and women attempt to satisfy their thirst for knowledge, to equip themselves for their responsibilities as citizens and members of society or to find opportunities for self-expression.

54. It is clear from an examination of the principal types of adult education that, though the work carried on is of very varying educational value and quality, it nevertheless represents an educational movement of considerable importance and magnitude, which, as we shall show, deserves the utmost encouragement. Before, however, we advance our practical proposals for the development of non-vocational adult education, we think it well to extract from the mass of evidence before us those features which have particularly impressed us in the miscellaneous volume of work which we have passed in review, and to present them to the reader in a summary form. The field is wide, and its products are various in type and quality.

It is not a trimly ordered garden, but land recently reclaimed or in process of reclamation, which yields good grain in one place and a rough and intermittent crop in another. We have endeavoured to do justice to both; and, though we are conscious of the danger of generalisation, we think that the reader will be able to introduce into the broad outlines of our survey the qualifications necessary to a just appreciation of the subject.

## (II.) THE DEMAND FOR HIGHER EDUCATION AMONG ADULTS.

55. The first fact that strikes us in reviewing our evidence is the widespread demand for opportunities of higher education which exists among men and women, and the persistence of the various efforts which are being made to meet it. There have been educational movements which, though interesting in themselves, affected only a narrow circle of individuals with peculiar tastes or unusual aptitudes. There have been others which were the expression of an interest in education, genuine, indeed, but transitory, and which flickered out when they had ceased to be sustained by the first flush of a new enthusiasm, or with the disappearance of the personalities which originated them. It is not difficult to present education in such a way as to attract those with exceptional intellectual interests, or to capture the imagination with the charm of novelty. The educationalist will naturally regard with sympathy the movements described elsewhere in this Report. But naturally, also, he will ask himself three questions. Do they meet a need sufficiently fundamental to win the support, not merely of those with exceptional tastes or peculiar opportunities, but of ordinary men and women? Is the interest to which they appeal sufficiently serious and permanent to stand the strain of steady work, and to persist when they are no longer the adventure of enthusiasts, but a normal part of the educational activity of the nation? Is the education in which they result of genuine intellectual value, or is it merely a pastime or a recreation, laudable, indeed, as a recreation, but with little power to inform the mind or to strengthen the character? Will they spread? Will they wear? What are they worth?

56. In the sphere of education, as in other departments of social activity, the movements whose influence is both wide and permanent are a small minority of those which are initiated, and it is not altogether unwholesome that new educational departures should be regarded with good-natured scepticism till their quality has been tested by experience. We do not desire to pitch too high the claims of the particular branch of educational effort which has been referred to us. Of the intellectual level of the work which it produces we shall speak later: it is unequal, sometimes high and sometimes low. Apart from the question of its intellectual quality, its capacity to make a wide appeal and to persist in the face of difficulties is not always the same. There are districts in which, and classes among whom, it has made little progress. Some hopeful experiments have not altogether fulfilled their early promise. Though adult education has stood the heavy strain of the war, involving change of residence, overtime and industrial dislocation, and the absence of nearly all the young men to whom it would most readily appeal, with a success which could not have been anticipated, there are places in which it appeared to be flourishing five years ago, but in which it is, temporarily at least, in abeyance. The educational work of the Co-operative Movement has recently moved forward with a new impetus, and has become at once more systematic and more generally appreciated.



But it would probably be admitted that, until a few years ago, it had hardly realised the hopes which inspired its pioneers. While University Extension has done work of genuine value, as a whole, and with certain notable exceptions, it has not succeeded in appealing to working-class students to the extent anticipated when it was begun. All voluntary movements which are not embodied in permanent institutions, or sheltered against rough weather by the breakwater of endowments, are subject to periods of inflation and contraction. Adult education is no exception; its general level must not be estimated by the height which in periods of unusual intellectual activity or in specially favourable circumstances it has succeeded in reaching; and it would be rash to predict a permanent future for every part of the effort which is now being carried on.

57. While, however, past experience suggests the need of caution in estimating the possibilities of the remarkable renewal of interest in adult education which has taken place in the last ten or fifteen years, it is none the less true that that interest is, as far as we can judge, more widespread than ever before, that it has led to several new departures whose appeal is wide and whose educational value is genuine, that it has faced and overcome its initial difficulties, and that, even if, like earlier movements, it recedes to some extent in the future, it is likely to leave behind it a permanent deposit of educational effort, which it is important to encourage and develop. The evidence which we have received, drawn as it is from many different parts of Great Britain, and relating to experiments of very various kinds, leaves no doubt in our minds as to the reality and vigour of the forces of which it is the expression. The width of its appeal and the seriousness of the interest which it arouses are not the only tests of an educational movement. It is necessary also to consider the crucial and difficult question of the quality of the intellectual work which is done by those concerned in it. To that question we return later.<sup>1</sup> But catholicity and seriousness are, on their own plane, it will be agreed, criteria of some importance, and the movement for the diffusion of adult education succeeds, with exceptions and with, of course, a certain proportion of failures, in satisfying them. Those who are interested in it are still a small, though rapidly growing, minority of the whole adult population; and among some of them interest does not cut very deep. But it undoubtedly commands the support of a large and increasing number of men and women. It undeniably results in serious educational effort, which is maintained not for months, but for years of continuous study. It is popular, in the sense not that it is content with the facile appearance of study (though, no doubt, here and there, there are elements in it which are), but in the sense that it meets an appetite for knowledge which is not confined to exceptional individuals, or to any particular stratum of society. It is likely to be permanent; for it evokes the patient and self-sacrificing labour which is the best guarantee of permanence. The movement, in short, is neither esoteric nor superficial, neither the foible of a few select individuals nor the evanescent fashion of a moment. It is a natural development which has its roots deep in popular needs, and which falls into its place as a logical stage in the development of education in Great Britain.

58. Such a statement will not appear exaggerated to those who will take the trouble to examine the history and character of the movements which together contribute to what is the ferment, rather than the system, of adult education. Their variety and vigour are scarcely yet

appreciated. When he reflects upon education, the ordinary Englishman is accustomed to think of it exclusively as a period of preparation, which ends, when "practical life" begins, at some age, varying principally according to the wealth and social standing of the parents of those who are being educated, between 14 and 24. It does not normally occur to him that education, in addition to preceding practical work, may alternate with it, as refreshment alternates with labour, or one kind of labour relieves another. His practice, however, is, as usual, better than his theory. He does not, in fact, insist upon the absolute division of life into thought without work and work without thought which his speech sometimes suggests. In proportion as men find the world interesting, and as their ability to be interested in it has been cultivated in youth, that interest survives into manhood and womanhood. When it becomes conscious of itself and is widely shared, it results in an effort to satisfy it by something more systematic, more continuous, and above all, more social, than can be achieved by the solitary student.

59. The attempt to construct something like a system of adult education is not, therefore, a novelty. Of the two streams of influence which contribute to the present movement, and which may be called conveniently, though rather misleadingly, the popular and the academic, one may be traced to the early Adult Schools, to Robert Owen and the Co-operative Movement, to Lovett and to Chartism; the other to the Mechanics' Institutes, to Maurice and to the Working Men's Colleges, to the reform of the older Universities in the 'fifties, and to the University Extension Movement of the 'eighties. But the conditions which existed then do not exist to-day. As we point out later, the environment, intellectual, social and political, is far more favourable to all kinds of educational endeavour than it was fifty, or even thirty, years ago. The consequence has been that adult education, though its origin can be traced far back, has undergone in the last fifteen years something like a re-birth, resulting in a wider extension of its influence, a more definite formulation of its objects, and a more systematic organization of its work. Experiments which were previously isolated have been brought into relation with each other: sporadic efforts have become a movement, not indeed unified or systematically organized as a whole, but animated by a common faith in the possibilities of adult education, and by a common ideal of the part which it should play in a democratic society.

60. An indication of the progress which has been made may be given by comparing the efforts to organise adult education which were being made in the 'eighties with those which exist to-day. Thirty-five years ago the University Extension Movement was just beginning. Then, as now, a certain amount of educational work was done by the Adult Schools and by the Co-operative Movement. Then, as now, there were a large number of local societies, scientific, literary and political, engaged in promoting one branch or another of study among their members. There was the Working Men's College in London, which was founded in 1854, and the Vaughan Memorial College at Leicester, which was founded in 1862. But there was little more. The numbers affected by different kinds of educational efforts were relatively small. Much of the work called educational was then, probably, educational in little more than name. Apart from exceptional instances, like the action of the Nottingham Trades Council in approaching the Extension Authorities of Cambridge in 1873, it could not be said that there was any strong demand for higher education among adult working men and women.

61. At the present time circumstances are widely different. Old educational movements have developed and new educational movements have come to life. The actual volume of educational work done among adults has largely increased. The provision of extra-mural classes or lectures, though still on a relatively small scale, is now a normal part of the work of most English and Welsh universities: in 1913-14 the tutorial classes alone included over 3,000 students; and the Extension lecture courses, apart from those attending shorter classes and individual lectures, attracted many thousands. They are well attended, and the demand so far outruns the resources available for increasing the supply that requests to establish extra-mural classes have to be refused, and some universities are faced by a field which they would like to cultivate, but are prevented from attacking by lack of funds. Thus in the year 1913-14 the Oxford Tutorial Classes Committee was obliged, through want of financial resources, to refuse applications for six classes which had been made to it. We are informed that in Lancashire and Yorkshire only a similar difficulty prevents the number of tutorial classes conducted in connection with the local Universities from being largely increased. A competent authority has assured us that the University College of Cardiff could establish twenty tutorial classes without difficulty, instead of the nine which it now conducts, if it had the financial means at its disposal. Something the same is true of most other universities. They are obliged either to refuse applications for classes, or deliberately to discourage those through whom applications would naturally be made from putting them forward in the first instance. And the extension of adult education is not confined to work done in connection with the university. The adult schools year by year give greater prominence to the educational side of their work, because they find the demand for it among their numbers increasing. In addition to the classes and reading circles, in which educational and religious work are combined, they conducted in 1917 nearly 200 week-end lecture schools and about 20 summer schools of a definitely educational character. The work of the Co-operative Movement has become in recent years more definitely educational, and so far from losing by giving a more prominent place to strictly educational activities, has increased the number of its students, in addition to raising the quality of its education. The students attending the London Working Men's College grew from 875 in 1889 to 1,260 in 1908, and 1,436 in 1913-14. The Vaughan Memorial College at Leicester, founded in 1862, was attended in 1913 by 790 men and 787 women. Quite recently the Young Men's Christian Association, at one time concerned almost exclusively with religious and social work, has devoted much time and money to developing through its Universities Committee the educational side of its activities, and has achieved in certain fields most promising results.

62. Some of these are long-established movements, which have responded to a new wave of educational interest. The newer developments are in some ways more significant, because they reveal more clearly the fact that the extension of adult education has taken place in response to a popular demand. The characteristic feature of adult education as it exists to-day is, indeed, that the initiative in promoting it, though not usually in supplying it, comes from voluntary organisations representing the consciousness of potential students that education will be of value to themselves, to their friends, and to the movements in which they are interested. The Workers' Educational Association, in addition to bringing together several thousand students in the university tutorial classes mentioned above, has spread a network of shorter classes, reading circles,

and courses of lectures over many districts, and in 1914 had united some 2,555 societies, including 952 Trade Unions, Trades Councils and branches, 388 Co-operative Societies, and other organisations in a popular educational movement. The rapid growth in its membership—its branches numbered 179 in 1914 as compared with 13 in 1906, and the societies affiliated to it, 2,555 in 1914 as compared with 283 in 1906—is an indication of the growing interest in adult education, as is the increase in the students in university tutorial classes, who numbered 237 in 1908-9, and 3,234 in 1913-14. The support given to Ruskin College (founded 1899) and to the Labour College (founded 1909), inadequate as it is, expresses the belief of organised labour in the importance of bringing higher education within reach of the younger generation of trade unionists. The students in the former numbered 12 in 1899, 56 in 1909 and 46 in 1913. In 1914, there were 12 students in residence at the latter, and in addition two non-residential women students.

63. Local Education Authorities, though principally concerned in their evening class work with technical and professional studies, have felt the influence of the educational revival and have sometimes organised, more often assisted, classes of a non-technical character for adults. The settlement movement is, in the main, a product of the last thirty years, and some settlements have been responsible for a considerable volume of educational activity. In particular, some of the newer non-residential settlements, such as Swarthmore (Leeds), St. Mary's (York) and Beechcroft (Birkenhead) have as their primary aim the diffusion of higher education. Fircroft and Woodbrooke, examples of institutions which are half college, half settlement, were founded in 1909 and 1903 respectively to meet the needs of adult students desirous of training themselves to undertake some kind of social work. Though such employers as have been interested in education have been concerned mainly with its technical and professional aspects, there are some who have taken a broader view and who have recently assisted the initiation among their employees of classes in such subjects as the latter chose to take up. The societies engaged in intellectual work of one kind or another, which may restrict themselves to some particular subject or subjects, but which within their own field stimulate the desire for knowledge, and thus, indirectly at least, promote education, have greatly increased in number in the last thirty years—indeed, in the last decade.

64. The growth and popularity of summer schools, not only for those who are already students in the sense of being members of a class, but as a means of offering opportunities of reflection and discussion to men and women engaged in different kinds of practical work is evidence of the increasing appreciation of the connection between knowledge and effective action. Some of them, like those held for tutorial class students in Oxford, Bangor, Durham and London, are directly educational in the sense of being arranged so that students may carry further the work which they are doing in classes by means of a fortnight or a week of intensive study. Others, like the Summer School held at Oxford in 1918 and repeated this year for trade union officials and others, are designed for men and women who are associated in some political or social or religious movement, and who desire to study particular problems in the light of their interest which membership in it has aroused. Though the primary motive of the latter is not always educational, their effects are, nevertheless, educative, and it would be a mistake, we think, to dismiss them as irrelevant. It is significant, indeed, of the growing belief in the value of study that movements and organizations whose main purpose

is a practical one have come more and more in recent years to encourage it among their members by organizing lectures, classes and reading circles or by supplying them with books. The work done may not always be on a high intellectual level; that it should be done at all is a proof that the need of appealing to the intellect, in both matters of religion and matters of politics, is felt to be greater than it was.

65. The growth of educational work among soldiers, both in this country and abroad, is a striking proof that there are large numbers of young men who have lively intellectual interests and who welcome any opportunity of satisfying them. Five years ago their very existence was not suspected, and the suggestion that the rank and file of a British Army would respond readily to the offer of education would probably have met with good-natured derision. To-day they can be counted by thousands. This enormous development is mainly the result of the work of the Y.M.C.A. and the activities of the extensive organisation created in the Army since the establishment of the educational department of the War Office.

66. Nor is the movement towards extending and systematising adult education confined to this country. It is also advancing rapidly in the Dominions, mainly on the lines followed by the Workers' Educational Association, of which there are branches in Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa. According to the latest information there were 46 tutorial classes in Australia in 1917-18; in New Zealand 23; in Canada one; and in South Africa two. There were also, of course, numerous lectures and classes of a less exacting kind. The educational work carried on among the members of the Forces of the different Dominions is well known; in that matter, indeed, they have set the example which this country is following. The fact that adult education should have taken vigorous root among circumstances so different from those of this country is, we think, significant. It suggests that it is not an artificial product dependent upon particular institutions or traditions, but that it meets a need which is felt by the citizens of all English-speaking democracies.

67. While the demand for higher education among adults is widely diffused, and is growing with considerable rapidity, it is not diffused equally, and it does not grow with the same vigour in all environments. There are large areas and large classes which are relatively little affected by it. Thus it has hitherto made more progress in industrial than in rural districts. It has, at least until recently, appealed to men more than to women. It is probably stronger in the Midlands and North of England, especially in Yorkshire, Lancashire and Durham, North Staffordshire and the area round Birmingham, than in the South. The classes whose interest in it has grown most rapidly in recent years are the "working classes" rather than the middle classes. To all these statements there are numerous exceptions. In certain rural districts, for example, parts of Kent and Wiltshire and Yorkshire, a considerable volume of preliminary educational work has recently been carried on among men and women in the villages. We are informed by a witness of experience, well acquainted with the district, that, could money be found to pay a travelling organizer, a great development of adult education would be possible in the Cotswolds. Most of the classes and lectures conducted by the various organizations mentioned above are attended by women; there are many classes, for example, some of those organized by the Workers' Educational Association, which are arranged specially for women; in 1914 there were 721 women's adult schools; and the Women's Co-operative Guilds have carried on a considerable volume of educational work among their members. The more recently established



Women Citizens' Associations are becoming centres of educational activity and a new impetus has been given to their work by the recent extension of the franchise. There is a certain amount of educational activity among adults in parts of Scotland, for example, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen. Bristol, Swindon, Chatham, South Wales and Luton—to mention no other places—have in different degrees shown that there is a keen interest in education in some of the southern and western districts. While the movement is sustained mainly by the enthusiasm of working people, extension lectures have, in parts of the country, achieved a striking success among the middle classes. Nor do we think that the sporadic local distribution of which we have spoken is likely to be permanent, as though there were certain districts which were permanently inaccessible to education. In most cases it is easily accounted for. Adult education tends to develop most readily under the conditions which facilitate the rapid development of other movements, and to be weak where they are weak. It is spread most easily in towns where there is a fair level of prosperity and leisure, and where social life has the cohesion which comes from organization—in Lancashire or Yorkshire or South Wales rather than in East London; in centres which are not too small to have a certain variety of interest and outlook and not so large as to destroy neighbourly feeling or to make organization an almost insoluble problem; in places where teachers and books are accessible; among classes who take a keen interest in some department of knowledge rather than among those who are made incurious by concentration upon material interests, whether of poverty or of riches. Most often of all, its backwardness in certain districts is little more than a chance, due to the fact that no one has happened to undertake the preliminary and indispensable work of organization, and will disappear (as it has often done already) as they are drawn into the wake of movements started in more favourably situated districts. It is a common experience, we are informed, for those concerned in organizing adult education to be told, on visiting a new area, that “you may do it elsewhere, but you will never succeed here.” But comparatively rarely, it seems, has experience substantiated these prognostications.

68. We have shown<sup>1</sup> in our survey of selected districts where adult education has won popular support, the remarkable extent and variety of the work done. We are, of course, aware that there are many blank spots on the map. On the other hand North Staffordshire, Yorkshire and Kent are not unique. Work of much the same kind is carried on in a considerable number of other places, and if supported by adequate resources of finance and organisation could be carried on much more widely. No doubt, even in these districts, the percentage of the adult population who have come into contact with some form of more or less systematic education is still a very small one. We estimate, for example, that the number of students in or around the Potteries who are known to have attended tutorial classes, one-year classes, or extension lectures for at least one session since January, 1908, is 7,000 out of an adult population of 400,000, exclusive of the large number who have attended classes and lectures of which no record has been kept. We think, nevertheless, that even that proportion of students, recurring, as it does, in a large number of areas, justifies us in saying that the demand for higher education is widely spread. The students who attend are not exceptional. For everyone who takes up educational work there are large numbers who have still not heard of what is being done locally in the way of education, or, if they have heard of it, are prevented from taking part in educational

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix I, pp. 296-333.

effort by circumstances which they cannot control. The demand has, at any rate, outrun the supply. The task of the moment, therefore, is to increase the facilities for education. Given greater facilities the demand itself would, in turn, increase.

69. Much of what we have said in the preceding paragraphs is applicable to the whole of Great Britain. Each nationality, however, English, Scottish, and Welsh, has shown in this, as in other fields, certain special characteristics corresponding to difference of race, social condition and educational system, of which a more detailed account is contained in Appendix I. In particular, adult education in Wales, especially in the rural districts, presents many marked features of its own, as might be expected in the one considerable portion of Great Britain which has preserved a different tongue as the first language of the majority of the population. This devotion to the language, greatly strengthened by the Methodist Revival of the 18th century, has partly sprung from, and partly resulted in, a widespread national belief in education. The forces which have kept alive the language in the face of disintegrating influences have tended to create an enthusiasm for the national history and literature, and a conscious "nationalism" which has had a great effect on all phases of Welsh educational life. Although such institutions as the *Eisteddfod* and the Sunday School have steadily pursued their work as instruments of adult education, the national belief in education has expressed itself more strongly in the past in efforts towards better educational provision for the young than in any such renaissance of adult education as has been so marked in England during the last twenty years. Wales is sufficiently small and cohesive to be rallied to united efforts for an educational end, and much of the enthusiasm of the last fifty years has gone to the establishment, first of the three University Colleges and then of the secondary school system of the Principality. These institutions were created by the people—the University Colleges largely with their money given in small sums—and in Wales, as in Scotland, the problem of opening up the Universities to the son or daughter of the poor man is not so pressing as in England. The dream of countless working-class families has been to make one son a professional man, at the cost of whatever sacrifice to other members of the family, and a far more real problem to-day is the absorption in the professional classes of the best brains from among the workers.

70. There are many signs, however, that the most marked development in Welsh educational effort in the immediate future will be along the lines of wider opportunity for the adult population generally. Such developments are, and must increasingly be, sharply differentiated by the contrasting conditions of industrial and rural Wales. In the industrial districts, chiefly of the south, there is a large non-Welsh population, and a consequent increasing tendency to the disuse of Welsh even among those of Welsh birth. Industrial organisation and the growth of international ideals is very strong, and, whether necessarily or not, has resulted in a lessened hold on the traditional instruments of national culture. In the rural districts, on the other hand, Welsh is still the first language, and is, to some extent, actually increasing in use, and here, adult education, to be successful, must make its appeal through the history and literature of the country, and in alliance with such traditional institutions as the *Eisteddfod*. This contrast of interest is well illustrated in two recent phases of educational effort, both largely confined to industrial Wales. As shown elsewhere in the Report, the classes of the Labour College are widespread and influential in South

Wales. They are devoted entirely to economic subjects, and the teaching is along Marxian lines with emphasis on internationalism. In almost immediate reaction has grown up a movement of emphatically "national" type in the Union of Welsh Societies. (*Undeb y Cymdeithasau Cymraeg*.) Founded in 1912, the Union works by federating the already existing Welsh literary societies (often connected with churches and chapels) and banding them together in the effort to preserve the use of the Welsh language, and the traditionally Welsh forms of culture—an end which is also pursued by closer alliance with other Celtic countries, through the re-established Celtic Congress, towards whose revival the Union was the most active influence.

71. Common to both industrial and rural districts, and forming a strong educational link between them, is the widespread love of music and practice of choral singing, the remarkable growth in the last ten years of interest in the drama, and of companies of local players acting plays dealing with Welsh life.

72. In rural Wales, as yet largely untouched by the ferment of industrialism, the strongest forces in adult education are the Sunday School, the Eisteddfod, and the Literary Society, whose operations are described in more detail in Appendix I. The Sunday School is attended by the great bulk of the population, men and women, of all ages, and (at least until recent years) of all classes. The teaching is exclusively religious, but the method of discussion by which the classes are conducted, the constant study throughout a life-time of so magnificent a literary model as the Bible, and the spirit of "co-operative endeavour" alluded to elsewhere in this chapter as the essence of adult education, combine to exercise a profound educational influence. The Eisteddfod in all its stages from the small competitive meeting organised by a local chapel or literary society to the National Eisteddfod, is also of great educational importance. In every Welsh village a large number of the population, both children and adults, are members of choirs practising constantly for Eisteddfod competitions, while more gifted or more enthusiastic individuals are preparing for other forms of musical competition, writing poetry for the bardic contests or doing some piece of research for the essay competitions. All this activity is wonderfully spontaneous; what it lacks is more of the associative spirit of common educational endeavour. The competitive spirit of the Eisteddfod is an essential element of a deep-rooted national institution (common to other Celtic countries), but Welsh life would be all the richer for its association with more of the class and study-circle system whose growth has been so notable in England. The Literary Society, which exists in practically every Welsh village, however small, is a third factor in adult education in rural Wales. It is attended by most of the inhabitants, rouses much latent interest in history and literature, and forms an admirable training ground for the public speaker, but here too there is room for more concentrated and systematic study. These societies, in the rural districts which have not yet been covered by the operations of the Union of Welsh Societies, are unfederated, and generally lack the teaching resources to do more systematic work. Male enthusiasts gather to discuss intellectual questions in the shoemaker's or blacksmith's shop or whatever is the accepted centre; sporadic classes led by some enthusiast spring up here and there and meet with great success, but die when for some cause the promoter is removed, and so the field has remained largely unharvested. But it lies ready and waiting, and the need of the immediate future is for greatly extended teaching by the University colleges, accompanied probably by organisation on the part of some such bodies as the Union of Welsh Societies and the Workers' Educational Association, and by

greatly extended library provision. In the industrial districts economic subjects may continue to be the most popular, as they have been in England, but for rural Wales it is important that the teaching resources of the colleges should be so augmented that they are able genuinely to offer a free choice of subject to every group, with the probable result of a great increase of classes in literature, history, and music. The field has been so well prepared that, given such cultivation as this (which is now largely a question of financial provision), Wales should see in the next twenty years, a remarkable development of adult education in all its phases.

73. It may naturally be asked what social groups contribute most students to adult education. We cannot answer this question with any degree of exhaustiveness. Conditions vary from district to district; different types of educational work appeal to different groups of students; in most cases no record has been kept. It may perhaps help the reader, however, to picture to himself more clearly the kind of work which is being done, if we set out the occupations of students attending the university tutorial classes, certain colleges, and one of the newer educational settlements. The classification is only an approximate one and does not pretend to complete accuracy.

## (i)

## UNIVERSITY TUTORIAL CLASSES (1913-14).

(The following particulars, supplied by the Central Joint Advisory Committee on Tutorial Classes, are compiled from the statistics of the various University Joint Committees.)

|  |     | No. of Students.                   |     |
|--|-----|------------------------------------|-----|
| *Clerks and Telegraphists ...                | 623 | Postmen, Tramwaymen and Police-    |     |
| Teachers ...                                 | 308 | men ...                            | 58  |
| Textile Workers ...                          | 235 | Potters ...                        | 57  |
| Women working at home ...                    | 193 | Boot, Shoe and Leather Workers ... | 52  |
| Engineers ...                                | 177 | Warehousemen ...                   | 47  |
| Shop Assistants ...                          | 160 | Labourers ...                      | 31  |
| Miners and Quarrymen ...                     | 148 | Foremen and Managers ...           | 26  |
| Printers ...                                 | 144 | Food Workers ...                   | 25  |
| Metal Workers ...                            | 95  | Bookbinders ...                    | 9   |
| Building Trades ...                          | 83  | Instrument Makers ...              | 9   |
| Carpenters and Joiners ...                   | 82  | Miscellaneous (including Gas In-   |     |
| Factory Workers ...                          | 65  | spectors, Caretakers, Gardeners,   |     |
| Railway Servants ...                         | 63  | Window Cleaners, Upholsterers,     |     |
| Tailors and Dress Makers ...                 | 61  | &c.) ...                           | 225 |
| Insurance Agents, &c. ...                    | 59  |                                    |     |
| Total for whom particulars are available ... |     | 3,035                              |     |

## (ii)

## RUSKIN COLLEGE (1913-14).

Total Number of Students in Residence, 46.

|                                      |   |                           |    |
|--------------------------------------|---|---------------------------|----|
| Engineers ...                        | 8 | Shop Assistant ...        | 1  |
| Miners ...                           | 8 | Grocer ...                | 1  |
| Weavers ...                          | 3 | Linotype Operator ...     | 1  |
| Clerks ...                           | 2 | Agricultural Labourer ... | 1  |
| Irongrinder ...                      | 1 | Bricklayer ...            | 1  |
| Dyer ...                             | 1 | Bootmaker ...             | 1  |
| Ironmoulder ...                      | 1 | Customs Officer ...       | 1  |
| Quarryman ...                        | 1 | Journalist ...            | 1  |
| Secretary (Co-operative Society) ... | 1 | Foreign Students ...      | 12 |

\* Out of the 623 clerks and telegraphists, 210 were found in London Classes.

## (iii)

## WORKING MEN'S COLLEGE (1908-13).

Percentage of total Students.

|  | 1908-9. | 1909-10. | 1910-11. | 1911-12. | 1912-13 |
|--|---------|----------|----------|----------|---------|
| (a) Clerks ... ..                                    | 41.9    | 46.4     | 49.5     | 49.8     | 51.9    |
| (b) Shop Assistants ... ..                           | 3.4     | 4.0      | 3.1      | 1.2      | 2.1     |
| (c) Professional Men ... ..                          | 5.5     | 2.8      | 3.8      | 2.9      | 2.7     |
| (d) Working Officials, &c. ... ..                    | 6.5     | 7.2      | 5.9      | 5.8      | 6.0     |
| (e) Warehousemen ... ..                              | 8.9     | 5.8      | 6.7      | 9.0      | 6.7     |
| (f) Workmen ... ..                                   | 29.5    | 29.0     | 26.0     | 25.2     | 24.4    |
| (g) Not stated ... ..                                | 4.3     | 4.8      | 5.0      | 6.1      | 6.2     |
| (a), (b), (c) engaged in clerical occupations ... .. | 50.8    | 53.2     | 56.4     | 53.9     | 56.7    |
| (d), (e), (f) engaged in manual occupations ... ..   | 44.9    | 42.0     | 38.6     | 40.0     | 37.1    |

## (iv)

## MORLEY COLLEGE (1913-14).

No. of Students.

|                              |     |                                     |    |
|------------------------------|-----|-------------------------------------|----|
| Commerce and Business ... .. | 52  | Postal and Telegraph Workers ... .. | 32 |
| Clerks and Typists ... ..    | 436 | Civil Servants ... ..               | 33 |
| Shop Assistants ... ..       | 44  | Teachers ... ..                     | 12 |
| Manual Workers ... ..        | 231 | Miscellaneous ... ..                | 83 |

## (v)

## VAUGHAN MEMORIAL COLLEGE, LEICESTER (1913-14).

|                           |     |                             |     |
|---------------------------|-----|-----------------------------|-----|
| Total Men Students ... .. | 777 | Total Women Students ... .. | 730 |
| Manual Workers ... ..     | 433 | Manual Workers ... ..       | 558 |
| Clerical Workers ... ..   | 344 | Clerical Workers ... ..     | 172 |

## (vi)

## ST. MARY'S SETTLEMENT, YORK (1916-17).

| Class (i) Problems of Reconstruction.             | Class (ii) Literature.           | Class (iii) Summer course : Foundations of National Greatness. |
|---|----------------------------------|--|
| Women ... .. 8                                    | Women ... .. 46                  | Women ... .. 27  |
| At Home ... .. 1                                  | Teachers ... .. 19               | Married Women ... .. 7   |
| Social Department Staff of Cocoa Workers ... .. 2 | Married Women ... .. 7           | Museum attendant ... .. 1                                      |
| Teachers ... .. 2                                 | Clerks ... .. 9                  | Housekeepers ... .. 2  |
| Clerks ... .. 3                                   | Shop Assistants ... .. 6         | Teachers ... .. 13   |
|   | Boxmakers, Packers, &c. ... .. 5 | Chemist ... .. 1   |
| Men ... .. 22                                     |                                  | Clerks ... .. 3  |
| Cashier ... .. 1                                  | Men ... .. 14                    | Men ... .. 38  |
| Clerks ... .. 10                                  | Butcher ... .. 1                 | Clerks ... .. 13   |
| Trade Union Secretaries ... .. 3                  | Army Pay Clerks ... .. 2         | Tailors ... .. 3   |
| Mechanics ... .. 3                                | Other Clerks ... .. 4            | Commercial Travellers ... .. 3                                 |
| Builder's Foreman ... .. 1                        | Instructor in Army ... .. 1      | Railway Wagon Builders ... .. 2                                |
| Plasterer ... .. 1                                | Messenger ... .. 1               | Carpenters ... .. 2  |
| Plumber ... .. 1                                  | Sugar Boiler ... .. 1            | Minister of Religion ... .. 1                                  |
| Foreman, Cocoa Works ... .. 1                     | Painter ... .. 1                 | Labourer ... .. 1  |
| Unknown ... .. 1                                  | Carpenter ... .. 1               | Political Agent ... .. 1                                       |
|   | Hospital Attendant ... .. 1      | Shop Salesman ... .. 1   |
|   | Laundry Foreman ... .. 1         | Sugar Boiler ... .. 1  |
|   |                                  | Upholsterer ... .. 1   |
|   |                                  | Insurance Agent ... .. 1                                       |
|   |                                  | Painter ... .. 1   |
|   |                                  | Bricklayer ... .. 1  |
|   |                                  | Dyer ... .. 1  |
|   |                                  | Unknown ... .. 5   |

74. It will be seen from these figures that the majority of those engaged in the types of adult education represented above consist of manual workers of one kind or another. Owing to the fact that the Working Men's College, Morley College, and a considerable number of university tutorial classes are situated in London, the proportion of clerical workers is higher than it otherwise would have been. Similar figures for the attendants at university extension lectures are unfortunately not available. Our impression is that in the north of England they consist largely of the same type of students as those attending the tutorial classes, though with a larger intermixture of teachers and professional people, while in the south they are drawn to a much greater extent from among women of the middle classes.

75. A movement so widely spread, which flourishes in such different environments, and appeals to men and women so diverse in experience, in character, and in previous education, is not an artificial creation. It is the result of the gradual and only half-conscious emergence in the public mind of a new interpretation of the place of education in social life. Not only its extent, however, but its depth and earnestness require to be estimated before any judgment can be formed upon it. It is conceivable that such a movement may touch a broad surface, without ploughing deep, and that the interest in it may be easily aroused precisely because it is superficial.

76. A considerable part of the adult educational effort of to-day is still in a very early stage in its growth. Hitherto, as is natural in a comparatively young movement, more attention has been given to expansion than to concentration and to systematization. Its framework is elastic, and it is not often crystallized in institutions which can be relied on with confidence to weather a storm or survive a depression. Its intellectual level, which we discuss below, varies; some of its supporters take educational work seriously and would cling to it in the face of difficulties; others have been but lightly touched and would easily drop off. It is not homogeneous in quality: there are inner rings which give a fairly steady flame, and outer rings which flicker intermittently. Those who take an active part in it are likely to exaggerate the former, those who observe it from outside the latter.

77. It would be unwise, therefore, to estimate the educational work now carried on among adults by the enthusiasm of its pioneers or the persistence of those most deeply influenced by it. There is a large outer fringe who get something from it, but who are unwilling or unable to give more than a little to it in the way of solid work. The question is what relation that outer fringe bears to the core of serious interest and patient effort without which no movement can be expected to survive. We cannot answer that question with confidence. But the evidence which we have gathered leaves no doubt in our minds that such a core of genuine educational effort exists, that it is growing, and that it succeeds in attracting to itself an increasing number of those who began by being little more than interested spectators of the movement.

78. For one thing, we would point out that the organisation of facilities for adult education has in the main not preceded, but followed, the demand for it. There are some instances to the contrary; but, on the whole, the provision has been, and is being, made in response to the definite expression of a wish for education by different groups of students. There is no question of offering facilities for which there is no genuine desire, since only the desire causes the facilities to be offered. The supply does not exist in anticipation of the demand. The demand, usually after considerable effort, creates the supply, and, at present, as we have pointed out, greatly outruns it.



79. For another thing, the circumstances in which adult men and women carry on educational work are usually not such as to encourage a facile enthusiasm, which has no solid basis of conviction or purpose behind it. Again there are exceptions; in some districts extension lectures appeal, perhaps appeal unduly, to those who have no other occupation for their leisure; in all but the most carefully organised classes there are some students whose interest is feeble and attendance irregular; and, of course, there are the victims of the lecture-going habit who thrive upon isolated addresses. On the whole, however, it is precisely the more exacting forms of educational work which have made most progress in recent years, and it is precisely among the classes who are least likely to be tempted into dilettantism by superabundant leisure that the greatest progress has been made. Classes, whether university tutorial classes lasting for three years, or shorter classes, have grown recently much more rapidly than lectures, which make, as a rule, a smaller demand upon those attending them.

80. The vast majority of the supporters of adult education in its various forms, especially of those who have become supporters of it in the past decade, consists of working people, and working class students frequently—we should be inclined to say usually—carry on educational work amid difficulties which in themselves make persistence in it a proof of sincerity. An undergraduate has from three to four years of leisure in which to concentrate his mind upon his studies. The adult workman must pursue them in the interval between ceasing work and going to bed. When he has returned home from the factory or mine, he must get ready, often almost immediately, to go out again to attend a class which may be held at some distance from his home, and he is liable to see his scanty leisure reduced still further by overtime, or interrupted by a rearrangement of shifts. He must often do his reading and his paper work in a room which is already overcrowded. He has few opportunities of solitude, or even of quiet, except such as he makes for himself by rising early or going to bed late. Such conditions militate against the quality of his educational achievements. But when they are faced, they are an indication of the sincerity of his educational effort. For when study is not a substitute for the work of earning a livelihood, or a preparation for it, but an addition to it, when it is carried on amid the difficulties caused by scanty leisure and scanty houseroom, it is not persisted in except as the result of a genuine conviction of its value and a resolute determination to overcome the obstacles which impede it.

81. The criticism sometimes passed upon adult education, which represents it as almost invariably catering for the votaries of a passing curiosity or a facile enthusiasm, is, indeed, singularly remote from reality, and reveals not a little of the superficiality which it deplores. No doubt, as we have said, there are individual students and certain forms of educational endeavour to which it has some applicability. But as a general indictment of adult education, the phrase "cheap culture for the masses" is wide of the mark. The actual fact is that most students normally carry on their studies amid difficulties which are an automatic check on mere frivolity, and that, measured by the labour given to it, the education which they obtain is not cheap, but dear. That in such circumstances large numbers of men and women should attend classes continuously week by week during the winter months, sometimes for one year, sometimes for two or three, sometimes for five or six; that those who attend a class once should rarely drop out; that they should sometimes forego opportunities of increased earnings in order not to miss attendance; that they should read

systematically and do paperwork and take an active part in discussion; that they should give such leisure as remains from other duties to teaching their fellows, and should spend their holidays, as some of them do, in further educational work at summer schools; these things, still no doubt the exception, but an exception which becomes daily more common, seem to us evidence of a belief in education which most of those who have obtained it more easily would be reluctant, and many would be unable, to offer.

82. It is not only by the attitude of the students that the reality of the forces behind adult education must be judged. We would point out, in the third place, that it is a voluntary movement, and that it has both the defects and the merits of voluntarism. The defects are obvious; they are lack of system and continuity. The merits are initiative, energy and devotion to a cause, because without these qualities a movement which relies upon the conviction of its supporters, and is not propped by endowments, cannot survive. All continuous educational effort implies some continuous organisation to inspire, maintain and direct it. The progress of adult education, which is carried on predominately in classes and reading circles scattered throughout the country, and which has neither endowments, nor (if we except the small number of colleges for adult students) the machinery of corporate life, nor the support which comes from connection with a continuous and localised institution, depends, to an extent which can hardly be exaggerated, upon the willingness of those who believe in it to give the practical support which alone can make its continuance possible.

83. It is not merely, or chiefly, a question of money, though that aspect of the matter is not without its importance. Except in the case of university extension lectures, students who take advantage of facilities for adult education do not usually pay directly the full value of the education which they receive. Nor can they be expected to do so, since, like other forms of higher education, adult education cannot be self-supporting except at the cost of excluding the larger proportion of those who ought to benefit by it. At the Working Men's College in London the income from students' fees appears to amount to about £464 out of a total revenue of £2,580, at the Vaughan Memorial College in Leicester to £231 out of £1,190, at Morley College to £289 out of £1,738. The fee paid by a member of a tutorial class amounts, normally, to about 2s. 6d. per session of 24 meetings. On the other hand, they, or movements to which they belong, contribute indirectly a considerable sum. Thus, to give only a few examples, the Workers' Educational Association, which is responsible for organising the university tutorial classes and a large number of other classes, lectures and reading circles, is supported by the fees of the organisations affiliated to it, as well as by the contributions of individual members, and without the aid thus given to its work as a pioneer and an organiser its educational work could not come into existence. In addition to the sum, amounting probably to about £105,000, or 8s. 4d. per member, spent in 1913-14 on educational activities of one kind or another by individual co-operative societies, the Co-operative Union maintains at its headquarters in Manchester the nucleus of a centralised educational organisation, and contributes considerable sums to other educational movements. It has recently made a donation of £100 to the Workers' Educational Association and £20 to the Working Men's College, and it subscribes annually £20 to the former and it also subscribes to Ruskin College, in addition to contributions made by individual societies. Trade Unions contribute annually about £750 to Ruskin College. The Labour

College is financed by the National Union of Railwaymen and the South Wales Miners' Federation.

84. But, important as is the financial aspect of organisation, even more vital to the success of adult education is the personal effort which is devoted to maintaining and developing it. The intra-mural work of a university depends mainly upon the presence of a group of salaried teachers and officials. Their work is to keep educational machinery running smoothly for the benefit of those who desire to use it, not to induce students to use it who have not yet done so. The problem of extra-mural education is widely different. Each new class or course of lectures involves a new effort of propaganda and organisation. Before the educational work is started interest must be aroused by missionary work among all who are likely to be interested. Conferences must be held; correspondence must be conducted; personal efforts must be made to enlist the support of organisations and of individuals. When a class is in existence, its value and, indeed, its continuance depend largely upon the creation of a corporate spirit among its members, which will lead them to regard it seriously, to make it one of the first claims upon their time, and to persist in the face of difficulties and discouragement. Not only, in the case of a grant-earning class, must the simple work of official correspondence be conducted in a businesslike manner, but old students must be encouraged; new students must be found; backward students must be assisted; those whose interest seems likely to flag must be inspired. A social spirit must, in short, be created, which will unite the students by a feeling of mutual comradeship and loyalty. In the case of intra-mural education that spirit is partly supplied by long traditions and by close contact with the life of an institution. In the case of extra-mural education all the work of propaganda and organisation, which is not less vital to its full success than that of the teacher, must be performed, normally by busy men, in the intervals of their ordinary occupations. On the whole, it is performed successfully and with judgment as well as zeal. Nor is voluntary effort confined to the field of propaganda and organisation. At the present time, in several different parts of the country, there are classes which are conducted by men and women who are themselves taking part as students in one type or another of adult education, and who, in addition, give up one evening or more a week to bringing to their fellows the education which practical experience has taught them to value for themselves. There are types of education which continue even if the interest of the students be little more than a polite acquiescence in the efforts of their teachers. Adult education must develop through the determined efforts of the students themselves, or it will not develop at all. We think that the persistence and seriousness which it evokes are a proof that the interest in it is not merely superficial. It has many defects: some we have already touched upon, and of others we shall speak later. But the demand for it is undoubtedly widespread and growing, and, on the whole, is genuine. It produces solid and persevering work on the part of not, indeed, all, but a considerable proportion of those concerned with adult education, and not a mere irresponsible dilettantism.

### (III) THE RELATION OF ADULT EDUCATION TO OTHER MOVEMENTS AND ORGANISATIONS.

85. The growth of educational work among adult men and women is the more significant because of the relations which exist between such work and other educational and social developments. Adult education is not, as is sometimes suggested, an attempt to achieve by an educational

*tour de force* results which can be produced only by patient effort wisely directed from the years of childhood. Nor is its aim merely to compensate for the manifold imperfections of higher education by offering to adult men and women the educational opportunities which the deficiencies of our educational system, or their own economic circumstances, have prevented them from receiving in youth. It is, on the contrary, the natural outcome both of the wider diffusion of intellectual interests and of the simultaneous development of other movements which are not the less educative because the promotion of education is not their primary object. It is not a temporary makeshift or stop-gap, but a normal part of the educational provision of a democratic community. Though its intellectual level would be raised by the progress of other kinds of education, the need for it would remain even if full-time secondary and university education were, as in the Dominions, far more accessible to the mass of the population than they are at present in this country.

86. The connection of the growth of educational work among adults with the improvements which have taken place in the earlier stages of education and with a keener sensitiveness to the appeal of the intellect is too obvious to require more than a passing comment. In these respects the last generation has probably seen a greater change than the whole of the preceding century. Men and women who are now fifty years of age or over spent their childhood at a time when a national system of elementary education was painfully being brought into existence. Educational methods in the elementary schools, with certain shining exceptions, were usually crude and ill-conceived. Teachers were underpaid, ill-trained and overworked. Classes were too large to permit of serious education. Child-labour was rampant. Except in a few large cities continued education was almost non-existent. It was not till 1876 that attendance at an elementary school was made obligatory throughout the whole country; not till 1899 that the minimum age of leaving school was raised to 12; not till 1903 that some check was imposed upon the labour of school children out of school hours by the Employment of Children Act; not till 1907 that the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act laid the foundations of a school medical service. Many of these evils, the underpayment and overwork of teachers, the overcrowding of classes, juvenile labour and the neglect of adolescence, survive to-day. But they survive in a modified form; and the boy or girl who attended an elementary school from 1903 to 1911, and who is now in young manhood or womanhood, has passed his or her childhood amid influences more likely to stimulate a desire for further study than did the child of an earlier generation.

87. He steps, too, into a more stimulating world. For, after all, important as is the quality of the school, the school is only one among many influences which mould character and awaken intellectual interests. What determines the attitude of young men and women towards education is partly their previous experience of it; but it is even more their present environment, and if it is such as to stir the appetite for knowledge, its influence steals into their minds through countless invisible channels. That environment is more conducive to mental curiosity than it was. It is not only that education plays a far larger part in the life of the community than it did 30 years ago, that it is respected, if not yet loved, where previously it was derided, that a larger number of individuals come directly under its influence and are more deeply affected by it, and that evening schools and public secondary schools give boys and girls in increasing, though still in very small, numbers, a glimpse of the meaning of higher education. It is that the

intellectual atmosphere of the society into which children are born has changed. Thirty years ago the press was a power with Governments; to-day, for good or evil, it is a popular institution; and, if the Press does not increase knowledge, it at least increases the desire for it. The fathers of the present generation bought few books, for books were too expensive to allow of them buying many. To-day cheap books by living authors, and cheap editions of classical authors—on their present scale a development which is comparatively modern and which is significant of the appetite for reading—have made part, at least, of the world of literature and history and physical science accessible to all but the poorest. The first Public Libraries Act did not come into force until 1850; to-day there is a public library in every considerable town. The growing application of science to industry, and still more the tendency—another example of the same movement—to substitute some organization, whether good or bad, based on reasons which can be explained and criticized, for a rough and ready empiricism, has given thousands of men in the course of their daily work a demonstration of the power of thought to modify the practical arrangements of life. The establishment in the course of the last two generations of a public teaching profession, numbering well over a quarter of a million members, has ensured that most households are, directly or indirectly, in touch with some person whose main function is the dissemination of knowledge. The growth in the number of public secondary schools and the increase in the number of universities during the last quarter of a century have resulted in educational activities being diffused over a wider geographical area, instead of being concentrated, as thirty years ago was still the case, in a few centres which were little more than names to the mass of the population. If those who pass to them from the elementary schools are still an insignificant fraction of the elementary school population, their mere existence nevertheless influences opinion by reminding it of the world of thought.

88. The growth of movements which have as their aim the creation of a better social order is not less important than the progress of education itself. In some ways it is more important, for such movements create the background of aspiration and endeavour which is the foundation of more directly educational work, and suggest the questions for which men and women seek in study to find an answer. We discuss at a later point in this chapter the relation which exists between adult education and other popular movements; and we do not desire to anticipate here what is said below. But we think that the extent to which the demand for education has been stimulated by a growing realization of the inspiration and guidance which it can offer to a better social life can hardly be overestimated. That motive for seeking education has its dangers; what motive, indeed, has not? It may lead to sectarianism and one-sidedness, to a lack of detachment and an undue preoccupation with immediate practical issues, such as, for other reasons, have been the faults of some educational movements, both in the past and to-day. On the other hand, it widens the appeal of education by reinforcing the desire for knowledge with a social impulse. It is a matter for congratulation, and all in the tradition of education in this country, that changes in the structure of society and in social thought should be reflected in the sphere of educational effort. As we have already suggested in Chapter I of this Report, most new departures in education have, in the past, been the expression of some such social ferment. Education has been revived because men sought to re-interpret the world in which they lived, or to find a rational solution

for the problems of their practical life. Such experiments have often been crude and hasty; but their crudity has been softened by the lapse of time, while the impulse which they added has been permanent. In its connection of education with a keen social interest adult education is, therefore, quite in the spirit of earlier educational movements. As democracy has passed from a system of political machinery into a practical influence in the daily life of society, it has awakened a consciousness of new powers and new responsibilities. Men and women who a generation ago would have accepted without criticism the first opinion offered them, desire now to use their own minds and to form an independent judgment. They seek education because they believe that it will enable them to do so. They feel that without it they lack something of the dignity of human beings.

89. Adult education, then, has developed not *per saltum*, but as the natural concomitant of other educational and social developments. It is the native, and often struggling, growth of a fruitful soil, not a hot-house plant. Children leave school with faculties heightened by an improved system of elementary education. Though many are dulled by premature and excessive labour, many retain the germs of intellectual interests implanted in the schools, and in still more their interests expand when adolescence is over. Young men and women read, and criticize and discuss. They seek for something to appease their curiosity, to resolve their doubts, or to feed their aspirations. They communicate their interest to others. They meet to satisfy it by exchanging opinions or to seek light on the problems which press upon their minds. They find that one problem leads to another, and that simple issues are unintelligible without some knowledge of their background. From discussing practical questions of industry they turn to pure science. Surprise or indignation at social conditions leads them to social history, or political science, or economics. The convulsion of a European war turns their minds to European history, or geography, or foreign languages. Some poet has laid his spell upon them, and they wish to read more widely in English literature. As they achieve all that can be achieved by desultory reading and discussion many drop off. But some remain; and those who remain desire something more deliberate and systematic. The result is a reading circle, or a class, or a course of lectures. It is in fact the beginning of adult education. When the class further systematizes its work and voluntarily imposes upon itself certain conditions of study, when it decides that it has derived all the benefit it can from a course of lectures and determines to give some years to going more thoroughly into one subject, when it organizes itself so as to combine study with something of the social spirit of a college, when it puts itself in touch with the best sources of instruction in its locality and welcomes inspection to keep it at the level at which it has aimed, it turns the informal, though educative, discussion of a group of inquirers into a definite branch of educational effort.

90. Not all educational experiments, of course, pass through all these stages, and it is a question of some nicety, which we discuss later, to determine at what point it is desirable for public bodies to offer them assistance, if they desire to receive it. But the fact that vague intellectual interests are increasingly converted into a definite plan of study is made possible by the widespread existence of interests which are not. If the more conspicuous efforts sometimes reach a higher level than formerly, it is because the foundations of



previous education and intellectual alertness which support them are broader than before.

91. If it is asked at what objects the educational endeavours based on these foundations aim, we can only answer that their objects are as various as the individuals who pursue them. Both their strength and their weakness lie in their spontaneity, which may mean either enthusiasm or desultoriness. At worst they are vague and without direction: at best an inspiration both to student and teacher. But, while we recognize that any attempt to summarize so great a variety of effort under a few simple headings must do more or less than justice to the different motives with which men and women take up study, we think that the recent expansion of adult education in this country and in the Dominions is marked by certain characteristic notes which are too significant not to be mentioned.

92. In the first place, then, the primary motive of the students who take part in the educational movements described above is normally an interest in some department of knowledge for its own sake, or for the contribution which it may make to mental development and wise conduct, not for the sake of training for, or advancement in, a trade or profession. To this statement there are, no doubt, certain exceptions. The evening classes of Local Education Authorities are mainly concerned with technical subjects, though an increasing number include subjects which are not; and some of those which, from one point of view, may be described as partly technical (for example, modern languages) are studied by students who have no professional interest in them. The same is true of some part of the work of the London Working Men's College, which is attended by students who desire to learn shorthand or accountancy or modern languages for business reasons, as well as of much of the educational work of the Co-operative Movement. Nor, again, is it possible to draw a rigid division between education which is professional or technical, and education which—to use the conventional antithesis—is liberal or humane. The most severely technical of subjects is capable of being treated in a humanistic spirit, so as to give a broad and liberalizing significance to the work for which it is a preparation; and if a humanistic education is successful, it ought to make the student more competent to deal with all the problems which confront him, including those of his own profession.

93. That it is the humanistic motive which has had most influence in recent development of adult education is shown by the subjects most commonly chosen by the student. Except in the classes conducted by Local Education Authorities, they are usually of a non-utilitarian character. Some of them, no doubt, are sometimes studied for objects which are, at least, partly utilitarian. But this is the exception, and the characteristic note of those developments in adult education which have progressed most rapidly in recent years is their concentration upon subjects such as history, literature, natural science, sociology or economics, which are usually called humane. This is true of university extension lectures, of university tutorial classes and other classes organized by voluntary effort, and of residential institutions, such as Ruskin College, the Labour College, and Fircroft. The subjects studied in some typical courses of lectures and classes in the Winter 1913-14, are set out in detail in the following table. The classification of subjects is only appropriate.

## UNIVERSITY TUTORIAL CLASSES.

1913-14.

The following particulars cover all the University Tutorial Classes in the Country.

| Social History<br>and Economics. | Modern<br>History. | Literature. | Political Science. | Economic<br>Geography. |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|-------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| 74                               | 22                 | 17          | 10                 | 1                      |

| Philosophy<br>or Psychology. | Sociology and Social<br>Science. | Biology. |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------|
| 8                            | 11                               | 2        |

## UNIVERSITY EXTENSION COURSES.

1913-14.

No. of Courses.

|  | Cambridge. | London. | Oxford. |
|--|------------|---------|---------|
| Literature ... ..                      | 15         | 24      | 36      |
| History ... ..                         | 28         | 24      | 35      |
| Political Science and Economics ... .. | 10         | 19      | 13      |
| Art and Archæology ... ..              | 14         | 24      | 24      |
| Natural Science ... ..                 | 15         | 4       | 9       |
| Music ... ..                           | —          | —       | 8       |
| Education and Philosophy ... ..        | —          | 7       | —       |

## ONE-YEAR CLASSES IN MIDLAND DISTRICT OF W.E.A.

(NOTE : These figures refer to 1918-19.)

| Economic<br>and Social<br>History. | Modern<br>History. | Lan-<br>guages. | Litera-<br>ture. | Political<br>Theory or<br>Science. | Art. | Recon-<br>struction. | Music. |
|------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------------------------|------|----------------------|--------|
| 2                                  | 1                  | 1               | 3                | 2                                  | 1    | 2                    | 1      |

## ONE-YEAR CLASSES IN YORKSHIRE DISTRICT OF W.E.A.

(NOTE : These figures refer to 1918-19.)

| Economic<br>and Social<br>History. | Modern<br>History. | Econo-<br>mics. | Political<br>Theory or<br>Science. | Litera-<br>ture. | Langua-<br>ges. | Music. | Recon-<br>struction. | Maternity<br>and Child<br>welfare. |
|------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|------------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|--------|----------------------|------------------------------------|
| 7                                  | 2                  | 1               | 3                                  | 6                | 7               | 2      | 1                    | 1                                  |

### RUSKIN COLLEGE. (1913-14.)

#### A. *First Year's Course.*

1. Industrial History.
2. Elementary Economics.
3. The History of British Political Institutions.
4. The History and Practice of Co-operation.
5. Co-operative Book-keeping.
6. The History and Practice of Trade Unionism ; and
7. Trade Union Law.
8. English Language and Literature. (Optional for second-year students.)

#### B. *Second Year's Course.*

1. Social and Industrial History of the 18th and 19th Centuries.
2. Advanced Economics.
3. Theory and Practice of the Constitution.
4. Local Government.

(With special courses arranged according to the requirements of individual students.)

#### C. *Optional Courses.*

1. The History and Theory of Socialism.
2. Current Social and Political Questions.
3. Class in Public Speaking.
4. Book-keeping, with special reference to Trade Union Requirements.
5. Classes in French and German.

### THE WORKING MEN'S COLLEGE. (1912-13.)

|               | <i>Lower Division.</i><br>(Arithmetic, English Grammar, Outlines of English History, Geography.) | <i>Higher Division.</i><br>(Science, English Classics, Modern Languages, Mathematics, Natural and Applied Science, Art, Music.) | <i>Special Division.</i><br>(Shorthand, Book-keeping, etc., Ambulance work, Gymnastics.) |
|---------------|--|---|--|
| Class Entries | 412  | 2885  | 642  |

94. The figures given above show that in some of the most important branches of adult education the subjects studied are almost entirely of a non-utilitarian character, and that among these the sciences dealing with society, in one aspect or another, usually predominate. We have not been able to obtain similar figures for other departments of adult education, but our impression is that they would yield much the same result. Sometimes, indeed, the type of subject chosen by the students is influenced by that which is offered. The university extension departments, for example, circulate lists of lectures and subjects, from which the local centres select that which they prefer. Nor must it be supposed that the fact that humane studies figure so exclusively in the work summarized above implies a similar predominance over the whole field of adult education. They are prominent in the work of the organizations represented in these figures because those organizations have deliberately left technical and professional education to be provided by the Local Education Authorities. But the fact that the considerable body of voluntary educational effort finds itself more than fully occupied in meeting the demand for "liberal" education is a proof that such education meets a widespread demand, and when the initiative in deciding the subject of study rests entirely with the students, it is that type of education which they almost invariably ask shall be provided. The same statement is true of the movement for the diffusion of adult education in the Dominions. Of the tutorial classes conducted in Australia, New Zealand and Tasmania in the year 1917-18, eight studied English literature, five natural science (biology and the theory of electricity), four

psychology, two sociology, and most of the remaining fifty some aspect of history and economics. Broadly speaking, therefore, voluntary work in adult education is concerned with making the humane subjects, which have hitherto been the special study of the universities, accessible to students who have not received an intra-mural university education.

95. The interests which lead men to seek a general education of this kind are various, and it would be pedantic to attempt to analyse into specific motives what is, after all, a natural impulse which needs no explanation. Those who take up study include a certain number of born scholars or investigators whose true vocation, if their previous opportunities had enabled them to realize it, is some branch of literary or scientific work. There is the man who in his leisure has used local records to trace the history and growth of his own village or town, and who finds in history the satisfaction of an appetite already strong within him. There is the man who turns to biology because, as an amateur naturalist, he has done elementary biological work. There is the mathematician with a natural taste for statistical inquiries, or the man with a strong feeling for some kind of art. Such cases are commoner than is usually supposed: there is a wealth of capacity which, owing to the inaccessibility of higher education, finds little expression in youth, and which turns eagerly to the opportunity of cultivation offered by classes for adults. But they are, of course, the exception. A strong and conscious inclination for some particular field of intellectual work is not much more common among adult students than it is in any other miscellaneous group of people in this country. The majority consists of men and women who seek education for the increased happiness which the exercise of mental powers brings with it, or for the light which knowledge may throw upon the problems of their daily life. Most of them do not form any clear forecast of the kind of benefit which they will get from study. They begin it usually with some diffidence, influenced by the example of friends who have already undertaken it; their purpose becomes clearer as they proceed; and it is only after the lapse of time that they are able to say what they have gained.

96. While, however, there is great diversity of aim among adult students, the movement as a whole is strongly influenced by certain predominant interests, which do not exclude others, but which nevertheless supply a permanent driving force and bond of cohesion. It is not only, as we have already stated, principally concerned with humane or liberal education. It is also the expression of the belief that a wider diffusion of knowledge will be a power working for the progress of society, and the ideal which it places before its students and members is less individual success or even personal culture than personal culture as a means to social improvement. This is not equally true of all parts of the movement or of all concerned in it. Nor must it be taken to imply that the intellectual candour and detachment which are the conditions of genuine study are sacrificed to dogmatic teaching which confirms prejudices instead of removing them, though that fault, no doubt, is occasionally found in certain types of adult education, as in other departments of educational activity. What it means is that emphasis is laid upon social service rather than upon individual self-advancement, and that students both tend, and are encouraged, rather to consider the aid which education may offer to raising the general level of society, than to seek through education opportunities of securing higher payment or greater comfort, or even a wider culture for themselves. A wider culture and a more interesting, because a more intelligent, life, cannot fail, indeed, to come to them. But if they were asked what makes it worth while to study continuously in the face of the difficulties of which we have spoken, to

seek humane education, which cannot add to their wage-earning capacity, rather than technical instruction which can, to labour to arouse interest in it among their fellows, and to support movements which have the promotion of such education as their primary object, the majority of them would probably answer that the object of adult education is not merely to heighten the intellectual powers of individual students, but to lay the foundations of more intelligent citizenship and of a better social order.

97. This conception of education, which regards it as designed primarily to contribute to good citizenship by preparing men for the exercise of public spirit in their social relations, is, of course, no novelty. It is in accordance with the better side of the traditions of the older universities, which have aimed at qualifying men for the service of Church and State, even more than at scholarship, and it will command, we think, general sympathy. As our historical survey of the movement has shown, it has suggested some of the most important efforts to promote adult education in the past, such as the educational work of the Co-operative Movement and the Working Men's Colleges. In more recent times its influence is shown partly by the foundation of particular institutions, which have as their primary object to give men the intellectual discipline and background of knowledge needed to qualify them for the service of their fellows in public life, and still more, perhaps, by the subjects which are selected for study, and by the general spirit of the movement towards the diffusion of adult education in the last ten or fifteen years. Thus, Ruskin College was established primarily to offer "a training in subjects which are essential for working-class leadership, but which are not a direct avenue to anything beyond," and is supported mainly by trade unions, with the object of offering a good general education to men who may become trade union officials. The Labour College is now maintained by the National Union of Railwaymen and by the South Wales Miners' Federation with much the same purpose. The Workers' Union suggested to the authorities of Ruskin College a summer school for trade union officials and others, which was held in Oxford in 1918 and 1919. The Hughes and Neale Scholarships at Oriel College were founded by the Co-operative Movement in the hope that they would result in preparing men for service in it. Woodbrooke Settlement, established "for religious and social study," Swarthmore Settlement, "designed for the equipment of men and women desiring to engage in religious and social work," and Fircroft are examples of a similar attempt to express a social ideal in an educational institution.

98. In these cases the social motive has been explicit; students are not bound, of course, to any particular career, nor is their education specialized to prepare them for it. But it has been thought worth while to offer them a general education principally on the ground that by so doing the result would probably be to produce a certain number of men who would be qualified to play an intelligent part in different types of public activity. Usually, however, the influence of the social ideal is less direct. As in the case of the older universities, where the relation of education to public service is felt as an educative force which colours the institution, without being pressed upon the attention of individual students, so in the case of some other forms of adult education, the social reference supplies a background, and the individual student appropriates from it as much or as little as he may feel to suit his own particular case. It is this social background which causes in part the predominance among the curricula followed by adult students of subjects like history, political science, or economics, relating to the

growth or working of social institutions or of international relations. A considerable number of the students in some of the university tutorial classes and other classes, as the figures printed below suggest, are directly engaged in some department or another of public activity. A much larger number, without seeking to hold official positions or to do public work, are interested in study primarily because they wish to understand the history and significance of the social environment in which they find themselves placed. The effect of the war has naturally been to give an impetus to political and social studies. Men desire to grasp the remoter causes of the consequences which afflict them, and to learn if they are removeable. They turn to European history or political science, because the subjects with which these studies deal seem no longer distant, but part of their own lives.

99. No complete record of the voluntary work of adult students has ever been made. The only evidence on this point which we can offer relates to students in university tutorial classes, and only to a small proportion of these. At the end of the session 1917-18 each of the Oxford classes was asked to make a return showing the public work engaged in by the students in connection with Trade Union Branches, Co-operative Societies, Trades and Labour Councils, Adult Schools, and including membership of Local Governing Bodies, and voluntary teaching work. From this return, particulars of which are set out below, it will be seen that of the 303 students who attended the Oxford classes in 1917-18, 195, or 64 per cent., were engaged in some form of public work, and that in many cases the individual student was engaged in several forms of public activity at one and the same time:—

|                             | 1                                    | 2   | 3  | 4                        | 5                              | 6   | 7                        | 8                      | 9   |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|--|--------------------------|--------------------------------|---|--------------------------|------------------------|---|
| —                           | Active<br>Trade<br>Union<br>Members. | Trade<br>Union<br>Officials<br>included<br>in col. 1. | Members<br>of Trades<br>and<br>Labour<br>Councils. | Adult<br>School<br>Work. | Co-op.<br>Society<br>Officers. | Members<br>of Local<br>Governing<br>Bodies. | Other<br>Public<br>Work. | Voluntary<br>Teaching. | No. of<br>Individual<br>Students<br>engaged in<br>Public<br>Work. |
| <b>TUTORIAL CLASSES.</b>    |                                      |   |  |                          |                                |   |                          |                        |   |
| Bournemouth...              | 9                                    | 3   | —  | 6                        | 3                              | —   | 4                        | 2                      | 14  |
| Burslem ...                 | 13                                   | 3   | 1  | —                        | —                              | —   | 2                        | 3                      | 13  |
| Chesterfield ...            | 11                                   | 5   | 2  | 7                        | 10                             | 4   | 2                        | 2                      | 16  |
| Huddersfield ...            | 12                                   | 3   | 2  | 2                        | —                              | —   | 5                        | 2                      | 8   |
| Kettering ...               | 13                                   | 1   | 2  | 2                        | 1                              | —   | 3                        | 1                      | 14  |
| Leeds ...                   | 13                                   | 4   | 5  | 4                        | 2                              | 1   | 1                        | 1                      | 19  |
| Lincoln ...                 | 15                                   | 5   | 1  | 1                        | 2                              | —   | 2                        | —                      | 9   |
| Longton ...                 | 12                                   | 3   | 2  | —                        | —                              | 1   | 4                        | 4                      | 14  |
| North Wingfield             | 27                                   | 12  | 1  | 7                        | 1                              | 1   | 6                        | 1                      | 29  |
| Stoke ...                   | 6                                    | —   | —  | 1                        | 1                              | —   | —                        | 3                      | 6   |
| Tunstall ...                | 12                                   | 5   | 2  | —                        | 1                              | 1   | 9                        | 4                      | 15  |
| <b>PRELIMINARY CLASSES.</b> |                                      |   |  |                          |                                |   |                          |                        |   |
| Kettering ...               | 6                                    | 4   | 1  | 6                        | 1                              | 2   | 6                        | 2                      | 10  |
| Hull ...                    | 10                                   | 4   | (return incomplete).                               | —                        | —                              | —   | —                        | —                      | 4   |
| Luton ...                   | 13                                   | —   | 6  | 2                        | 2                              | 1   | —                        | 1                      | 15  |
| Maidstone ...               | 8                                    | 1   | 1  | —                        | 1                              | —   | 10                       | —                      | 9   |
|                             | 180                                  | 53  | 26   | 38                       | 25                             | 11  | 54                       | 26                     | 195   |

The following particulars, relating to four other tutorial classes, which happen to be available, are probably not unrepresentative. (Class A served two industrial villages with a joint population of 18,000; Class B was recruited mainly from an Adult School Sub-Union in London;



Classes C and D were organized by W.E.A. branches in county boroughs:—

|  | A. | B. | C. | D. |
|--|----|----|----|----|
| Trade Union Officials... ..                                      | 3  | 1  | 7  | 5  |
| Trades Council Officials ... ..                                  | 3  | —  | 1  | 1  |
| Officials of Political Associations ... ..                       | 2  | 2  | 1  | 2  |
| Voluntary Educational Work ... ..                                | 5  | 2  | 5  | 3  |
| Friendly, Society Officials ... ..                               | 1  | 1  | 1  | 3  |
| Directors and Committee Members of Co-operative Societies ... .. | 2  | 1  | 2  | 1  |
| Teachers or Officials in Adult Schools or Sunday Schools ... ..  | 7  | 5  | 5  | 3  |
| Local Preachers ... ..   | 1  | 1  | 1  | —  |

In illustration of the same point it may be mentioned that the tutor of the above classes had among his present and past students 12 city and borough councillors.

100. Most motives of education are liable to perversion. Technical training is necessary and beneficial: but, unwisely directed, it may sometimes result in a sordid materialism, as an interest in general culture may minister to mere dilettantism, or to a temper of sterile criticism. The social interest which is one of the forces behind adult education has its own dangers. It may lead teachers to present their subjects in a one-sided manner, or students to find in study the opinions which they bring to it. On the other hand these are dangers which are not peculiar to adult education, and which can be avoided, and, on the whole, we think, are avoided, by most of the experiments which have come before us. In itself the desire to use education to strengthen and inform the civic spirit is a worthy one. That men and women should be conscious that they require knowledge to form an enlightened opinion upon public issues is at once evidence of mental receptiveness and the best guarantee of sanity in public life. It will be agreed, we think, that it would be beneficial if that temper were more widely diffused among all classes, and that efforts which promote it deserve encouragement.

101. It is natural that a movement which is partly social in motive should also be marked by a social spirit in its methods and organization. The third feature which has struck us in our survey of adult education is the degree to which its progress depends upon the existence or creation of a habit of co-operation in study and of a temper of corporate loyalty to the class or other institution which is the vehicle of education. There are, of course, exceptions. There are solitary students who carry on work in isolation, or with such encouragement as can be derived from correspondence with a distant teacher. There are numerous courses of lectures which are valuable in stimulating interest, but which are of too short duration, or attended by too miscellaneous an audience, to permit the growth of a corporate spirit. On the whole, however, it would, we think, be true to say that the vitality of the educational movements which we have described depends to a considerable extent upon their fostering a social temper among their members and students.

102. The creation of this temper is, indeed, not the least educative part of the work which such movements perform. It would probably be agreed that the English educational tradition has always emphasized—sometimes, perhaps, over-emphasized—the value of the imponderable influences which spring from association in study, and has regarded the discipline of a common intellectual enterprise as a not less valuable part of education than the acquisition of knowledge. That conception of education as a co-operative endeavour rather than as the solitary

venture of the isolated student finds expression both in the organization of most types of adult education, and in the educational methods which are generally adopted by them. It has obviously inspired the foundation of the Working Men's College in London and of the few residential colleges, like Ruskin College, the Labour College, Woodbrooke Settlement and Fircroft, all of which aim, in different ways, not merely at imparting instruction, but at giving students the benefit of life in an institution with a tradition and atmosphere of its own. The progress of the Summer School movement, again, is due, in great measure, to the opportunity which it offers students of the informal education which comes from sharing in common life. They learn, most, perhaps, when they are least conscious of learning, and not the least valuable element in their comparatively short period of residence is the contact of student with student, and of student with teacher, when the hours of formal study are over.

103. The importance of the part which is played in adult education by the social ideal of which we have just spoken has, as one of its consequences, that it is only in an atmosphere of considerable freedom that adult education flourishes. As our survey shows, there is a wide variation in the degree to which voluntary educational effort makes use of official machinery. At one end there is the group or reading circle which has no connection with any public body: at the other there are classes which are inspected and paid grants by the Board of Education, which are partly supported out of money paid by the Universities, and which are sometimes assisted by Local Education Authorities. This multiplicity of arrangements is characteristic: it represents different stages in the realisation of a common ideal. The fourth fact with which our survey has impressed us is the dependence of adult education upon a very wide scope for initiative and organisation being left both to the students themselves, and to the voluntary bodies which have hitherto done most to promote it.

104. To say this is not, of course, to ignore the encouragement which has been given to certain types of adult education, both by the Board of Education and by Local Education Authorities. Their assistance has been invaluable, and, as we indicate in later chapters of this Report, we hope that it will be even more widely extended in the future. But it has been effective because it has co-operated with voluntary organisations without superseding them. In the case of adults, as we have pointed out, the impetus to study frequently comes from their previous association with some movement or organisation which has awakened their curiosity and their sympathies. An adult school has appealed to their ethical feelings; the co-operative movement has stimulated their consciousness of citizenship; trade unionism has given them a sense of solidarity and opened a vista of social relations extending beyond the range of their individual lives. If they are to feel at home in their studies, and to become active members of an educational body, not mere listeners at a lecture, they must be free to create in it the atmosphere, the moral tone, the spirit which appeals to them, and to mould it in accordance with their own needs and ideals. Every serious student of education knows how greatly the vitality of an educational institution, such as a school or a university, depends upon its being expressive of some characteristic note, which differentiates it from institutions that in other respects are similar to it, and how, if that note is suppressed, what was formerly a living organism becomes a piece of dead machinery. The preservation of that characteristic note is not incompatible, indeed, with external assistance and criticism, which, on other grounds, are eminently desirable.

But it is incompatible with any interference, however well-intentioned, which saps initiative and removes responsibilities. When what is being considered is the educational efforts of grown-up men and women, whose attitude to life is, provisionally at least, defined, it is particularly necessary to avoid the danger of over-systematization.

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### CHAPTER III.

## STANDARDS AND METHODS IN ADULT EDUCATION.

### I. INTRODUCTORY.

105. No one who weighs the evidence summarised in our preceding chapter will doubt, we think, that there exists a genuine and widespread demand for higher education among adult men and women. But the existence of a demand for education is one thing; the ability and the will to carry on work of genuine educational value are another. Lectures and classes may appeal to a passing curiosity without stimulating a desire for serious and persistent work. Lack of leisure and of previous education may prevent the most enthusiastic from being able to do more than touch the fringe of the subject which he may desire to study. Students may assimilate lectures and text-books, but they may fail to obtain any real insight into the background which lies behind them or into the methods by which knowledge is obtained. They may acquire information without being trained to estimate its value, or to discriminate between what is possible but improbable, what is probable but unproved, and what is certain. Persistent and laborious study may be carried on. But the pre-occupation of students with the particular questions and subjects or aspects of the truth which specially appeal to them may militate against the temper of detachment, of patient enquiry, of willingness to pursue an argument to unexpected or unwelcome conclusions, in the absence of which the atmosphere of their work is likely to be propagandist rather than educational. It would, indeed, be pedantic to decry studies which suffer from these shortcomings. Study is the corrective of its own faults; the imperfections of one stage are the foundation for the progress of the next; and, as we shall point out later, there is a constant tendency both for advanced work to lead to the formation of classes of an elementary character, and for such classes to provide, in turn, an increased number of students who are willing to undertake more advanced work. But such progress itself depends upon the maintenance of standards of achievement which offers a goal towards which educational effort can be directed. It is important, therefore, to form an idea of the intellectual standard which adult education may be expected to attain, of some of the educational lessons to be drawn from the experience hitherto obtained, and of the principal weaknesses to which the efforts of those interested in the progress of adult education should be directed.

106. To the question, "What are the intellectual standards attained in adult education?" no single answer can be given. The forms which it has assumed are various. University Tutorial Classes, Residential Colleges, University Extension Lectures, one-year classes and reading circles are related to each other as the result of a widespread desire for education among adults, and they assist each other as different methods towards its attainment. But the difference between them is so great as to preclude any generalization which would apply equally to all. In

order to reach conclusions of any value as to the educational quality of the work carried on in them, it is necessary to examine each of them in some detail.

## II. UNIVERSITY TUTORIAL CLASSES.

107. The organisation and methods of the University Tutorial Classes are described in Appendix I.<sup>1</sup>

With comparatively few exceptions (many, if not most, of which are explicable by special difficulties, such as illness and overtime), the students in tutorial classes have fulfilled their engagements as to attendance and paper work. But this does not in itself throw light on the standard attained. It proves persistence and continuity of study, but does not reveal the intellectual level which is reached by the students in the course of their work. The enquirer will naturally ask, "Granted that the classes are regularly attended, and that a considerable amount of reading and paper work is carried out by the students, what standard is, in fact, attained? Is the work done in the university tutorial classes similar in conception and method to that done by intra-mural university students? If it is not, in what does the difference consist?"

108. The estimation of standards is notoriously difficult, and we do not pretend to be able to answer these questions with precision. A comparison between the work of extra-mural students and intra-mural students is valuable as a reminder that there are intellectual habits and qualities which both can and ought to cultivate a temper and mental attitude that are, in the better sense of the word, academic. But it must be used with caution, not because the work of extra-mural students is necessarily inferior, but because the different circumstances in which it is carried on exposes it to different difficulties, and results in both some of its defects and some of its virtues being different from those of the intra-mural student. The range of studies is not the same, since social studies in a broad sense, including history, political science and economics, occupy a much larger place in tutorial classes than in other university work. The tutorial class student has normally had no full-time secondary education; the undergraduate has had no experience of industry and politics. The former wants knowledge; the latter may want knowledge, but this is not his immediate object. The quality of the work done in tutorial classes varies with the quality of the tutor and the time that he can give to each class, with the care with which the class was organised, the number of books easily available, and the presence or absence of disturbing factors, such as overtime and unemployment. The intra-mural student has his distractions, but they are usually of another kind. The students attending the classes differ more widely from each other in age, in their previous education, and in the opportunities which they have had of learning to express themselves with facility upon paper than is the case with undergraduates. In most classes there are one or two students who, while they derive great benefit from attendance, and make by their influence and personality a valuable contribution, have not had the practice needed to enable them to present their views in any finished literary form. In most classes, again, there are one or two students whose ability would make them conspicuous in any society. Between these extremes lie the great majority of students, who develop greatly, as the class proceeds, in power of reflection, in intellectual detachment and in ability to express themselves with clearness and precision, and who end by attaining a relatively high standard of knowledge and critical power with regard to the particular subject which they are studying. Nothing, indeed, is more striking than the progress which adult students make when once

they have settled down to a course of work which interests them. Those who were deterred from joining a class because they felt diffident of their ability to do paper work, have often, after a few months, surprised both themselves and their tutor by the excellence of their essays. In the earlier two or three years of attendance at a class what economists call "the law of increasing returns" is apt, in the case of adults, to be conspicuously in operation. For since they left school and ceased their formal education their interests and experience have increased, while their power to give a lucid and logical expression to their ideas has had little practice. When, therefore, that power revives with exercise, their work improves with a rapidity which is unusual in the case of a student who has given his full time to education from his early years up to entering a university. Hence, judgments of the quality of tutorial class work, based upon the essays of students and discussions in classes which are in their first year, are apt to be misleading. The level attained in the third year is often considerably more than three times as high as that attained in the first year. But it is only too true, of course, that part of the time in the opening session of a tutorial class is given to overcoming difficulties which should have been conquered in youth, and that the achievements of those who come relatively uneducated out of the critical period of adolescence is a measure of the tragic waste of ability which has been involved in the cessation of all education, so far as three-quarters of the population are concerned, between 14 and 18. Even the modest measure of continued education offered by the recent Education Acts will immensely increase the number of students in adult classes of all kinds.

109. If, then, it is asked whether the university tutorial classes are doing work of a university standard, or rather—since the standards of work done in a university, ranging from that of a passman to that of the scholar, are so various as to make such a phrase almost meaningless—to what kind of academic standard does the work done in university tutorial classes approximate, we think that a formal comparison is less likely to be illuminating than an account of the manner in which the classes are at present conducted.<sup>1</sup> The educational quality of an

<sup>1</sup> The following is a description by a university man of his visit to a tutorial class:—

"Some 25 men and women are gathered there, of various ages and trades, but predominantly of the working-class. They have come together . . . for a University Tutorial Class in Philosophy, which meets from 8 to 10. But they have come early; for it is not merely a class, but a club and a college; several of them are anxious, too, to have a private word with the tutor. The tutor is an Oxford graduate with a good honours degree in his subject, but . . . he has learnt most of his philosophy in his discussion with working people. For, of the two hours of a tutorial class, the first only is used for exposition; the second is sacred to discussion. So that a class consists, as has been said, not of 25 students and a tutor, but of 26 students who learn together. There is also a library in the room of some fifty or sixty volumes bearing on the one subject; at least, the box is there, but the books are almost all in use, so that only the list of volumes is available for inspection. But the class, which is a democratic organism, has its own elected librarian and secretary, and from him he (the visitor) can learn all he wants to know. He will find that the books are not only diligently read, but form a basis for essays, which are a regular part of the class work. He will discover how various and vexatious are the obstacles that industrial life sets in the way of this new type of university student—the ravages of overtime, the anxieties of unemployment, the suspicions of foremen and managers, the difficulties of obtaining quiet for reading and writing. He will hear of one student, nearly blind, who came regularly to the class and made pathetic attempts to do his paper work in large letters on a sheet of wallpaper; of another who found it quietest to go early to bed and rise again after midnight for an hour or two of study; of another who, joining a class at 69, attended regularly for six years until the very week of his death. And in the discussion, if he stays for it, he will hear the old problems of Philosophy, first raised in Plato (who is still used as a text-book), thrashed out anew from the living experience of grown men and women." ["Education and the Working Class."—*The Round Table*, March, 1914.]

institution may be judged in three ways, by the personnel and qualifications of the teachers, by the spirit and methods with which the work is carried on, and by the actual attainments of the students when the course is completed. Almost all the tutors engaged in teaching tutorial classes, with the exception of those in one area, London, the special circumstances of which make it possible to draw upon teachers who possess the necessary attainments, outside the staff of the University of London, are occupied at the same time in intra-mural university work. They differ, of course, in standing and attainments. But they are drawn predominantly from the younger men and women engaged in university teaching, and the fact that some of them have been promoted to professorships since the movement was established indicates that they possess the qualifications thought necessary for the higher academic positions. They conduct tutorial classes as a normal part of the work for which they hold appointments at the different universities, and there is no reason to suppose that the work which they do in the evenings with extra-mural students is less careful or conscientious than that which they do with intra-mural students in the day. Broadly speaking, therefore, the universities have supplied the best guarantee for the maintenance of the academic standards in tutorial classes which they are able to offer by providing as tutors men who, they are satisfied, are fit to undertake academic work of other kinds.

110. In judging the spirit of the classes and the attainments of the students, due regard must be given, as we have already pointed out, to the difference existing between different classes. Not all classes reach the same level, and a considerably higher standard is to be expected in the third year than in the first year of a course. But when allowance has been made for the variations of standard which are inevitable when 150 classes, containing between 3,000 and 4,000 students, are under consideration, it seems true, on the whole, to say that the temper of the students is that which it is the aim of a university to develop. Without presuming to define what is meant by "university standards," it is, perhaps, true to say that the essence of the best academic spirit is a willingness to face facts, to discard cherished theories when fuller evidence no longer makes them tenable, to suspend judgment upon matters upon which certainty is unobtainable, to welcome criticisms and to hear difference of opinion with tolerance. Few of the undergraduates who have spent three years in a university are scholars, and fewer still, of course, are qualified to make any addition to knowledge themselves. But, in so far as they have taken advantage of their opportunities, they ought to have acquired a standard of thoroughness, to have become accustomed to reading books in a spirit of inquiry and criticism, not of mere acquiescence, and to have obtained some idea of the foundations upon which knowledge reposes and of the methods by which it is advanced. They ought to be able to weigh evidence, to follow and criticise an argument, to put their own value upon authorities, and to prefer sober truth to pretentious superficiality.

111. The tutorial classes contain a certain number of men and women with the natural aptitudes of the scholar, who would be qualified, given leisure and opportunity, to advance knowledge. Some of them, indeed, have already done so. But the majority of their members, like the majority of undergraduates in universities, seek education to broaden their minds for the practical business of life, and the success of the classes must be estimated primarily by their ability to develop the qualities of intellect and character of which we have spoken. Judged by that standard, they have on the whole, we think, reached a high



level. The impression derived by the inquirer who visits them is that they are businesslike bodies, the members of which are too eager for knowledge to spend time in listening to or indulging in rhetoric. The quality of the lectures, as of intra-mural lectures, naturally varies. Probably none are so good as those of the best intra-mural teachers, and none so bad as those of the worst. The method of study, one hour's lecture followed by one hour's questions and discussion, is well calculated to stimulate reflection, to make the students fellow-teachers rather than an acquiescent audience engaged in filling note-books, and to correct one point of view by another. The hour's discussion is, indeed, one of the most important features in the system. Mere lecturing is at once too difficult and too easy. It enables both teacher and student to glide over difficulties, and is liable to create a sense of false security. Accompanied or followed by questions and discussion, a lecture can be submitted to a searching examination, while the fact that it has introduced a definite subject to the class prevents discussion from becoming desultory or rambling.

112. Not less important, the hour's discussion ensures that one point of view is supplemented by another. Dogmatism does not easily survive question, answer and argument continued at weekly intervals for several months, and students learn tolerance by being obliged to practise it. Debate is frequently animated, as is inevitable when serious men are discussing problems of fundamental and permanent interests, and a visitor might think that one point of view or another was unduly emphasised. But he would usually be mistaken. For since the classes continue for three years, all arguments have their turn; theory is corrected by theory, and fact by fact; and the conclusions of one evening are supplemented by the qualifications of the next. Such a method, when successfully practised, has the merit of dragging different views to light and submitting them to criticism. It makes the students active partners in the work of instruction instead of a passive audience. And it is the best security against any one-sidedness of presentation. We do not think there is any substantial foundation for the suggestion that the educational quality of the classes suffers though the over-representation in them of any particular school of thought. It is true, of course, that those who take a keen interest in any particular group of questions are most likely to be led by that interest into continuous study of them. That is inevitable; and it is a matter, not for criticism, but for congratulation. But the classes are open to students of any opinions, or of none at all. The points of view represented are various, and there is ample opportunity for the free expression of all of them. Nor, indeed, is there any disposition among the students, whatever their opinions, to make the classes a sounding board for any particular body or doctrine. Those who desire oratory attend public meetings addressed by orators. They do not attend tutorial classes in order to hear or express in them views which they can hear or express to much larger audiences elsewhere. If they agree to attend a class regularly for three years, to read books, and to write essays, they do so, not because they are in love with propaganda, which can be had in abundance unalloyed by the inconveniences of study, but because they are in love with knowledge.

113. The lecture and discussion form only part of the work of a tutorial class. Equally important is the work done by the students in reading, in writing essays, and, sometimes, though not as regularly as could be wished and as was originally intended, in receiving personal attention, alone or with one or two other students, from the teacher. Of students claiming to do work of a university standard, it may reasonably

be asked that they should become acquainted with, at any rate, the more accessible parts of the best literature upon their subject. They cannot, as a rule, be expected to rely principally upon first-hand sources of information. But they should obtain an idea of how such sources are to be used, should make, at least, occasional reference to them, and should become accustomed to use, not merely text-books, but the leading secondary authorities. The extent to which this condition is satisfied varies from class to class, with the subject which is being studied, and with the provision which is made for the supply of books. The classes rely for books mainly upon the Universities, and supplement their provision with the aid of the local libraries. The Universities vary considerably in the extent to which they put an adequate equipment of literature at the disposal of the classes; some spend with fair generosity, some offer only the indispensable minimum. Local libraries, as a rule, do their best to be helpful; but their resources are limited, and it will be readily understood that they hesitate before purchasing several copies of an expensive work, which may be necessary for purposes of reference to the students in a tutorial class, but which is not likely to be in general demand. If the classes are to do the best work of which they are capable, it is essential, we think, that steps should be taken to supply them with a more adequate literary apparatus. Having said that, we would add, however, that when an adequate supply of books is forthcoming the students, as a rule, make full use of them, and do not confine their reading to text-books. Thus a class which is studying mediæval social history will consult the works of Maitland, Vinogradoff and Seebohm. Classes dealing with the seventeenth century use Gardiner's "History of England" and his "Select Documents of the Puritan Revolution"; classes on the French Revolution read translations of the works of de Tocqueville, Taine and Aulard. Classes in political philosophy read Plato and Aristotle in translations, and Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau. Classes in economics read the outstanding authorities accessible in English.

114. To appraise the quality of the paper work is more difficult because it is so various. The obligation to write essays is of the utmost value to the students, as they themselves have testified. The mere fact of putting their views on paper produces a critical attitude and they gain in clearness of thought as they gain in clearness of expression. When the difficulties with which the working-class students have to contend are considered, the regularity with which paper work is done is a remarkable proof of the genuineness of the appetite for education. Judged without reference to the circumstances of extra-mural students, but by the same standard as would be applied to undergraduates, it is, of course, of unequal merit. Some of the essays done by tutorial class students are of unusual quality, and have been published, for example, in the "Economic Journal." Most of them, like the essays done by most intra-mural students, are exercises which are of value only to the writer. Their characteristic faults are those arising from lack of practice in expressing ideas upon paper; their characteristic virtues, common sense, intellectual honesty, a grasp of essentials, and a certain maturity of mind which is unusual in undergraduates. There are cases in which the faults persist, because the mind has become too stiff to learn to express itself through an unaccustomed medium. Usually, however, the mere technique of paper work, which is the initial obstacle, is acquired more quickly than might have been anticipated, because the foundations of it have already been laid by previous education and need only to be re-discovered by practice. Once that has been done, and the student has obtained some facility in expressing himself on paper, he

derives certain advantages from the fact that he has been in contact with practical work during the years in which undergraduates are at school or in a university. History, political science, and economics require, in order to be studied intelligently, a certain degree of experience, because without it the terms used are devoid of connotation. The tutorial class student, with his greater maturity of mind and wider experience of practical life, is less tempted than the undergraduate to use words as counters or to mistake names for things.

115. The degree to which the tutorial class realises its full educational possibilities depends not only upon the personality of the tutor, but upon the time which he is able to give to the work. If the class is to be as powerful an instrument of education as it might be, he must not only lecture, take part in discussion and correct essays; he must also find opportunities for individual tuition. Individual tuition is much appreciated by the students, who find that it enables them to come to grips with their subject and to probe its problems more effectively than is possible even in a small class, and the success of the summer schools is partly due to the opportunities which they offer for close personal contact between student and teacher. But such personal contact involves much expenditure of time. It is comparatively easy when a tutor resides in the same locality as the students: it is difficult when he lives at a distance. Students rarely have leisure between ceasing work and the time when the class begins sufficient to enable them to attend an hour before its commencement. Since they rise early they may have to return home as soon as the class is over, and the tutor himself, of course, is at the mercy of trains. In some cases these obstacles have been overcome. Tutors succeed in seeing a few students each week before the class begins or after it ends, or they use Saturday afternoons or evenings for the same purpose, or stay overnight. When that is done the result more than repays the extra outlay of time. Nor, of course, do university tutorial classes alone present these difficulties. Universities differ in the extent to which they use formal lectures compared with individual tuition as instruments of education. In the older English Universities the latter predominates. The Scottish Universities and the newer English and Welsh Universities usually rely mainly on the lecture. But though, since the classes are small, informal tuition is possible within the class itself to an extent which is not possible when a lecturer is addressing a large audience, it cannot take the place of the development of opportunities for personal contact between teacher and student. The irregularity with which such personal contact is maintained in many classes at present, seems to us to be, perhaps, the greatest weakness of the tutorial class system, and its removal so important as to justify the additional expenditure which as extension of individual tuition would involve. The creation of a complete tutorial system, whether among intra-mural or extra-mural students, is necessarily a matter of time, since it necessitates the employment of a larger staff of tutors, and, as we have pointed out, in the majority of universities such a system is, even as far as intra-mural students are concerned, still relatively little developed. Its thorough establishment in the university tutorial classes would be the best guarantee for the maintenance and improvement of the high educational qualities which experience has clearly proved that they possess.

116. If, then, we return to our original question of the academic standard of work done in university tutorial classes, we are inclined to reply to it by quoting the words used by Prof. L. T. Hobhouse and Mr. J. W. Headlam, H.M.I., in their report to the Board of Education for the year 1909-10. Since that report was issued the classes have increased in number, but we have no reason to doubt that this verdict upon the

work done in them still holds good. "To compare the work actually done in these classes with that of an Oxford or Cambridge undergraduate is a method of doubtful value. The conditions differ, and the product is in some respects better and in others not so good. There is more maturity of mind and more grip of reality behind many of their papers. There is, as a rule, naturally, less of the qualities arising out of a general literary education. If, however, the question be put whether, so far as they go, and within the limits of time and available energy, the classes are conducted in the spirit which we have described, and tend to accustom the students to the ideal of work familiar at a university, we can answer with an unhesitating affirmative: and, in particular, the treatment both of History and Economics is scientific and detached in character. As regards the standard reached there are students whose essays compare favourably with the best academic work. The lectures, of course, vary in merit but, taken as a whole, the standard is high, the conception good, and the execution just. The lecturers appear to us to have impressed their classes with the fundamental qualities of candour and detachment in the pursuit of knowledge. Their attitude is not that merely of teachers, but of fellow students with much to learn. They do not seek easy solutions, but encourage the classes to face difficulties. Upon the whole of the lectures and teaching generally we have no hesitation in saying that they conform to the best standard of university work. The paper work done by the students was naturally of very unequal merit. Some of the earliest essays are of a very elementary character. But it is precisely here that we find the greatest improvements, as we turn from the earliest to the latest efforts of the students. We have already pointed out the difficulty of comparing work done under these conditions with that of undergraduate students, both the merits and the defects being of a different order, but if we are to make the comparison, we may, perhaps, put it that the essays of the first-year course run from very elementary beginnings up to a matriculation standard, and those of later years advance in proportion. The best third-year students would, we think, be quite in a position to read for the Oxford Diploma in Economics, and would, probably, after a year's full work, obtain it without difficulty. Here and there work of a still higher standard is to be found."

### III. UNIVERSITY EXTENSION LECTURES AND ONE YEAR CLASSES.

117. We have dealt at some length with the standard attained in University Tutorial Classes, because, owing to their extension over not less than three years, and to the comparatively exacting conditions involved in membership of them, they offer the best indication of the level which extra-mural university work may be expected to reach. But we must not be understood to imply that the educational qualities of which we have spoken are confined to tutorial classes. They are shared by other forms of adult education in degrees which vary according to the length of the course undertaken, the facilities for study in small groups and for contact between teacher and student, and the presence and regularity of paper work. Much that we have said of the work done in tutorial classes is true, *mutatis mutandis*, of university extension lectures and still more of one-year classes.<sup>1</sup> The previous education of

<sup>1</sup> By "one-year classes" we mean classes arranged for a session's work and usually meeting 20 to 24 times. These classes may or may not be conducted under the auspices of a Local Education Authority, and they may or may not be in receipt of Government grants. They, therefore, take several forms, but the common feature of the "one-year class" is that it meets during a single session for continuous study under a teacher.

the students, the difficulties besetting their studies, their strength and weakness is much the same in all kinds of adult education. Both university extension lectures and one-year classes have, at their best, many of the educational advantages of tutorial classes, and some which tutorial classes have not. The former makes its main feature the lecture and draws in many parts of the country considerable audiences, varying in number from 25 to 500. The latter meets the needs of students who are prevented from complying with the conditions laid down for tutorial classes, or in areas where a tutorial class has not been established. Both, therefore, cover a wider area than has hitherto been reached by tutorial classes. They have the advantage of letting down a net which draws in students who might hesitate to join a tutorial class, but who, once they have started educational work, are eager to carry it on. They thus do pioneer work the value of which can hardly be overestimated. A group of one-year classes often springs from one tutorial class and often prepares the way for another. Nor need we remind our readers that it is from the University Extension Movement that several of the newer University Colleges have originated.

118. This is one aspect of the work done by university extension lectures and one-year classes. But it is only one aspect. It would be a mistake to suppose that, because they are popular, in the sense that some of those who attend them have not the leisure or inclination to pledge themselves to a prolonged period of study, therefore the educational value of the work is necessarily low. The truth is that, as would be expected of efforts carried on in many different parts of the country and under very varying conditions, it is not possible to speak of there being any one standard which is maintained universally. Because they offer nearly everyone something which he can assimilate, it is by no means the case that they do not also provide opportunities of intensive and continuous study under highly qualified teachers for those who are prepared to undertake it. It is true that most of the courses of extension lectures are short, and that the necessity of attracting large audiences to cover the financial cost has had, among other disadvantages, the effect of making continuity more difficult. Higher education cannot be expected to be self-supporting; and the quality of university extension work has suffered from the necessity under which it has hitherto lain of paying its way by means of the students' fees. Since the loss, if any, will fall on the centre, the natural tendency of those responsible for it is to select subjects and lecturers which will make the course a financial success, and to change them if their popularity seems likely to diminish. There are centres, however, in which university extension students have carried out courses of systematic study planned to extend over several years. Nor is the criticism that the movement promotes mere attendance at lectures a valid one. Extension lectures are attended, no doubt, by a considerable number of persons—what proportion they form of the audience varies from place to place—who would be unable and unwilling to read widely on the subject of the lectures or to do paper-work. If it is regrettable that they cannot do more, it is satisfactory that they should do as much. But the lectures are normally either preceded or followed by classes which are attended by those students who desire to go more deeply into the subject; a considerable amount of paper-work is done, and a certain proportion of students, which varies widely from place to place, sit for examinations at the end of the course. In some cases students have been led to take up serious and continuous study as a result of interest developed by attendance at lecture courses. As an example may be mentioned the case of an Oxford student who was drawn

to take up the serious study of astronomy, and who, for some years past, has done research work of considerable value in this subject.<sup>1</sup>

119. In estimating the educational value of the university extension movement, therefore, not only the lectures, but the classes must be taken into account. The number of students attending the latter seems to us to be a better index of the quality of extension work than the number winning one or another of the various certificates which are offered by the Extension Authorities of Cambridge, London and Oxford, and the Diploma in the Humanities of the University of London. The primary object of establishing these distinctions was to supply university extension students with a definite goal for which to work, such as is offered to internal students by a university degree. "What is it," wrote in 1908 Dr. Roberts, the Registrar of the London Extension Board and the principal originator of the Diploma in the Humanities, "which has transformed the languor and feebleness of the Local Centres of ten years ago into the vigorous activity and growing strength of the same institutions to-day under the name of Universities? Clearly it is the degree-granting power, affording on the one hand a direct objective to the student, and, on the other hand, adding to the dignity of the institution in the eyes of the public. . . . We are . . . compelled to draw the conclusion that if the University will lay down a well-designed advanced scheme of study, and attach to its completion a kind of University recognition, that will touch the imagination in the way that a degree does, . . . the students will be forthcoming."<sup>2</sup>

120. It is probable that the various certificates and the London Diploma have supplied some students with the stimulus which, it was suggested by Dr. Roberts, would be the result of formal academic recognition. But, as the figures for 1913-14 show, the number of certificates awarded for work extending over more than one term is not large, and we think it would be a grave mistake to measure the quality of the work done in extension courses by the number of students obtaining, or seeking to obtain, certificates. The truth is, that the analogy between the influence of a degree and that of a university extension certificate rests largely upon a misapprehension as to the kind of motives which lead men and women to take part in university extension work. A degree is prized partly, at least, because it is an aid to professional success. But the object of extension students is only rarely the attainment of further professional qualifications, and to the great majority, including some of the most capable and earnest among them, the desire for a formal academic recognition is a quite negligible motive. The recognition which they would most prize would not, indeed, be a certificate or diploma, but the opportunity for further study, both for themselves and for their friends.

121. We do not think, therefore, that the intellectual level reached in the university extension movement can in any way be gauged by the number of students obtaining certificates, nor do we believe that the quality of the work done would be substantially improved by any extension in systematisation of such awards. The real test of its seriousness is the attendance at the classes preceding or following the lectures, and it is the further development of class-work which should be the first aim of those who desire to raise the standards of university extension. In the class will be found the real students, those who desire to pursue the subject more thoroughly than can be done by mere attendance at the lectures, and who are willing to follow a course of

<sup>1</sup> *Oxford University Gazette*, No. 1,583, p. 453.

<sup>2</sup> *University Extension; under the Old and New Conditions*. By R. D. Roberts.

reading and to write papers set by the lecturer. It is the class which offers the best opportunity for educational work. The quantity and quality of the essay work depend chiefly upon the formation of a class of serious students which brings the members into much closer contact with the tutor than is possible in the lecture itself. In some centres the class will be a carefully organised body, the members of which will meet the lecturer for a period of from half-an-hour to an hour either before or after the lecture, and it is here that real teaching work can be done. In other centres, we gather, the class is less well organised, and consists of those persons who care to stay behind in the lecture-room after the lecture and discuss the subject with the lecturer. Whilst this discussion is valuable, and, indeed, necessary, it is no substitute for a properly organised body of students in a class, and unless care is taken is apt to become perfunctory. It would seem that the attention given to the class varies largely from centre to centre, but it is generally agreed that the most successful centres are those where the greatest care is given to the class organisation. A keen, well-organised class is a great strength to a centre, as it provides a nucleus of earnest students who will give tone to the whole audience, and tends gradually to arouse the interest of, and attract to itself, those less studiously inclined. We have been informed by extension lecturers of long experience in various parts of the country that the work and attendance of the classes in recent years has deteriorated, with the result that the course as a whole has suffered and become more desultory and less intensive than in the early days of the movement. This, it is stated, applied especially to the South of England. The truth seems to be that of late years the lecture element has grown unduly in importance and that the class element has correspondingly declined, with the result that the educational standard of the movement has been lowered.

122. It is evident that when so much variety obtains, and when the seriousness and regularity of the work done depends upon the individual student and is not defined by any general conditions applying to all students, it is idle to look for any common standard. All that can be discovered is the standard which is reached by different groups of students, divided by the degree of energy, of interest, and of capacity which they bring to the work. Our impression is that in most university extension audiences, and in many one-year classes, the majority of the students derive much benefit from their attendance, but do not do work which it is possible to appraise by any academic standard. It is certain that when they read or reflect in the future, they will do so more intelligently and with wider knowledge. But it is not possible to say that they have travelled in their reading over any definite amount of ground or done any definite quantity of paper work, or to compare their attainments when the course of lectures or class began and when the lectures or the class have ended. On the other hand, though this is true of, perhaps, a majority of students, it is not true of all. Among those attending, all but the short "pioneer" course of university extension lectures, and among the members of all but the most elementary one-year classes, there is a substantial number of students of whom it can be said that they have attained a considerable body of knowledge of some subject or subjects, that they have read the more important of the accessible books upon it, and that they have learned to put their knowledge upon paper with a certain degree of literary form. The work of these students varies very greatly in quality, as is the case with students attending university tutorial classes, though, as the audiences attending extension lectures are less homogeneous in circumstances and in previous educational opportunities, it probably varies more widely. In the case of university extension students, some indication of the standard attained is given by the lecturer's opinions as to



their essays and by the papers done by those who sit for the examination. Occasionally it is of outstanding ability, as is shown by the academic distinction which certain extension students have subsequently achieved.

123. It is not practicable to offer any reliable estimate of the quality of work done by the more systematic students in one-year classes. No examination is held, and though paper work is often done by the students, we have not been able to obtain any exact information as to the teachers' opinion of it. The variety of standards as between different classes is very great. Some of them would be more correctly described as study circles and are little more than groups of friends, meeting, when they have leisure, to read an elementary text-book once a week during the winter. Others, though not pledging the students to three years' attendance or to the writing of essays, do, in fact, remain in existence for several years, pursue a regular course of study, do paper work, and are almost indistinguishable in their character and methods from a tutorial class. In a number of the one-year classes organised by the Workers' Educational Association, the work done is similar to that done by tutorial class students in their first year. If the class lasts for more than one year, or if the students attend (as is often the case) several classes in successive years, the quality improves in proportion, usually rather more than in proportion, to the increased experience which is gained.

124. Though, however, we can only speak of the work done in these classes in more general terms than we could wish, we think it important to emphasize that they play a part of very great importance in the movement for adult education. Not only have they grown in number very rapidly, but on the whole, as far as we can judge, the quality of the work done in them has risen. This improvement is to be ascribed partly, we think, to the example and influence of the university tutorial classes. The latter supply a kind of standard pattern of what adult education, given favourable circumstances, may become. But the circumstances are often very far from favourable. Economic conditions make men hesitate to pledge themselves in writing to attend a class regularly for three years. In London, in particular, where continuance in the same employment is less common than it is in the staple industries of the North of England, students are reluctant to undertake a liability which they feel they may be prevented from discharging by circumstances over which they have no control. The result is that a large number of men and women prefer to enter a class which does not impose so exacting a condition of membership as three years' attendance, not because they do not desire to do serious work, but because they feel they cannot foresee their future position for more than the current year. Such classes pursue the same kind of studies by the same methods as tutorial classes and often reach a very high standard. They differ in duration, but they are similar in quality. They deserve, we think, more recognition and larger financial assistance than they have as yet received.

#### IV. COLLEGIATE INSTITUTIONS.

125. We have left to the last a consideration of the quality of the work done in Collegiate Institutions, both because such institutions are still comparatively few in number, and because their achievements can be estimated more easily after an account has been given of some of the more widely diffused types of adult education. "Collegiate Institutions" include both non-residential and residential colleges. It is by no means easy to say exactly what institutions should be included under the former. The point at which a group of students is properly said to

have become a college was uncertain in mediæval Oxford or Cambridge, and is equally uncertain to-day. At one end of the scale there are highly-organised bodies, established solely for the purpose of education in the broadest sense, and having a long record of educational work behind them. Such are the Working Men's College in London, the Vaughan Memorial College at Leicester, Morley College, and the College for Working Women. At the other end there are institutions offering regular accommodation to classes, which have as their primary object the promotion of education, but which include social and religious as well as educational work among their activities, and resemble in organisation the University Settlements, such as St. Mary's Settlement at York or Swarthmore at Leeds, or Beechcroft at Birkenhead. Whether described as colleges or not, these latter institutions, as the survey given in Appendix I of this Report shows, carry out a considerable volume of educational work among adult men and women. Sometimes they have grown out of a class or classes which met at a common centre, and which in time created an organisation more permanent than a single class; the W.E.A. College at Chorley, for example, was established by the local branch of the Workers' Educational Association, which hired a house where lectures could be given, classes could meet, and social gatherings be held. More often they have been established by the initiative of some individual or society, like Beechcroft, Swarthmore or St. Mary's, the two last of which owe their origin to the Society of Friends. Whatever name be given to them, their educational significance is considerable. The existence of a permanent institution gives continuity to the education carried on in it, and creates a social atmosphere which is itself an element in education. The mere fact that students and teachers of different subjects meet and exchange views, and that they possess a centre—half college, half club—where they can discuss their interests at leisure, instead of leaving the class-room as soon as the classes are over, is itself a stimulus to thought. On the other hand, the work done in them, consisting, as it does, almost entirely of classes and lectures of a type which has already been discussed, does not usually present any novel or distinctive intellectual feature, and we do not think we need offer any special description of it.

126. Colleges such as the London Working Men's College, the Vaughan Memorial College and Morley College stand upon a different footing. Though they differ widely from each other, each of these institutions is not merely a meeting place of separate classes, but offers a continuous course of instruction in a wide range of subjects, both technical and humane, is the centre of a vigorous social life, and has a definite tradition and atmosphere of its own. As an example of the intellectual work which can be done under favourable conditions in a non-residential college, we select the London Working Men's College. The London Working Men's College is at once the oldest, the largest, and the most highly organised of the non-residential colleges. The large number of students attending the London Working Men's College, the diversity of their objects and the variety of the subjects studied makes it extremely difficult to make general statements as to the intellectual level attained. Their work ranges from training in subjects of a purely vocational character, such as book-keeping, to liberal studies at least as advanced as, and sometimes more advanced than, those carried on in university tutorial classes, two of which are held at the College and are attended by the students. Between these limits there are various gradations of intellectual quality. Judged either by the calibre of the teachers, or by the earnestness and perseverance of the students, much of the work done in the College is of a very high

educational value. There are several respects in which it marks a stage in adult education higher than that reached by the most highly developed of the classes and lectures described above. The careful attempts which are made, by grading the students, to offer the preparatory education needed in order to enable more advanced work to be carried on meets, and, so far as we can judge, meets successfully what is one of the recurrent difficulties of adult education—the great variety in the attainments and previous education of many of the students. The diversity of subjects studied at the College is itself a broadening and humanising influence. Students interested in one department of knowledge are saved from the danger of undue absorption in their own special line by mixing freely with students who are interested in another, and thus obtain from each other the informal education which is hardly less valuable than the more formal instruction. The presence in one institution of a large body of teachers is as important as the breadth of the curriculum. Students can compare the methods and doctrines of one teacher with those of another, and thus form the habit of detached and critical appreciation which is an essential part of a university education. And all these advantages are immensely enhanced by the opportunity of social intercourse and corporate life which the college affords to its members. It is not merely that it is well equipped with the apparatus of study, and that students can find on the spot the library and laboratories which the members of a class unattached to any institution must seek elsewhere.

127. Even more important is the intellectual stimulus which is obtained by sharing in the traditions and ideals of the college and taking part in the several activities, described in Appendix I., of which it is the centre. The Working Men's College seems, in fact, to offer an example of the direction in which the less highly organized forms of adult education might well endeavour to develop. The university tutorial classes, shorter classes, reading circles and extension lectures which are already numerous in many districts, supply, as it were, the units of collegiate life. If they could be housed in a single building, and equipped with a library and reading-room, they would retain their distinctive merits, and at the same time would acquire the additional breadth and impetus which are derived from the combination of varying intellectual interests in one institution.

128. The four chief examples of residential colleges for adults are Ruskin College, the Labour College, Woodbrooke, and Fircroft. They pursue different objects and must be judged by different standards. The students at Fircroft are men engaged in manual occupations, almost all of whom left school at or before 14, and who reside at the College for periods varying from a few weeks to a year. The work done there is necessarily planned on relatively simple lines, to meet the needs of students who have little time at their disposal and who have to spend part of it in recovering ground which has been lost since they left school. It consisted in 1913-14 partly of lectures and private tuition in history, logic, economics, and literature, partly of practical work in the garden and physical exercises. On its own level, however, it is of genuine and permanent educational value. The quality of the work done must be measured, in the words of the Inspector who visited Fircroft, "not so much by its affording an opportunity of thorough and systematic study over a long period, but . . . by the stimulus it offered to the students, the wide variety of interests opened out to them, . . . and the possession of a common life and fellowship."

129. Woodbrooke, like Fircroft, was founded under the influence of the Society of Friends, and embodies somewhat the same ethical ideal. But its students consist principally of men and women, most of whom have a good previous education up to the age of 17 or 18, and who are able to spend a longer period in residence than is possible to most of the students at Fircroft, and the intellectual work is of a more exacting quality. The ordinary curriculum is divided into six main groups of studies, Biblical, Theological, Church History and Comparative Study of Religion, Educational, International and Social, in each of which students are advised to attend one course of lectures. In addition, students can take the diploma course of Social Study, arranged by Birmingham University, consisting of theoretical work, visits of observation, and practical work. Since 1916, a special course of training for teachers has been carried on, and Woodbrooke is now recognised as a training centre by the Teachers' Training Syndicate of Cambridge University. While, as we have said, the period which students are able to spend at Woodbrooke varies considerably, there can be no question of the importance of the educational work which it is doing. Its special characteristic is that it offers a training for different kinds of social work in an atmosphere of religion. It thus meets the need both of those who wish to qualify for taking up some branch of social service as their principal occupation, and of those who, having already engaged in some profession, desire to refresh their memory by a period of study and reflection.

130. Ruskin College, which is at once the oldest and the largest of the residential colleges, derives its distinctive features from the fact that it is managed directly by the representatives of working class organisations and that its primary purpose is to offer a good general education which may fit young men to serve their fellows in some branch of public or semi-public work. During the twenty years of its existence, somewhat over 500 students have passed through it, of whom the majority resided for two years, about ten for three years, and the remainder for one year. Its experience, therefore, is sufficiently extensive to enable a judgment to be formed of the value and possibilities of the education which it offers. The curriculum of the College, which has already been set out, is planned to offer students in their first year a grounding in modern English history (constitutional and economic), economics and English literature, together with a knowledge of one special subject, trade unionism or co-operation. In their second year students study modern history in greater detail, advanced economics, and political science.

131. The education course of the College is carefully planned, the staff is a strong one, and there is considerable opportunity of supplementing work done in the College by means of university teachers. The benefit which students derive from residence depends partly upon their previous education and capacity, partly upon the energy which they throw into the work. The weakest point in the College is, perhaps the somewhat haphazard way in which some of the candidates for admission have sometimes been selected. The nomination of those who are to hold the Trade Union Scholarships is in the hands of the trade unions offering them; and while some societies choose men with care and judgment, others appear to do so without due discrimination, with the result that it has occasionally happened that men have entered the College who were hardly qualified to make the best use of the opportunity offered them. On the other hand, a large section of the students consists, even as it is, of men who have given a considerable amount of thought to social studies, and who, when they enter the College, are not plunging into unknown subjects, but are pursuing under more favourable conditions and by more

intensive methods, interests which have already occupied much of their leisure. They find themselves associated with fellow students in a very stimulating atmosphere, and the time spent on personal tuition ensures that the teaching is adapted to the special needs and previous intellectual history of each individual. Of the energy which the students put into their work there can be no doubt. Sometimes, indeed, as the Inspectors of the Board of Education hinted, it is probably excessive.

132. The value of residence in Ruskin College cannot be measured merely by the academic successes obtained by students; though, as we have already pointed out, these successes have been considerable. The after-careers of the students show that, on the whole, their selection has been wise, and that they have turned their opportunities to good account. A very large proportion of men have done and are doing work of the utmost value in the organisations with which they are connected and on public bodies. The importance of the pioneer work done by Ruskin College in proving that adult students can pass direct from their occupations into an academic atmosphere, derive much educational benefit from it and return to apply their knowledge to practical affairs, can hardly be exaggerated. The Board of Education inspectors, after the very thorough examination which they made of the work of the College in 1913, reported that "the success of the College as an educational experiment may be regarded as established. When it was founded fourteen years ago it might not have been regarded as possible that workmen straight from industrial occupations should be able, after a brief and belated apprenticeship to learning, to enter successfully for university examinations. Ruskin College has thrown new light on the educational possibilities of industrial society."

133. If we do not deal at length here with the Labour College (in London) it is because there is less information available with regard to it than is the case with the other collegiate institutions referred to above. The curriculum of the Labour College comprises political economy, industrial history, general history, the history of social movements, English and literature, formal logic, the theory of knowledge, sociology and elocution. The College has on its staff two university graduates, whilst the rest of its lecturers have an intimate knowledge and experience of the Labour movement and of industrial and social problems. Its students are workers drawn from trade unions. In 1913-14, for example, of the fourteen students in attendance there were six students who were sent by the South Wales Miners' Federation, two sent by the National Union of Railwaymen, and one by the Notts Miners' Association. The motive is to provide members of these unions with opportunities to equip themselves for more effective service in the working-class movement. The students are deeply interested in economic questions, and bring considerable enthusiasm to bear upon their studies. The Labour College has its own atmosphere, which is determined by its attitude towards education. The College, in the words of the Sub-Warden, "teaches the workman to look for the causes of social evils and the problems arising therefrom in the material foundation of society; that these causes are in the last analysis economic; that their elimination involves, in the first place, economic changes of such a character as to lead to the eradication of capitalist economy." The teaching of the College is dominated by this conception, and is based largely upon the teachings of Karl Marx. The curriculum calls for considerable intellectual effort on the part of the students, for the theories studied demand close application and continuous study. English, literature, elocution and logic find an important place in the curriculum, and emphasis is laid upon

the importance of developing the power of self-expression and the reasoning faculty. It is clear that, though the College is frankly partisan in outlook, there is considerable breadth in its curriculum, whilst the intimate corporate life within it is a powerful educational influence.

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#### CHAPTER IV.

### THE WEAKNESSES AND POSSIBILITIES OF ADULT EDUCATION.

#### I. THE LESSONS OF PAST EXPERIENCE.

134. The experience obtained as a result of the movements which have been described suggests various points of interest to educationalists, and reveals some deficiencies which remain to be overcome in future efforts to promote higher education among adult men and women. The most obvious fact which emerges from them is that the capacity for progressive education among men and women of mature years—their “educability”—is at once more common and more lasting than is often supposed. It is sometimes suggested that the differences in intellectual equipment between the man or woman who has left school at fourteen for full-time employment in industry and the student who passes from a secondary school to a university are so fundamental, that the former can never take up, except as a recreation, studies of the same kind as are carried on by the latter. We do not under-estimate the value of a full-time secondary education or the lamentable waste of talent which is caused by the obstacles which at the present time prevent more than a small fraction of working class children from receiving it. Few reforms would yield more immediate or more permanent fruit than such an increase in the facilities for obtaining a secondary education as would diffuse it widely among all classes of the population. But it is none the less the case that the experiments in adult education which have already been made prove beyond a doubt that men and women whose school education has been cut short at an early age can nevertheless develop a taste and capacity for serious study later in life.

135. To a considerable extent, no doubt, this is to be explained by the fact that education does not end when school is left: there is the stimulus of some kinds, though by no means all kinds, of industrial training, and, still more, of association in the common social and industrial interests of the workshop or of civic life. But an even more important fact is that mental growth, and therefore the capacity for education, persists to a point in life which, while it varies, no doubt, with the characters and circumstances of different individuals, is subsequent to the end of even the longest period of formal education. It is true, no doubt, that not all types of capacity are equally lasting, and that many adult students have missed irretrievably the opportunity of acquiring certain imaginative qualities which develop in adolescence or not at all, and which an education resumed when that flowering time is over cannot easily cultivate. But, though harmonious growth is gravely hampered when education is prematurely interrupted, there are other capacities, mental curiosity, judgment, an ability to weigh and argue from facts, which

persist longer or are developed later and which make possible the continuance of education till late in life. The psychology of adult education has never been investigated, and we offer no theory as to the conditions or limits of such development. The fact, however, that continuous study is accompanied not merely by a growth in knowledge but by a heightening of intellectual capacity among men and women of mature years cannot seriously be questioned. It seems to us to be one of considerable significance. For it suggests that effort and expenditure applied to education may yield an increasing return up to a far later age than that to which it has hitherto been devoted upon any considerable scale.

136. Adult education is still the field of the amateur. Its teachers, like university teachers, are not trained for their work. It has not developed anything which can be called a "technique," and probably it is not desirable that it should. On the other hand, experience has given support to certain methods and thrown doubt upon others. The most noticeable change in the organisation of adult study which has taken place in the last ten or fifteen years has been the growth of small classes and reading circles, as compared with lectures and large audiences, which were the most prominent feature of the earlier university extension movement. As we have already stated, we are far from undervaluing such lectures. Not only do they prepare the way for more intensive work, but they appeal to those for whom, owing to one reason or another, more intensive work is impossible. At the same time, it is, we think, significant that the more recent educational movements among adults, especially those in which students or their representatives have exercised a determining voice, should have shown a marked preference for some form of class-work. One of the faults commonly ascribed to democracy is the liability of masses of men to be swayed by the arts of the "spell-binder." The proper corrective to the emotional appeal of rhetoric is the intellectual independence and integrity which individuals acquire by cultivating the habit of weighing arguments for themselves and formulating their own conclusions upon the facts submitted to them. It is in groups which are small enough for their members to take as individuals an active part in inquiry and discussion that independence of judgment can most easily be developed. In a class of 15 to 25 students personal contact between teacher and student is possible to a degree which is hardly practicable when a lecturer is addressing a large audience. Teaching can be addressed to the needs of individual students; difficulties can be met as they arise by question and answer; assumptions can be questioned instead of being taken for granted; students can be stimulated to offer and criticise their own solutions. Much, no doubt, depends upon the teacher. But it would be a grave mistake, we think, to under-estimate the educational value of the work which is done in study-circles of a more elastic and less highly-systematised kind than some of the classes described above, and which, by reason of its very informality, is to many men and women the best preparation for more serious and continuous work. Whatever the precise form of organisation, however, the point which seems vital to the success of adult education is that the work should be individualised to the highest degree possible. Important as it is in all kinds of educational work, individual attention to the needs of individual students is essential to the higher education of men and women. For age and experience have stamped different characteristics deeply upon their minds, and it is only careful attention to those characteristics that can enable education to be presented in a way which is adapted to their varying needs.



137. It is for this reason that, in dealing with adults, it is specially necessary to take as the basis of education the living interests of the students who form the class. In all types of teaching an understanding of the minds which are being educated is at least as important as a grasp of the subject which is being taught, and it is a recognition of this fact that has caused the study of psychology to play an ever increasing part in the training of teachers. In classes composed of men and women of mature years the dominant interests are, of course, far more clearly defined than in the case of younger students. To neglect them is to work against the grain instead of with it, and a sympathetic appreciation of them will supply the teacher with an invaluable educational stimulus. Hence the most successful presentation of any subject is likely to be that which relates it to facts and problems which fall within the range of the student's own experience. It is not everyone, of course, who is so fortunate as to be able, like the teacher of a class of army students in the Near East, to lecture on Homer upon the site of Troy. But in the social sciences which predominate in most adult classes a skilful teacher can find abundant opportunities of proceeding from the familiar to the unknown and of using the present, by contrast or comparison, to illustrate the past. The study of European history relates itself naturally to the interest aroused by the international problems of the recent crisis. Economic and social history derive a new actuality when read in the light of the practical experience of industrial organisation possessed by many students, or of the economic evolution of some particular city or region. Political science may gain in concreteness without losing in breadth by being related to problems of local administration. Geology or botany can often use as part of their materials local phenomena observed by the students themselves. It is important, no doubt, to avoid the mistake of sacrificing perspective to vividness of detail, and to assist students to view those parts of the field which are nearest to themselves in their proper relation to their remoter background. But provided that a due proportion is observed between the different aspects of the subject which is being studied, the necessity of approaching it in such a way as to utilise the experience of the students is an advantage not only to them but to the progress of the branch of knowledge which is being studied.

138. It will be agreed, we think, that the fault to which the teaching of the social sciences is most liable is a tendency to formalism and conventionality of treatment—to thrash the thrice-thrashed chaff of familiar facts or of abstract reasoning—such as is characteristic of more than one widely read text-book of history and political economy. The proper corrective for the repetition of well-worn commonplaces is the assimilation of fresh experience and the adoption of a new angle of vision from which to reinterpret the old. Both the teacher and the subject which is being studied gain immeasurably when the necessity of presenting in such a way as to meet the criticism of men and women of mature years and some considerable knowledge of affairs compels the surrender of ancient formulæ and the revision of traditional standards. Already we think—to give only one example—the treatment of economics and of social history by university teachers has gained in freshness and originality from the experience which many of them have obtained in teaching those subjects to students in tutorial classes. Groups of adult students in different parts of the country have been stimulated by the interest which class work has aroused to undertake the investigation of local historical records, to carry out local regional surveys of the type made familiar by the work of Professor Geddes, or to undertake a scientific study of local government in their area. In most cases, no

doubt, such work is more important for its educational value to the students themselves and for the light which it throws upon the possibility of using local material as an aid to historical and economic training than for the actual addition which it makes to knowledge. But the possibilities of such methods of study are only beginning to be explored. When they become widely diffused, as we hope that with the spread of adult education they will, they should result in giving a valuable impetus both to original study and to the more general adoption of sound educational methods.

139. Many of the subjects studied by adults are concerned, like the social sciences, with matters which form the topic of current controversy, and it has been sometimes suggested that they are of too contentious a character to form a fitting instrument of higher education. Is there not a danger, it may be asked, that the interest of the students may be directed to proving their point rather than to ascertaining the truth, and that education may degenerate into propaganda? The question is a reasonable one, and deserves consideration, though it raises more extensive problems than is always realised by some of those who ask it. It is true, of course, that history, political science and economics, since they are not susceptible of the exact measurement and rigorous demonstrations of mathematics and of some branches of physical science, present different façades when seen by different minds and when interpreted by varying types of experience. It is true, also, that students bring to the study of them assumptions and presuppositions which necessarily give a colour, if not to the conclusions which they reach, at least to the questions which they ask. They may be open-minded; but they can hardly be empty-minded, or they would neither feel a desire for study nor be qualified to profit by it. The truths which they discover will depend partly upon the truths which they seek. Most historical or economic opinions involve a judgment not only as to facts, but as to political or social expediency, which is none the less decisive because it is often unstated; and that judgment tends to be influenced by the experience, the training, the nationality or the social *milieu* of the individual making it. Inferences may be as dispassionate as logic or evidence can make them. But it is a wise student who knows all his own premises.

140. These limitations, however, if limitations they are, are not peculiar to the educational experiments considered in this Report. They apply equally to all types of education which are concerned with subjects involving judgments not only as to facts but as to values, and have not prevented such subjects from playing a large part, often, indeed, a predominant, part in educational curricula. When a book on a controversial topic appears to be entirely unprejudiced, it is a rule of caution to assume that the prejudices are those of the reader. When prejudice is suspected, it is usually judicious to inquire whether it may not attract attention partly because it expresses a point of view which differs from the assumptions of the critic. To the working-class student much academic teaching of history and economics has appeared to be biased, because the aspects which it neglected were often precisely those which are of most immediate interest to working-class students. To the academic visitor the economic discussions of working-class students sometimes seem to be equally one-sided, because the assumptions from which they start are unfamiliar. In each case the gravamen of the criticism is that certain sides of the truth are over-emphasised and certain others undervalued. In neither, even when the criticism is justified, does it necessarily involve any reflection upon the good faith of those concerned. And it is the question of good faith,

it may be suggested, which is all important. Where it is present, when students and teachers are candid, open-minded and tolerant, the inevitable limitations of the individual's experience are corrected in the process of study itself. The remedy for one-sidedness in education is, in short, more education.

141. Judged by such considerations, we do not think that the controversial character of many of the subjects most commonly studied by adult men and women prevents them from possessing a high educational value. If it makes it especially necessary to guard against one-sidedness of presentation, it also gives them the advantage of appealing to interests which are vivid and strongly felt. It seems to us a positive gain, indeed, that topics which are discussed with partizan heat on the platform or in the press should be sifted at leisure by groups of students with the aid of books and in an atmosphere of mutual criticism. The course of wisdom, we suggest, is not to attempt the impossible task of restricting education to subjects which are not contentious, but to ensure that, whatever the subject, those who desire to form a reasonable judgment may be aided to do so, by seeing that facilities for study with regard to it are available. Provided that discussion is free, and that the teacher takes pains to call attention to aspects of the truth which are in danger of being overlooked, one point of view tends to supplement and correct another, and the student insensibly broadens his outlook through contact with minds dissimilar from his own. Controversial subjects need not be approached in a spirit of controversy. What matters most is not the particular branch of knowledge which is studied, but the temper in which study is pursued. The really important question is whether in the educational work at present carried on among adults there is a genuine effort to present all sides of the questions which are considered, and to avoid a narrow dogmatism.

142. When so multifarious a body of experiments is being considered, any general statement is likely to be subject to some exceptions, and we do not desire to imply that no cases have occurred in which the spirit of those concerned was that of the partizan rather than of the student. On the whole, however, we are satisfied that, while the stimulus to study has often been a keen interest in contemporary problems, the methods of study, and the temper in which it is carried on, are such as to offer a safeguard against any disposition to subordinate truth to propaganda. A man or woman does not, of course, abandon previous convictions when he or she takes up study. But he takes it up because, for the time being, he is more interested in increasing his knowledge or broadening his outlook than in effecting an immediate change in the convictions of his neighbours. He attends the Working Men's College or extension lectures, or joins a study circle or a tutorial class, or goes to Ruskin College or the Labour College in order to learn, not in order to persuade. As long as that is his primary motive, the fact that he takes an active interest in contemporary questions of a practical character no more disqualifies him for scientific study than a professor is disqualified for his position in a university because, as a politician, he may happen to be a convinced free-trader or protectionist.

## II. THE DEFECTS OF ADULT EDUCATION.

143. It will seem from the survey given above that the quality of the work done by adult students is too heterogeneous to be covered by any simple formula. It extends from the most elementary studies to work which, in its own field, is really of a university character. All the

various types which we have examined have their uses, and it would be a serious mistake, we think, to regard the more elementary work, provided it is taken seriously by the students, as trivial or unworthy of encouragement. It appeals to men and women who are prevented from pursuing more systematic or intensive study. It holds its place as one element in a system containing many varieties of educational effort. The best way to stimulate more advanced work is to assist the development of the less ambitious experiments, which, by diffusing an interest in education, prepare the way for it.

144. It is desirable, however, that the present weaknesses of adult education should be clearly understood, in order that those engaged in it may endeavour to remove them, in so far as they can do so without running into the danger of over-systematization. Its main defects are of one of two main kinds, those springing from the environment and conditions in which it is carried on, and those due to its methods and organization. With the former, which are primarily an industrial and social question, we have dealt in our First Interim Report, and we have not here to do more than record our convictions that there is a wealth of intellectual capacity among our people which only awaits the removal of the pressure of evil social conditions to find expression. The latter, most of which we have already indicated, we summarise briefly now.

145. The most obvious defects of adult education, as it is to-day, are the discontinuity of much of the work done, the tendency (once general and still present in some branches of it) to rely unduly on lectures and to neglect classwork, the failure to secure that the students attending each course of lectures or classes are adequately supplied with books, the small amount in university tutorial classes, and still more in university extension lectures, of individual tuition, the deficient supply of suitable teachers, which results in many teachers being overworked, and the neglect, in the case of residential colleges, to inquire sufficiently into the educational qualifications of candidates for admission, with the result that some who enter them derive little benefit from residence. The discontinuity of work, and alternation of different subjects and different lecturers, is specially marked in the case of university extension courses, owing, as explained above, to the necessity of making them self-supporting, as is also the tendency to neglect classwork. All forms of adult education suffer from the difficulty of procuring books and from the failure to make full use of the possibilities of individual tuition, though more has been done in that direction in the university tutorial classes than elsewhere. All are hampered by the difficulty of procuring teachers in sufficient numbers with sufficient leisure. The result is that too much of the work done in most departments of adult education, though valuable to those concerned, is not as valuable as it might be. It is still too haphazard in design, too intermittent in execution, too prone to live on its abundant capital of energy and enthusiasm and to improvise solutions of difficulties as they arise, instead of seeking to think out a solution of the problem as a whole.

### III. THE IMPORTANCE OF A WIDE RANGE OF SUBJECTS.

146. These deficiencies are natural in the opening stages of any educational movement. Most of them could be removed by more careful organization and more generous expenditure. We make below some proposals designed to overcome them. A more serious, though probably also a temporary, weakness is the comparatively narrow range of subjects followed in most forms of adult education. Its limitations must not, indeed, be exaggerated. Extension lectures offer a wide variety of choice.

The Working Men's College in London pursues a many-sided curriculum. Among the classes attended by adult students are to be found some in natural science, philosophy and psychology, and music, as well as a larger number in literature. Such subjects are being increasingly selected, and play a much larger part in tutorial and other classes than was the case in the first four or five years of the movement. On the whole, however, it would probably be true to say that in the more continuous and intensive types of adult education the social or political sciences, in one form or another, predominate. Literature, indeed, is one of the commonest subjects of extension lectures, and is often taken up by one-year classes. But in university tutorial classes, both in Great Britain and in the Dominions, history, political science and economics outnumber all other subjects together, and the same is probably true of most of the shorter classes.

147. The reasons for this preponderance of certain types of study are obvious. It would be a misfortune, however, if adult education came to be regarded as being in any way limited to certain subjects, however valuable in themselves, to the exclusion of others. Its character must, indeed, be determined by the students, not imposed upon it from above by educationalists. But from the experience already obtained there is abundant evidence that facilities for study of a more diversified kind than at present exist would meet with an immediate response both among existing students and among others who have not yet been enlisted in the movement. The scope of adult education should be as wide as the interests of the men and women to whom it makes its appeal. We think, therefore, that the time has come when serious consideration should be given to the further development of subjects which have hitherto played a comparatively small part in adult education, not, of course, to the prejudice of those which at present preponderate, but with a view to supplementing them and to meeting the needs of students whose interests are different.

#### (a) *Natural Science.*

148. There ought, in the first place, to be far wider opportunities for the development of the study of natural science among adult students. At the present time, no doubt, much education of a scientific character is given by Local Education Authorities. It is partly, indeed, for that reason that voluntary movements have been less concerned with it than with subjects for the study of which similar facilities were not provided, and it may possibly be thought that it is unnecessary to suggest any addition to the opportunities for studying natural science which are open to adults. We do not share that opinion. Much of the scientific teaching which is now given in evening schools is at once too elementary and too closely connected with the purposes of industry to meet the needs of many adult students. What we have in mind is the desirability not of specialised training but of encouraging a wider diffusion of scientific knowledge, and still more of the scientific habit of mind, by providing men and women with the same facilities for serious and continuous study of some branch of natural science as the university tutorial classes have offered of studying history, political science and economics. If science is to be studied in this spirit, the less its practical applications are considered the better. Its special value as an instrument of education is that, more than any other study, it attains to positive knowledge free from speculation and personal bias.

149. The number of students who would welcome opportunities for the study of science and turn them to good account is probably much larger

than is usually supposed. In many parts of England naturalist societies and field-clubs, consisting largely of working people, have helped to spread an interest in botany and geology. Public lectures upon scientific subjects, such as those arranged by the Gilchrist Trustees, are largely attended. Certain university extension lectures have achieved impressive results in arousing an interest in scientific subjects. We may instance the lectures on geology given in the early days of the Cambridge Extension movement by the late Dr. Roberts in the mining villages of Northumberland and Durham. When classes offering opportunities for more intensive study have been established in recent years, they have proved a striking success. Thus from 1909 to 1912 a tutorial class was conducted at Chadderton near Oldham by a tutor supplied by the University of Manchester, and at Halifax two tutorial classes in biology were held from 1914 to 1918 by Mr. Walker, of the University of Leeds. The members of the Halifax classes consisted almost entirely of manual workers, and the subject of study was chosen by themselves. The necessary apparatus was supplied by the Local Education Authority, and the students were expected not merely to attend the lecture, but themselves to undertake experimental work under the supervision of the tutors. The reports both of the tutor and of the Board's inspector show that the keenest interest was aroused, and that the classes offered a valuable education in elementary biology. In the words of the Committee on Natural Science: "In the neighbourhood of Leeds the tutorial classes in biology have aroused considerable enthusiasm in working-class circles over a period of several years. Mr. Walker, the tutor responsible for conducting these classes, wrote to us in reply to an enquiry: 'Last night I met a class of 21 adults, men and women, chiefly factory workers, all in their second year of attendance. They walked varying distances up to 8 miles to meet in class, and during our ten meetings since the commencement of the session only two absent marks are recorded in the register.'"<sup>1</sup>

150. There is no reason why results of this kind should be exceptional. If suitable teachers are available, an equally encouraging response would be forthcoming from groups of students in many other centres, both urban and rural. Nor is it the case, we think, that the comparatively rudimentary mathematical equipment of most adult students is an insuperable barrier. "I believe," writes an experienced teacher of science, "that it is perfectly possible to start with adult students, innocent of the very rudiments of science and mathematics, and yet within the three years of a tutorial class (and probably in a much shorter and less severe course) to give them some appreciation of the most abstruse and mathematical science, including advanced chemistry and the fundamental theories of physics. . . . In chemistry I should start with the fundamental ideas of chemical combination, . . . and should then plunge straight into the mysteries of structural organic chemistry. . . . Advanced organic chemistry really involves no ideas which are harder to grasp than those of elementary inorganic, while it is vastly more interesting. . . . Physics seem more difficult, because of the mathematical difficulty. But facility in analysis is no more essential to an appreciation of physics than ability to play the piano to an appreciation of music." It is most desirable, we think, that the demand for scientific teaching among adults should be encouraged, for quite apart from the utilitarian reasons often advanced for promoting scientific education, with which we are not here concerned,

<sup>1</sup> Report of the Committee appointed by the Prime Minister to enquire into the position of Natural Science in the Educational System of Great Britain. [Cd. 9011.] Par. 166.

a wide appreciation of the methods and spirit of natural science ought to be an essential element in our national culture. Even the elementary study of some branch of natural science, such as was carried on in the classes described above, offers a training in the dispassionate examination and weighing of facts which should be a stimulus to right thinking and wise action in other fields. We agree with the Report of the Departmental Committee on Natural Science, whose conclusions, in so far as they fall within our terms of reference, are to be found in Appendix IV.

151. What is needed, if this result is to be achieved, is that the scientific departments of our universities should regard educational work among extra-mural students as a normal part of their duties as the Arts departments are increasingly doing, and should be staffed to admit of their undertaking it. The extra work involved would, no doubt, be considerable; it is to be hoped, indeed, that it would. But the gain would be immense. Students with a natural gift for some branch of scientific inquiry would obtain opportunities of study which would be otherwise inaccessible to them. Not less important, the meaning and value of scientific work would gradually come to be more widely understood by all classes of the community.

(b) *Modern Languages.*

152. Modern languages are already a subject of study in non-vocational classes for adults, though the demand for facilities has been neither so strong nor so insistent as in the case of political and economic studies. Nevertheless, the demand is a real one and the awakened interest in foreign countries and their peoples has given an impetus to the study of modern languages, the results of which are even now discernible in the increased number of classes for the study of French arranged by voluntary bodies. We think that foreign languages should become a more prominent feature of adult education, and concur in the views expressed by the Committee on Modern Languages, extracts from whose Report will be found in Appendix V. "The war has made this people conscious of its ignorance of foreign countries and their peoples. A democratic government requires an instructed people, and for the first time this people is desirous of instruction . . . We need a higher level of instruction in those whose duty it is to enlighten us; we need a far greater public, well informed and eager to understand; we need in all some interpenetration of knowledge and insight." Foreign languages are "a means to the comprehension of foreign peoples, whose history is full of fascinating adventure, who have said and felt and seen and made things worthy of our comprehension, who are now alive and engaged in like travail with ourselves, who see things differently from ourselves and therefore can the better help us to understand what is the whole truth."<sup>2</sup> The study of modern languages is, in short, an aid to the exercise of the duties of citizenship. At the same time, they are an important instrument of personal culture, providing a training which develops the higher faculties, the imagination, an appreciation of beauty, a sense of balance and proportion, and new power of expression.

<sup>1</sup> Report of Committee appointed by the Prime Minister to enquire into the position of Modern Languages in the Educational System of Great Britain. [Cd. 9036.] Par. 39.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Par. 56.



(c) *Craftsmanship, Music and Literature.*

153. An even more important instrument of educational work among adults is to be found in the appeal of the Arts. It will be agreed, we think, that one of the gravest defects of English education has been till recently its too general failure to make use of the widely spread taste for different forms of artistic expression. Adult education, which has been influenced largely by the literary tradition of the older English universities, has not been altogether free from the fault of intellectualism. But life cannot be divided into compartments, one of which belongs to thought and the other to action. The test of education is not what children do in school, but what men and women enjoy out of it. A people which reserves its religion for Sundays is not religious, and it is not educated if, while it multiplies schools, it takes pleasure in filling its evenings with bad plays, its houses with shoddy furniture, and its towns with municipal statuary. A conception of education which limits it to the training of intellect without seeking to humanise all social activities will lay no spell upon ordinary men, and will ultimately find that the very schools on which it relies as its strongholds are invaded by materialism. Unless education is to be sterile it must draw its materials from the natural impulses of common life, including its labour and its recreations. Unless life is to be brutal it must be touched by the spirit which finds expression in education. The natural bridge between the discipline of the mind and practical activities is to be found in the Arts, which unite thought with emotion and action. An education which is merely one additional specialism is not education at all, and if the centuries which created English folk songs and ballad poetry had fewer schools and less information, it may be doubted whether, nevertheless, they were not, in some essential respects, better educated. If there is ever to be the reality of popular culture in England, it will not be achieved by reproducing the academic traditions of ancient institutions, however excellent. It must spring, like Welsh music, from the soil, and draw its inspiration from popular life. The natural vehicle is to be found in some form of Art.

154. We think it important, therefore, that adult education should be interpreted in such a way as to include the encouragement of music, of literature and drama, and, in so far as is possible, of craftsmanship. With regard to the last no effort has been made, as far as we are aware, except upon the smallest scale, to provide for adult men and women opportunities of an education which shall be liberal, in the sense of aiming at the development of mind and character rather than at professional equipment, and which, at the same time, should use as its medium not literary studies but creative work. There have been ages in which the pioneer of culture was the craftsman rather than the author. But the economic development of the last two centuries has turned most forms of manual work from an art into a discipline. So generally, indeed, has it been forgotten that in a well-ordered society manual work might itself be a vehicle of culture that the distinction between humane and technical education has come to be used in popular speech as almost equivalent to that between reading books and making things. Democratic educational movements have themselves done something to perpetuate that fallacy. In their determination that education shall not be subordinated to the service of production, they have sometimes forgotten that manual work ought to be a creative effort, not a soulless drudgery, and that the arts of production might themselves be humanised by being used in the service of education.

155. Whether an education offers a liberal culture or not depends on the purpose to which it is directed, and the spirit in which it is carried on, not on the medium which it employs. We think that all concerned with adult education should explore carefully the possibilities of appealing much more widely in the future to the instincts of the craftsman. In doing so they would not encroach on the space now occupied by the technical instruction given by Local Education Authorities, for the object of such instruction is primarily to prepare men for industry as it now is, not to use manual work as a vehicle of artistic culture. The purpose of the kind of education which we have in mind would be different. It is not to make men more efficient workers or to enable them to rise in their professions, but to revive the education in art which manual work once gave, and which too often it gives no longer. We should desire to see working-class organisations producing not only students with a knowledge of history and economics, but men and women who would demand a higher standard of beauty and usefulness in the ordinary material objects used in daily life, because they had learned to discriminate between the good and the pretentious. We should like to see teachers of classes drawn not only from men with an academic training, but from practical craftsmen whose vehicle of expression was the making of fine work, as that of teachers of another kind is the writing of books. We should like to see Local Education Authorities, and the Board of Education and the Universities recognising that such work deserves support as representing a channel of popular culture not less important, of its own kind, than any of those which have been opened in recent years.

156. On this subject we are in cordial agreement with the interesting suggestions which have been made to us by a teacher in the University of Wales:—"Industrialism," he writes, "has led to a decay in pride of workmanship, and this has widely ramifying results, among others, poverty of citizenship. To cope with this, even ever so little, I think the arts and crafts, in a broad sense, should come into education far more than they now do. The Guild of Arts and Crafts has asked Oxford University to take the matter up. . . . If the Universities take active interest in Arts and Crafts it will spread to the schools and through the body politic. In Wales, the Eisteddfodau are there ready to do much good work on these lines and they have the great advantage of not being directed from above. They give opportunities for all sorts of developments of expression of personality. Creative work is education and tends to encourage the communal sense in many ways. We need in this way to re-develop the creative faculty and interest which is latent almost everywhere. . . . The Summer School idea could be applied much more extensively as regards making things and creative effort generally. Why not study design and its execution, whether in illumination of manuscript, or in needlecraft of many kinds, or in metal work, slate work, &c. The various Eisteddfodau offer opportunities for exhibition and the rousing of public interest, and all that would be needed would be to provide some guidance for local committees in selection of judges. The judges should have the duty of expounding the idea of the test set in their adjudication and an exhibition of good work, increasingly from previous Eisteddfodau, could be made up and could circulate from place to place after the Eisteddfod, and after a few weeks it could be settled at some place where the Eisteddfod would have a permanent building and where its robes could be made and embroidered, its MSS. written and illuminated, its printing and that of the university done, a centre also for good bookbinding, &c.

That centre would gradually accumulate appropriate decoration from work sent to the Eisteddfodau."

157. Such a development of craftsmanship as an instrument of adult education, if it is to take place, must take place in response to a demand from men and women who themselves are conscious of the need for it. What is needed at present in the field is the pioneer work of the educational propagandist and missionary. Something of the kind of thing we have in mind is being done by the Design and Industries Association. But it is concerned mainly, we understand, with employers and men of business, not with men and women of the kind who at present take most interest in adult education. The task of interesting them in this type of education or of discovering by experiment its possibilities, its limits, and the conditions of successful work, can be undertaken hopefully only by some bodies which are closely in touch with them and in which they have confidence.

158. An easier and not less important problem consists in the further extension of education in music. Music should hold a prominent place among the subjects of adult education. We are a music-loving people, with a natural gift of song and a wide range of appreciation; we have many executive artists of the first rank; our composers, during the last thirty years, have won their way to independence and distinction. But we have not yet sufficiently realised the part that music can play, and ought to play, in the intellectual life of the country at large. We are still too much inclined to regard it as something external to ourselves, a pleasure in which most of us are content to be merely passive recipients, and with which we are not expected to co-operate by any intelligent effort of our own. No doubt in this matter also there has been a great advance. Much has already been done by the training in our schools and colleges, by our collections of folk-songs and folk-dances, by our competition festivals and our local societies. But more ground still remains to be covered, and here the progress of adult education may be of inestimable service. In Wales, in particular, which has been described by a notable English musician as "the greatest untilled musical field in the world," and in which the practice of choral singing is universal, the opportunities before musical education are immense. What it requires most, we are informed, is a raising of the standard of taste in the works performed, wider opportunities of hearing the best music, both vocal and instrumental, and a greater use of the staff notation. There are many signs that these needs are being realised, and will be increasingly met.

159. Adult education may make a contribution of two main kinds. First, it may encourage, as widely as possible, the practice of choral singing, and, wherever facilities allow, of *ensemble* playing as well. Care should be taken that the pieces selected are not unduly difficult and, above all, that they should be first-rate of their kind. No work which is dull or insincere or pretentious should on any terms be admitted. There is abundance of good music available, and it is desirable resolutely to destroy the weed-growth which has crept into its place through indifference and maintained it by use and custom. In the second place, classes, and especially discussions, can be promoted on matters of musical taste and appreciation. These have already been organised to some extent by the W.E.A., and all that is needed is to proceed further along the same lines. The classes should not attempt to cover the whole range of musical history or to occupy themselves much with movements or composers of secondary importance; they should rather deal with the larger issues, with questions of style, with the influence of nationality, and with the works of the great artists who have most

conspicuously added to the growth and development of European music. The study-circles might well be supplemented by lectures and concerts, and should be fully illustrated by examples from the works discussed. It would be desirable to establish small local libraries, and a central library from which the more expensive works could be borrowed. Both universities and Local Education Authorities can do much to encourage such a movement. A valuable example of what may be done by the former has been given by the tutorial class in the study and appreciation of music, conducted at Newcastle by Mr. Whitaker, Lecturer on Music at Armstrong College. It ran for three years, from 1915 to 1918, at the end of which time the students successfully petitioned that it should be continued for a fourth year. The music class under the auspices of the Birmingham University Joint Committee has had a continuous existence from 1911. At Morley College Mr. G. T. Holst has carried on successfully the teaching of harmony and counterpoint to non-professional students, subjects, however, which in most cases are probably of importance only to the limited number of students who are preparing for the musical profession. Given sufficient teachers, with the necessary qualifications, we think that classes in music, of the kind held at Newcastle, would be widely appreciated and would do valuable work. At the same time, Local Authorities could assist choral societies and amateur orchestras more generally than is done at present. They could lend them rooms for rehearsals and a hall for performances, could purchase (through the Library Committee) suitable choral and orchestra music, and might even, in some cases (through the Local Education Committee), make a grant towards the cost of instruments.

160. Education in literature may be given in such a way as to make an equal appeal to the instinct for artistic expression. The primary aim of education in literature, so far as adult students are concerned, should be not the acquisition of information but the cultivation of imagination. The test of its success is not that students should be able to talk fluently, or even intelligently, about literary history, but that they should have been penetrated by the power of some great writer, should have made something of him, at least, a part of themselves, and should have acquired insensibly an inner standard of excellence which will lead them (for example) to prefer Hardy to Hall Caine, and the Irish Players to a Revue. The indispensable qualification of the teacher of literature, therefore, is not learning, but passion and a power to communicate it. The method ought not simply, we think, to be that of the lecture, even of the lecture accompanied by question and answer. The teacher must possess enough of the actor's gift to be able to read aloud impressively. The student must read and recite and act, for poetry, no more than music, can be appreciated merely by the eye. Mere knowledge of literary history profits little. What is to be desired is the wide diffusion of taste, of critical faculty and even of creative power, such as have produced popular poetry in the past, and find expression in the literary festivals of Wales to-day.

161. Obviously such results do not come by observation. It should be equally obvious that it is worth while to turn, at least, in the right direction. It is only to a small extent a problem of organising the supply of teaching. It is true that classes in literature do valuable work, provided that their members do not merely listen to a lecture, but really steep themselves in the authors who are chosen for study, and that the teacher has unusual gifts of inspiration. But to regard education in literature primarily from the standpoint of class work is to interpret it too narrowly. The class should be the starting point for activity, individual and collective, on the part of the students. In some classes,

such as those conducted in Yorkshire by Professor Moorman and Mr. Grubb, it is the practice for the students to give dramatic performances as a conclusion to the session's work, and such experiments should become a regular feature of classes in literature. Attention should be given to the possibilities of dialect literature, not as a philological curiosity, but because dialect, where it still lives, is the natural speech of emotion, and therefore of poetry and drama. Students should be encouraged to write, and to write in their local language and with the material offered by the scenes and life which are familiar to them. If they are to love literature, and not merely to talk cleverly about it, they must feel that it is a thing not artificial, but homely and made out of the same stuff as the tragedy and comedy of their own surroundings. It is one of the misfortunes of our national life that, outside Wales and Ireland, Great Britain is unduly influenced by the culture of London, and of a very insignificant fraction of London at that. As far as the mass of the people are concerned it has, all but the best of it, the appearance of a shop-made article, which is manufactured for them by clever professionals and which has no intimate relation to their own lives. Courses in literature should aim, no doubt, at being catholic. As an experienced lecturer has told us, "a tutor ought not to fight shy of translations, if good ones can be procured. Of course points of style are missed, especially with Virgil, but very much is gained to compensate for the loss." But the provincial culture of England, Wales and Scotland, whether it be rural or industrial, is as nourishing a food for poetry as the Irish peasant life portrayed by Synge. If one function of literary education among adults, as we conceive it, is to open for the individual windows into a wider world, another and not less important is to aid the expression of that popular culture.

162. An increasing part will and ought, we think, to be played by the drama. The drama is the form of literature which has the greatest popular possibilities. In some countries it receives support from public funds because it is recognised to be an essential element in popular culture. When opportunities for seeing good drama have been made available at reasonable prices, they have met with an instantaneous and overwhelming response, which should dispose of the view, apparently favoured by most managers, that the public positively demands imbecility. If audiences on the whole like what they get, it by no means follows that they get what they would like most. That there is a popular taste for good drama is proved not only by the work of the "Old Vic" in London in presenting Shakespeare, which is described in Appendix I.<sup>1</sup>, and of some Repertory Theatres in the provinces, but by the reception given to good plays and good acting during the War by audiences composed of soldiers and munition workers. Miss Lena Ashwell, to whose work in France we have referred elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> has informed us that the soldiers would constantly ask for a repetition of Greek plays and of Shakespeare. Here and there the taste for dramatic expression has led, as at Newbury and West Hoathly, to the formation of local groups of amateur players. In Wales, during the last ten years, the production of Welsh plays or plays dealing with Welsh life, and the creation of large numbers of companies of local players to act them, has been the most marked feature in the intellectual development of the country. Few reforms would do more for the reality of education than such a change as would make good dramatic performances as cheap and accessible in Great Britain as they are in some continental towns. Yet, on the whole, this great instrument of education has been with certain striking exceptions, almost entirely neglected. If the drama is

<sup>1</sup> Appendix I, pp. 245-6.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix I, p. 339.

the type of literature with the widest popular appeal, it is also that which has sunk to the lowest depths. The educational standards of a nation may perhaps be measured by the plays which it finds enjoyable as reasonably as by the more formal test of the schools. It would be difficult for the most assured of British patriots to face that criterion without embarrassment.

163. The remedy for this state of things does not fall altogether within our reference. But the problem is partly an educational one, and we should like to see those concerned with educational movements among adults giving more consideration to the part which dramatic literature might play in it. It would be easy, for example, to form groups of students for the reading and discussion of plays, such as already exist in connection with classes in literature, W.E.A. branches, and other organisations. Such groups would naturally lead to the formation of Playgoers' Clubs, like that which was established some years ago at Birmingham in connection with the local branch of the W.E.A., and to experiments in presenting plays by the students themselves. As the appreciation of good drama spread, it would increase the public demand for it, and would help the pioneer work which has been done by the Repertory Theatre in the provinces by raising the general level of taste and criticism and by the new Little Theatre movement. But the main point which concerns us is not the remoter possibilities but the wide opportunity which the drama offers for spreading humane interests among men and women who would not be drawn to the more abstract and severer kinds of study. We think that a deliberate attempt should be made by the different bodies interested in adult education to set on foot the study of dramatic literature in connection, for example, with such bodies as the recently formed British Drama Society and the Arts League of Service.<sup>1</sup> There is much to be gained by close co-operation between educational agencies and the new movement in the theatre.

164. The success which has been achieved amongst the troops by Miss Lena. Ashwell's companies could undoubtedly be repeated at home. There would seem to be no reason why Miss Ashwell's organisation should not be kept intact and even developed to do for the civilian population at home what it has done with such excellent results for the soldiers abroad. We understand that an experiment on these lines is in contemplation. In practice, in the past, the rural population has been denied the pleasures of the theatre. If a company of players were to establish themselves in some provincial town as a centre, they might tour the surrounding villages, carrying with them—for suitable accommodation would often be lacking—a large tent in which performances could be given. Elaborate and costly staging and effects are not essential to the appreciation of plays, and the travelling theatre, by the very absence of these things, would do much to create a new and healthier tradition. The plays presented might often be arranged in consultation with those carrying on educational work in the district in which the company toured. In this way much would be done to stimulate the study of literature. The company would assist amateur players in the production of plays, and the travelling theatre might also become the home of a new local drama and make a living contribution to a new popular culture. Whether development along these lines would be financially practicable remains to be seen, but the object we have in mind is one which should commend itself to the Government and Local Education Authorities.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix I, p. 248.

## CHAPTER V.

**THE UNIVERSITIES AND ADULT EDUCATION.****(1) THE INCREASING SHARE OF THE UNIVERSITIES IN ADULT EDUCATION.**

165. It will be apparent from the evidence summarised in the preceding pages that, in the course of the last ten years, the provision of opportunities of higher education for adult men and women has come to play an increasing part in the work of British universities. As we have already pointed out, the development was not an altogether unforeseen departure. It was foreshadowed in the proposals made by Sewell and Jowett to the Royal Commissions of 1850 and 1874. It produced the earlier University Extension Movement which, though unendowed as far as its teaching was concerned, familiarised both the Universities and the public with the idea that the obligations of a university were not limited to supplying education to the students actually in residence at it. It received a new and fruitful expansion through the establishment by Oxford of the first university tutorial classes in 1908. Since that date tutorial classes, financed in part from university funds, have increased with remarkable rapidity. They have spread to all the Universities and University Colleges of England and Wales, to Scotland and Ireland, to all the Universities of Australia and New Zealand, and to South Africa and Canada. At the present time there is no university in England and Wales which does not make some provision for adult education, and no part of the United Kingdom or of the self-governing Dominions in which there is not some university doing the same.

166. The proposal that universities should not only organise the provision of higher education for adults, but should finance it, did not, when first put forward, escape criticism. When the Report on Oxford and Working Class Education appeared in 1908, there were some who objected that its recommendations would, if carried out, involve the University in new and indefinite liabilities, which would carry it beyond its proper sphere of work. That objection is still occasionally advanced to-day. But the assumption by the Universities of the responsibility for assisting the provision of educational facilities for adult men and women has met, on the whole, with general and increasing support from academic opinion. A Committee recently appointed by the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford to review the tutorial class work of the past ten years, recommended strongly its more adequate support by the University and Colleges. The Vice-Chancellors of most of the modern Universities have taken a keen interest in this aspect of University activities. The two Royal Commissions upon University education which have reported in the last ten years, have emphasised the necessity that universities should give the education of adults a larger place in their work. "We have been greatly struck," stated the Royal Commission on University Education in Wales, "by the earnest and hopeful spirit in which witnesses have spoken of university tutorial classes for adults who are already workers. . . . We have no doubt that the work of the University and Colleges outside their walls—the carrying of the University to the people—ought to undergo a great and immediate expansion." "We have been greatly impressed," wrote the Royal Commission on University Education in London, "by the remarkable progress already made . . . in arranging classes of a university standard for working men and women. We are even more impressed by the true spirit of learning, the earnest desire



for knowledge, and the tenacity of purpose which have been shown by the students. These men and women desire knowledge, not diplomas or degrees; and we think that no university, above all, no city university, would justify its existence that did not do its utmost to help and encourage work of this kind. . . . We think that the University should consider the work it is doing for these men and women one of the most serious and important of its services to the Metropolis." The example of the State of New South Wales in making the provision of tutorial classes an obligation imposed by statute upon the University of Sydney is one which is not directly applicable, perhaps, to the circumstances of this country. But it is none the less true that an increasing body of university teachers are engaged for part of their time in teaching adult extra-mural students, and the education of adults is coming to be regarded as a regular part of the work of a university.

167. The assumption by universities of these new and important responsibilities has not been the result of any deliberate reconsideration of the principles and objects of university education, such as seventy years ago gave a new orientation to the work of Oxford and Cambridge. It has taken place gradually and step by step, mainly through the process of meeting the needs of particular groups of students, as those needs became vocal. This method of advance—the usual one in this country—has its advantages, particularly in the earlier stages of a movement. It ensures that each step forward is based on experience already obtained and that action is taken only in response to a genuine demand. But the period of mere experiment may now, we think, be regarded as over. The reality of the desire for higher education among large numbers of men and women, the methods by which that desire may be met, and the possibility of fruitful co-operation between them and the Universities have been proved abundantly by the experience of the last ten years. It remains to reap the fruits of what has been already accomplished. There must be a systematic survey of the whole field, a careful examination of the difficulties, and a generous expenditure of the thought and the financial resources by which alone those difficulties can be overcome. There is a time for cautious experiment and a time for bold and far-sighted action. Universities have done valuable work for adult education, with the expenditure upon it of only a small fraction of their existing resources, and without, in most cases, giving any special consideration to the equipment which would be necessary for the purpose. They must now consider their organisation and resources in the light of the provision which it will be necessary in the future to make for adult education.

## (II.) THE NEED FOR A LARGER APPLICATION OF UNIVERSITY RESOURCES TO ADULT EDUCATION.

168. The first necessity is such a recognition by universities of the importance of adult education as will lead them to make a much larger financial provision for it. At the present time its development is gravely impeded by lack of funds, which results in the number of teachers being inadequate and their salaries too low, and in the officers of Joint Committees (when such are employed) being underpaid and overworked. In our later chapter on Finance and Organisation we make proposals for increased assistance on the part of the State to adult education. It is equally important, however, that increased financial provision for adult education should be made by the Universities themselves. According to the recommendations originally

made in the report upon Oxford and Working Class Education, the Universities were to be responsible for one-half of the tutors' salaries and for their travelling expenses. At Oxford that principle has hitherto been carried out. At other universities, however, the proportion of the cost borne by the University is considerably less than one-half, and at some it is actually less than one quarter of the total cost of the classes. During the six years 1908-13 the total sum spent upon tutorial classes from university sources was £17,440. In 1916-17 it amounted to £3,003. In that year, owing to the conditions produced by the war, the classes numbered only 99; and, at the same rate of expenditure per class, the 153 classes conducted in the winter of 1918-19 will have involved an expenditure of approximately £4,650. The provision made for the maintenance of tutorial classes varies greatly from one university to another. It ranged in the years 1916-17 from £885 at Oxford to £155 at Leeds, £125 at Durham, £76 at Cambridge, and £12 at Reading. In addition to the money which they allot to tutorial classes, Cambridge, London and Oxford each maintain a University Extension Secretary and office; and Cambridge and Oxford meet any deficit that may arise on the summer meetings. The total amount spent upon all forms of adult education by all the Universities of England and Wales together, cannot be stated with precision. But we estimate that for the year 1918-19 it will not exceed £5,000. Nor is even this small sum a secure income which can be counted upon with certainty. The amount which can be spent upon tutorial classes depends at Oxford and Cambridge upon the contributions made by the colleges, which are paid at varying dates throughout the year to the Joint Committees, and at other universities on the grant made annually by the University Court. In the latter case it is uncertain until the necessary resolution has been passed, in the former until all the colleges have made their contributions. In neither case is it sufficiently regular for the work of the tutorial classes committees to be planned over a period of years. The result is that well thought-out schemes are difficult or impossible and that the committees live from hand to mouth.

169. In view of the success which has already been achieved in the sphere of extra-mural education and of the importance of extending it, we regard the sum now devoted to it by the Universities as wholly inadequate. We are well aware, of course, that the revenues of most universities are insufficient to provide adequately even for their present needs, and that the further development of their extra-mural work among adults is only one of several claims which demand attention. For the sake both of adult education and of those other objects, it is most desirable that the financial resources at the disposal of universities should be largely increased. It is not within our province to attempt to indicate the sources from which that increase should come. It would be agreed, however, we think, that the assistance of the Universities in the provision of adult education by means of liberal grants from the rates is a form of educational expenditure which should make a special appeal to Local Authorities. In this matter, a precedent of the first importance has been set by the decision of the Welsh County Councils to put the proceeds of a 1d. rate at the disposal of the University of Wales, which, it is estimated, will yield an annual revenue of approximately £44,000. The sum granted to the Universities of England by English Local Authorities amounted in the year 1913-14 to £108,462, a large part of which was payment for services rendered, for example, in the training of teachers, not a net addition to university revenues. In addition, their grants to tutorial classes amounted in the year 1916-17 to £2,143. The financial provision which may

make possible the establishment of a system of free university education must ultimately, no doubt, be made by the State. But, pending the realisation of that ideal, there are few measures which would do more to promote good citizenship and to enable the community to reap the full fruits of the outlay which it makes upon the earlier stages of education than the general imitation by the large English Local Authorities of the example which has been set by those of Wales. If universities play their part, as we propose that they should, in the development of adult education, they may reasonably expect the most generous assistance from the great civic communities in the midst of which they are situated and which primarily they serve.

170. In urging, however, that there should be a large addition to the outlay of universities upon their extra-mural work, we have something more in mind than that they should apply to it merely the same proportion as in the past of the larger aggregate income, which, it is to be hoped, they will administer in the future. The problem is, indeed, one not merely of amounts, but of proportions. What is to be desired is not only an addition to the total sum now spent upon extra-mural education, but a change in the estimate now commonly accepted of its relative importance compared with the other objects to which the resources of the Universities are applied. The revenues of universities and university colleges, though still sadly inadequate, have been increased considerably, we are glad to say, in recent years, both by benefactions from private individuals and by grants from the State. The Exchequer grants grew from £115,100 in 1908-9 (the date at which the first tutorial classes were established) to £170,000 in 1914-15, and they have been raised to approximately £900,000 under the Education Estimates of the present year.<sup>1</sup> If the expenditure upon adult extra-mural education is still less than £6,000 a year, the explanation is to be found, not only in the poverty of most universities, but partly also in the fact that its importance has not yet been fully recognised. Nor, in the absence of such a new appreciation of it as that for which we have pleaded, is there any certainty that even a considerable increase in these resources would cause anything like adequate provision to be made for adult education. For it could still be urged that the needs of extra-mural students should be postponed to the realization of other objects which might be regarded as of more immediate importance.

171. To determine in advance precisely what proportion of university expenditure should be allotted to adult education is not, of course, practicable. Nor is it necessary for our purpose. It cannot seriously be argued, we think, that an average expenditure of £250 per university, which was that made on tutorial classes in 1916-17 by the Universities and University Colleges of England,<sup>2</sup> represents a reasonable estimate of its importance to the community, or that the relative value of their intra-mural and extra-mural activities varies so profoundly as to justify the disproportion in the sums which universities at present spend upon them. If the more advanced forms of extra-mural university work are expensive compared with the evening classes conducted by Local Education Authorities, compared with intra-mural university work, they are cheap. The cost of a department in one of the newer universities, in which a professor may teach 20 students or less,

<sup>1</sup> *Estimates for the Civil Services for the year ending 31 March, 1920. Class IV., p. 39.* The total grant for Universities and Colleges, United Kingdom, amounted to £916,000.

<sup>2</sup> In 1916-17 none of the Colleges of Wales conducted any tutorial classes. In the case of Scotland, the School Boards, and not the Universities, have been financially responsible.

may be anything from £500 to £1,500 or more a year.<sup>1</sup> A similar sum would enable the University to pay its share of the cost of four tutors, teaching 12 classes containing about 250 students. We make the comparison in order to offer some idea of the relative expenditures involved, not, of course, in order in any way to undervalue the significance of intra-mural education. Nor do we suggest that its value can be measured solely and principally by the number of students who at any one time are under instruction. But the number of students who are being educated—the radius, as it were, of the university's influence—must, at least, be considered; and we are convinced that there should be something like a radical revaluation of the educational importance of the extra-mural work which is done, and still more which might be done, by many universities. A far larger staff should be engaged upon it. Higher salaries should be paid. The opportunities for extra-mural students to study in the Universities should be increased. The offices of Joint Committees (when such are maintained) should be staffed on a more generous scale. Not less important, the minimum sum to be allocated to adult extra-mural education should be fixed for a period of not less than three years, in such a way that the bodies administering it may know in advance the income upon which they can count with certainty, and may be able to frame their plans accordingly.

172. If adult education is to receive its fair share of the increasing revenues administered by universities, it must cease, in short, to be considered, as we think it has been too generally considered hitherto, as a mere appendage to the work of the Universities, for which provision is made only when all other needs are satisfied, which is the last to be increased when fresh expenditure is contemplated and the first to be curtailed when economies are being introduced. It must be treated in the matter of finance as what the Report of the Royal Commission on University Education in London, which has already been quoted, declared it to be, "one of the most serious and important of the services" provided by a university. Their extra-mural activities are, indeed, that part of the work of universities in which the interest of the great mass of working

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<sup>1</sup> We may quote as an example, which must not, however, be taken as typical, the statement of a tutor of experience who writes: "I was once asked, in the absence on leave of the Professor, to take the degree courses in economics in a university for which I was taking tutorial classes. I gave, I think, six lectures a week, to a total of six students. Only one of these could be described as good—an Honours Science student taking commercial geography as a subject allied to her special study, geology. Two were technological students, taking economics because they had to take one "Arts" subject for their degree. Two lectures a week I gave for the exclusive benefit of a candidate for a degree in commerce, who possessed many of the qualities required for success in commerce, but few of those required for success in examination; after failing to pass the Intermediate examination thrice, he got a position in the office of a clothing factory, and subsequently saw the world as steward of a tramp steamer. At the same time I was taking tutorial classes in two small industrial towns. In one I had four members of the Town Council, besides a number of trade union and other labour organisation officials; in the other practically all the effective officials of the labour movement in the town, in addition to three local preachers and other voluntary social workers. The quality of the five or six best students in each class was much above that of my intra-mural classes, that of the 15 or so other students in each class not below. Whether academic quality of work done or social influence likely to be exercised by the student be considered, my tutorial class students were individually more important than my intra-mural students. For my intra-mural work I was paid £250, for my two extra-mural classes £100, of which all but £10 or £15 was derived from Board of Education and Local Authority grants. This is some years ago, and the intra-mural work in the Economics Department of the University was unusually small that year and has grown since; but it does not unfairly represent, so far as my experience goes, the relative values attached by University Authorities to intra-mural and extra-mural work."

people, who need higher education none the less because they cannot spend three or four years in residence at a university, is most direct and immediate. It is reasonable that they should be partly financed, as they are at present, by grants from the Board of Education and from Local Education Authorities. But the connection which at present exists between the universities and tutorial classes is of high educational value, to the former as well as the latter. It depends, in the last resort, upon the fact that they are to some extent endowed out of university resources. It would be deplorable if any failure on the part of the Universities to realise the great and growing importance of this aspect of their work were to cause the connection to be weakened.

### (III.) UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENTS OF EXTRA-MURAL ADULT EDUCATION.

173. The first result, then, of the new and more dignified position which we desire to see given by the Universities to adult education should be the devotion to it of a much larger proportion of the financial resources of the Universities. The second should be a systematization and enlargement of the university machinery by means of which it is administered. The principal organs through which the Universities deal with the needs of adult students are two, the University Extension Boards, Delegacies or Syndicates, and the Tutorial Classes Joint Committees. The former, which are responsible for the supply of university extension lectures and the organisation of summer meetings, have existed at one time or another at most universities, but at the present moment are in active work, we believe, only at the Universities of Cambridge, London and Oxford. The latter administer university tutorial classes and summer schools. This machinery for administering adult education has grown up in response to new needs as they arose, first university extension of the older type, then tutorial classes and summer schools. It has shown considerable elasticity and power of expansion, and we do not desire to see it superseded altogether. But, like the financial arrangements of which we have already spoken, it suffers from the fact that universities have rather drifted into adult education than planned their organisation for it. The experience of the last ten years has shown, we think, that it needs considerable reconstruction if it is to bear the new weight which is likely and ought to be placed upon it.

174. There are certain detailed changes which are essential, irrespective of the adoption of the larger proposal which we make below. In the first place, the arrangement by which, when both a Tutorial Class Committee and a University Extension Board exist in the same University, the former is a sub-committee of the latter, is no longer appropriate and should be altered. When tutorial classes were first established it was convenient that they should be treated for administrative purposes as an off-shoot of the extension work which was already in existence. But during the last ten years the tutorial classes have won their way to recognition as the most advanced form of extra-mural university education yet attempted. Though they have not taken the place of university extension lectures, they have occupied a field which extension lectures could not, and did not pretend to, fill. They ought no longer, therefore, to be treated merely as a part of an organisation which was created for a quite different purpose. They should be co-ordinate with the University Extension Board (where such Board exists), not subordinate to it. They should receive funds direct from the Universities, and not through the mediation of the Extension Board. When they employ paid officers, such officers should be responsible to

them alone, and should not (as hitherto in London) be subject to the control of the University Extension Board.

175. In the second place, the Tutorial Classes Committees require the services of a more adequate staff. At present only the London and Oxford Committees employ paid secretaries. In the other Universities the work of organising tutorial classes is divided between an officer of the University and the District Secretary of the Workers' Educational Association. Either of these arrangements may work satisfactorily. Except at Oxford, where there is no District Office of the Workers' Educational Association, and where a full-time officer is indispensable, the most satisfactory system is probably that under which a District Secretary of the Association is also a Secretary of the Tutorial Classes Committee. But, whichever arrangement is adopted, it is essential that steps should be taken to provide the staff which the organisation of tutorial classes necessarily involves. If, as at Oxford and London, the Joint Committee maintains its own office, the office must be provided with a personnel sufficiently large to enable the Organising Secretary to visit the different classes and to make it unnecessary for him to attend to all detailed work himself. If, as at most other universities, the greater part of the work of organising tutorial classes falls upon the District Office of the Workers' Educational Association, then the university should contribute towards it (as some universities already do) in order to provide for the increased staff which such work imposes. It cannot be too strongly emphasised that the success of tutorial classes depends upon the organising work which is done in establishing and maintaining them to at least as great an extent as upon the work of the actual teacher. Expenditure upon the preliminary work of organisation is educational expenditure in the fullest sense of the words. To starve it is to jeopardise the success of the whole experiment.

176. These changes are essential, whatever shape may ultimately be given to the machinery for administering adult extra-mural education. But something more is required than merely that Tutorial Class Committees should obtain an independent status at the Universities and be provided with the staff necessary to the efficient discharge of their work. At present such extra-mural education as is done, tends to be done, as it were, in separate compartments. There are university extension lectures; there are tutorial classes; there are summer schools and meetings. But no attempt has been made to co-ordinate the different pieces of work, to survey the whole field, or to give adult education a prominent and intelligible place in the general scheme of university activities. Still less have the Universities sought to anticipate the demand, instead of merely waiting until it became so insistent that it could not be neglected. What is needed is not to supersede any of these activities—we think it is a misfortune, indeed, that the older type of university extension work should have virtually disappeared from the majority of universities—but to fit them into a common plan, so that each group of students may find the kind of provision best suited to their needs, and that the interests of adult education may have due weight in determining the future policy of the Universities.

177. It is for these reasons that we propose the establishment at each university of a department of extra-mural adult education, with an academic head. If this suggestion were carried out, this department would be responsible for the administration of university tutorial classes, university extension lectures, summer schools, and such other forms of adult education as may be developed in the future in connection with the Universities. In those universities where all these types

of extra-mural education are at present carried on, they would be transferred to the hands of the new department: in the remainder it would be the function of the department to stimulate those which are at present undeveloped. The nucleus of the department would be the Joint Committees, which at present manage the tutorial classes, and the University Extension Boards or Delegacies when such exist. The maintenance of the Joint Committee is a point to which we attach very great importance. The success of the tutorial classes has depended to no small extent upon the fact that the authority managing them consisted not only of academic persons, but of members representing different types of non-academic organisations, with practical experience of the needs, problems and point of view of adult students. The link thus established between the Universities and the students for whom extra-mural education is provided, and the representation on a university body of those who learn as well as of those who teach, has been of the utmost value. We think, indeed, that it is an analogy which is likely in the future to prove fruitful in fields other than those with which we are immediately concerned. We have no doubt that a body composed on similar lines would be advantageous in the case of university extension courses, and we would suggest that University Extension Boards and Delegacies should be reconstituted so as to secure the representation of non-academic interests. The governing authority of the department should be the Tutorial Classes Committee and the Extension Board meeting in joint session. To this body would be paid all money voted by the university for adult education. It should allocate it between different objects, and should appoint and pay such officers (if any) as it thinks necessary in order to carry on the work of the department.

178. The creation of such departments would result, we think, in a considerable impetus being given to the work which the Universities now do in the sphere of adult education. For one thing, it would enable all types of adult education to be developed systematically. The experience gained in tutorial classes would be at the service of those organizing extension lectures and *vice versâ*. The varying needs of different districts would be focussed at the Universities. It would be known which district was ripe for tutorial classes, and in which it would be wiser to begin with shorter classes of a preparatory character. All contributions of knowledge and suggestion would come to a single centre in each university and would be used to build up the movement as a whole. For another thing the position of adult education within the Universities would be strengthened. If each university possessed a department specially charged with the duty of representing the needs of the adult student to the university authorities and of securing the means to provide for them, the unsatisfactory position of adult education would be altered. It would become necessary for them to discuss and weigh the claims of adult education and to make plans for its further extension, as they now make plans for the development of other aspects of academic work. Equally important, the result would be to strengthen the connection between the Universities and the non-academic world. One of the dangers of academic work, of which many of those engaged in it are well aware, is that, absorbed in its own exacting problems, it may become divorced from the general life of the community, and thus miss the opportunity either of getting or of giving the inspiration which springs from the mingling of different types of culture and experience. The extra-mural departments which we propose would be the eyes and ears of the Universities. They would be concerned, to use a convenient metaphor, with questions of foreign policy. They would report on the needs of new types of students, on the value of novel

educational experiments, on the possibility of extending the influence of the Universities into fields which as yet they have not touched. The Universities of Great Britain are still only on the threshold of the work which new conditions demand of them. Their influence will depend in part on their ability to keep in close touch with the changing currents of social life outside them. The bridge which it would help to build between the Universities and the world of industry would not be the least of the advantages offered by the establishment at each university of such a Department as we have suggested.

#### (IV) THE PLACE OF ADULT EDUCATION IN THE WORK OF THE UNIVERSITIES.

179. For ultimately it is as the addition of a new type of higher education to those already in existence that the experiments which are the subject of our earlier chapters must be judged. Though hitherto we have spoken only of what the Universities can do for adult students, it is not less important to emphasise the contribution which adult students can make to the Universities. The characteristic of the movements described in this Report is the attempt to bring education of a humanistic character within reach of all classes and individuals who desire it, irrespective of their occupations, their incomes, or their social position. They thus make a contribution to the educational thought and activities of the country, which, if not entirely novel, is new upon its present scale. In its earlier stages, our educational system was perhaps unduly dominated by the idea expressed in the phrase "the educational ladder"—the selection of special capacity for special cultivation. It was thought desirable to encourage the intensive education of unusually able or fortunate boys and girls by facilitating their entrance into secondary schools, universities, and ultimately the professions, but unnecessary to provide higher education for those who would remain throughout their lives in the rank and file of industry. The positive conception is just, and its further realisation is a matter of urgent importance. The negative is unsound. For it would lead, if it could be pursued to its logical conclusion, to the erection of a small apex of highly-trained intelligence upon the basis of an uninformed and uncultivated population, immersed in material interests and excluded from the life of the intellect and the inspiration of knowledge.

180. That conception of educational policy has its advocates, and there are countries and periods for which it may possibly possess a certain suitability. But it is not adapted to the needs of Great Britain at the present day, and the movements described above are a corrective of it. Through changes, partly of thought, partly of fact, the acquiescence in the life devoid of intellectual interests other than those springing from their trade or occupations seems, as far as an increasing number of men and women are concerned, to be coming to an end. They are not satisfied, as it is said, to work and sleep, and sleep and work; and they are no longer able to accept the idea that the position of the mass of the population must permanently be such that they can achieve personal culture only by escaping from it. The result is the movements for the diffusion of higher education of which we have spoken. Their aim is not merely selection *for* higher education, but a general provision *of* higher education. It is to make it accessible not only to those who will occupy a position sometimes described as higher than that of the workman, but also to men and women who will continue throughout their lives to work in the factory and the mine, and who do not need it the less because they are unable to give up the years of adolescence and early manhood to



obtaining it. It is, in short, to make higher education as universal as citizenship, because one of the conditions of good citizenship is higher education. That purpose is not the less significant because it is realised only on the most humble scale at present and is not likely ever to be realised completely.

181. This growth of a desire for culture among adult men and women has prepared the way, as it seems to us, for something like a re-interpretation of the meaning and possibilities of a university education. Until recently the function of a university was commonly considered to be limited, apart from the advancement of knowledge, to offering instruction to those who passed from a secondary school into a full-time residence extending over a period of three or four years. The provision of education for extra-mural students, if undertaken at all, was usually regarded as a side-issue, a subordinate and incidental part of the activities of a university, which might be meritorious as a work of supererogation, but which it was neither obligatory to promote nor culpable to neglect. In the past that conception was a natural one. When the demand for education of a university character was confined to students coming from the secondary schools and desirous of obtaining the qualifications needed to prepare them for a profession, it was not unreasonable that a university should be regarded primarily as "the professional school of the brain-working classes." At the present time it requires to be broadened. For an increasing number of adult men and women are seeking opportunities for education of a kind such as has hitherto been confined to intra-mural university students. Not all have the qualifications to attain it. But the criterion of a university education is the quality of the work which is done, not the place in which it is performed; and when students carry on university studies under university teachers by methods similar to those followed in universities, they are, in fact, obtaining some of the essentials of a university education. In the future, it seems to us, that new accession to the *clientèle* of the Universities ought to be frankly recognised in their organisation and financial policy. They must look not only towards the secondary schools, from which they now draw their pupils, but to the world of men and women, who seek education not as a means to entering a profession, but as an aid to the development of personality and a condition of wise and public-spirited citizenship.

182. We have already suggested certain methods by which the Universities may play their part more effectively in meeting that demand. But we should not wish it to be supposed that we regard the steps suggested above as in any way exhausting the possibilities arising from the new orientation of university education. On the contrary, they will merely prepare the way for more far-reaching developments. If, as we hope, the number of tutorial and other classes is largely increased, the time will shortly arrive when those in one area will form the nucleus of something like a local college of adult students, employing a resident tutor or tutors. Universities are likely in the future to become increasingly decentralized; already, indeed, the colleges of the University of London are separated from each other by several miles. There is no reason why, as the number of adult students grows, each of the Universities should not become the metropolis of a group of colleges planted in the surrounding towns and affiliated to it. Such adult colleges might well be recognised as part of itself by the university responsible for supplying them with teachers. There might be a regular interchange of staff between them and the parent university. However much the number of universities may be increased, there will always be large parts of the country which are remote from university

cities. If they are not to be divorced from the influences for which universities stand, there must be decentralization. The formation of local colleges out of groups of adult students is a natural growth which supplies part of the machinery through which the decentralization of university education may be carried out.

183. But this is only one of the ways in which the growth of adult education may lead to the wider diffusion of the influence of the universities. Not only can the Universities supply teachers for local classes or colleges, but local colleges can supply students for the universities. Thirty years ago the undergraduate population of such universities as then existed, was largely homogeneous in age, in previous education, and in social tradition. To-day that homogeneity is tending to disappear. The conception of universities as finishing schools for young men of a particular social class and particular type of previous education is giving way to the original conception of them as the natural meeting place for all who have the desire and capacity for advanced study. At the present time the students in residence at the British Universities are probably more heterogeneous in type than ever before. They consist not only of the youths who have entered there direct from the secondary schools, but of men of more mature years, ex-soldiers and ex-sailors, as well as students from the Dominions, from America, and from other foreign nations.

184. This mixing of different ages and various experiences within the universities is primarily due to the special circumstances created by the War. But it would be a misfortune, we think, if its lessons were forgotten with the disappearance of the temporary causes which have produced it. The wider the range of experience upon which universities draw, and the more diverse the characteristics and aims of the students attending them, the richer is likely to be their intellectual life and the more vigorous their influence upon the community. No doubt young men and women who seek both culture and professional qualifications will continue to form the majority of their clientèle. But universities should find room for adult students whom circumstances have prevented from entering a university in their earlier years, for the man or woman who has taken up some special branch of study and desires to pursue it further under the guidance of an eminent teacher, for the municipal civil servant (of whose educational needs the President of the Board of Education has recently spoken), for those who, like many teachers and other persons engaged in social and educational work, desire to withdraw for a time from the practice of their profession in order to broaden their knowledge of its principles.

185. Adult students of this kind would bring a valuable contribution to the intellectual and social life of universities, and it is important that the Universities should endeavour to meet their needs. Something, indeed, is already being attempted in this direction. The summer schools provide opportunities for short periods of intensive study for an increasing number of adult students. The Schools of Social Science are attended part-time by a considerable number of men and women engaged in one form and another of public or semi-public work. One university at least has approached the Trade Unions in its area with the proposal to arrange a course of part-time study for such of their officials and members as they may choose to send to it. But all that has so far been done to enable adult students to study in universities is still tentative and on a comparatively small scale. It requires to be developed, and systematized, and recognized as an integral part of the work of a modern university. We should like to see the

"summer" schools so extended and arranged as to offer throughout the whole year opportunities of study to men and women who have passed through tutorial classes. We should like to see the universities make a systematic effort to provide education in political science and economics for the municipal civil service, upon whose intelligence and public spirit the quality of life in our great cities increasingly depends, and who, as far as we have been able to discover, have hitherto only in the very rarest cases received a university education. We should like to see them offer special facilities for elementary and other teachers who have already been engaged for some years in their profession and who are the natural channel through whom the influence of the Universities should be diffused among the rising generation. For some of these students, for example the municipal civil servant, part-time study in the nearest university might well be found the most convenient arrangement. Others, for example tutorial class students, might be assisted to spend some months in residence in a university for two or three years in succession. In the case of teachers, again, it might be possible to arrange with the Local Education Authorities to release them for one or two years after five or seven years of service. But, whatever the precise method adopted—and more than one method will be required—the advantages to be derived from drawing adult students into closer connection with the university would be inestimable. The universities would be broadened by the presence of a new type of students. The whole community would gain through the presence in all walks of life of men and women who had studied in a university.

186. In the Scottish universities neither the university extension nor tutorial class movements have been a feature of their activities. There are now tutorial classes in Scotland, but there have not yet been any summer schools in connection with them. Though extra-mural lectures have been given from time to time, the extension movement, as it is known in England, has never extended to Scotland, and there have been therefore no extension summer meetings. There are, however, Schools of Social Science at Edinburgh and Glasgow, which offer facilities to adult students. We cannot resist the conclusion that extra-mural university education is as essential in Scotland as in England and Wales. We regard adult education, under the conditions and in the atmosphere which we have already described, as a primary need of the people of this country, and we consider that universities must play a prominent part in its provision. As to the need for the universities to take part in adult education, no distinction can be drawn between the north and the south of the Tweed. Equally, we cannot urge that geographical situation in Great Britain determines the function of universities. We feel, therefore, that our recommendations with regard to universities should be read as referring equally to the universities of Scotland and England and Wales. And we are all the more anxious that developments along the lines suggested above should be undertaken in Scotland because of the evidence we have received of the growing demand amongst the people for facilities for humane education. In the case of England and Wales the proposals we have made will not necessitate the adoption of any new principle; rather are they the logical development of existing practices and past experience. In Scotland, however, our recommendations will require, for example, the introduction of a new method of paying Government grants. We believe, however, that though local circumstances may lead to minor adaptations of our proposals, the main principles relating to the organisation of and assistance for extra-mural university education could well be applied to Scotland. We think it would assist the development of adult education if the Scottish Education Department

were to set up for Scotland a standing joint committee consisting of representatives of the universities, the Local Education Authorities and voluntary educational organisations for the purpose of regular consultation on the problems of adult education.

## CHAPTER VI.

### LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND ADULT EDUCATION.

#### (I.) THE DUTIES OF LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES.

187. The Local Education Authorities of Great Britain are mainly concerned with three different types of pupil. In the first place, they are responsible for the education of some seven million of children in primary schools. In sheer bulk this work outweighs all the other activities of education authorities. Secondly, they are concerned with the education of a much smaller number of pupils in provided secondary schools.<sup>1</sup> Thirdly, there is a relatively small number of full and part-time students in day, technical and art schools and a much larger number in evening continuation and technical schools. Of the evening school work by far the greater proportion is vocational in character. It is clear, therefore, that Local Education Authorities—and this is true both north and south of the Tweed—are for the most part concerned with children and adolescents, that adult students are relatively few in number and that these are enrolled in the main for vocational subjects. It is, of course, true that many of the classes provided in technical, art and continuation schools are not vocational in a narrow sense. The grouped course system makes provision for the inclusion of liberal subjects in evening schools. The enrolments in technical and evening continuation schools represent, also, a considerable number of students entering for domestic subjects, which fall into a somewhat different category from studies connected with wage earning employment. Moreover, most technical courses include subjects, *e.g.*, mathematics, chemistry, industrial history, which have a wide application, and a cultural value independent of any economic value they may possess and which are properly included in a curriculum aiming at a general education. A minority of students attend the classes arranged by Local Authorities for other than vocational ends—for example, art, literature, music, and history classes. Nevertheless, it is mainly the technical studies which have determined the outlook of Local Education Authorities.

188. The fact that Local Education Authorities are concerned chiefly with children and adolescents, and, in a less degree, with older students whose predominant interest is vocational instruction has moulded the character of educational administration and given rise to a tradition which is far from favourable to the development of adult non-vocational education. For this state of affairs the Local Authorities are not solely

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<sup>1</sup> The total number of secondary schools in England and Wales regarded as eligible for grant was 1,061 in 1917-18. Of these 456 were controlled by local authorities. The total number of pupils in the 1,061 schools on the grant list during 1917-18 was 238,284, only a proportion of whom are enrolled in schools controlled by local authorities. During the year ended August 31st, 1917, there were 31,949 scholars on the register in Higher Grade schools aided under the Code, and 21,012 in state aided Secondary schools. The latter number, however, includes pupils in Preparatory Departments which are not aided.

responsible. Their first duty has been to fulfil their statutory duties; they have, moreover, reflected the attitude of the central administration, which has not always given encouragement to non-vocational studies. Local Authorities also have but interpreted the utilitarian spirit of the times, and it is natural that the traditions they have established should continue after the growth of a new attitude towards education and the development of a new conception of its purpose. But whatever the reasons may be for the character of the atmosphere in which the activities of Local Education Authorities are carried on, there can be no doubt that non-vocational adult education has not in the past thriven in it. In the case of children and adolescents, who are not free agents, courses of study are naturally determined for them by others, whilst in the case of vocational education the choice of subjects and the method of treatment are determined by the immediate end in view, whether it be a qualifying examination or direct economic advancement. The age and experience of the vast majority of the pupils under their care, on the one hand, and the limitations imposed by the utilitarian objects of technical education on the other, have combined to produce a tradition which has been unsympathetic to humane adult education. The fact that there has been little demand made upon Local Authorities by adults for classes in non-vocational subjects is attributable not so much to lack of desire as to lack of knowledge as to the possibilities of obtaining suitable educational facilities from Educational Authorities and lack of confidence in their established methods.

189. In another chapter we refer to the methods and organisation which have led to a remarkable development of non-vocational education amongst adults under the auspices of universities and voluntary bodies; and we need do no more here than emphasise the importance of a larger measure of freedom and initiative where adults are concerned and the need of more elasticity with regard to regulations than is usually practicable in the complex administration of a statutory authority. We do not mean to imply that Local Education Authorities should confine their attention to the education of the young and to technical instruction. On the contrary, there is a wide field of opportunity for them, as we show below; and we cannot forget that many Authorities have been of great service to the cause of adult education. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that Local Authorities are faced with ever-growing duties and responsibilities in a sphere in which they are paramount and in which they have the advantage of considerable experience. Even as regards elementary education, their duties and powers are gradually extending. The provision and administration of school meals, medical inspection and treatment, special schools for physically and mentally defective children, open air schools, and so forth must inevitably increase considerably the administrative burden of the Local Authorities. The great development of secondary education in recent years and the further growth which we may anticipate in the future must give rise to new problems, of which one of the most important will probably be the evolution of varied types of school in order to meet the needs of different types of pupil. In this connection, therefore, the responsibilities of Education Authorities will become more onerous. Further, in the immediate future we may anticipate a development of technical education, partly owing to an increase in the number of students, but partly also through the growth of new industries and new methods and processes of production. Here again, Local Authorities will be faced with new obligations. Moreover, their statutory duties now include the provision of compulsory day continuation classes, which ultimately will need to

be provided for all boys and girls—with certain exceptions—above the full-time school leaving age who are under eighteen years of age. This large educational experiment will require the evolution of a new type of school and a special administration. It must be co-ordinated with the elementary and secondary school systems, on the one hand, and with the system of technical education on the other. This task will demand the close attention of Local Authorities. Finally, we have proposed in our Third Interim Report that Local Education Authorities should be directly associated with the administration of libraries and museums.

## (II.) THE PLACE OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ADULT EDUCATION.

190. It cannot be denied, we think, that Local Education Authorities have a very large field of work before them. This is not to say, however, that they should stand aside and leave to others the province of non-vocational adult education. On the contrary, the more effectively the national system of education is developed, the greater will grow the need for the close co-operation between statutory and other educational bodies to meet the demand for adult education. Association with the various forms of non-vocational adult education will exercise a valuable influence upon other types of education. It is certain that day continuation classes cannot be successful if they are regarded either as an extension of the elementary school or as a modification of the technical school. They will eventually evolve an outlook, method, and content of their own. It is more than probable that the experience which has in recent years been gained in the field of adult education will be of considerable service from the point of view of continuation education; whilst the technical schools have also something to learn from this experience. If Local Authorities are to cope successfully with the growing burden of their duties it will be necessary that they should co-operate closely with the many agencies whose activities touch at some point the work of the authorities and that they should not, by a policy of centralisation, endeavour to supersede or duplicate the functions of voluntary movements. The Boy Scouts Movement, the Workers' Educational Association, and Women's Institutes—with their own traditions and peculiar experience—are not the outcome of defects on the part of statutory authorities. Indeed, their value will increase and the need for them become stronger as Local Education Authorities embrace new activities and widen the sphere of their operations. The voluntary agency, in brief, is not a makeshift, but a permanent need, and the Local Authority should frankly accept co-operation with it.

191. We have referred elsewhere in this Report to the valuable assistance which has been derived from Local Education Authorities by University Joint Committees and voluntary educational organisations. Many Authorities in England and Wales contribute towards the cost of university tutorial classes and extension courses held within their area. In Scotland the financial responsibility for the tutorial classes which have been held has been undertaken solely by the School Boards, this being a necessary condition of the recognition of the classes for grant earning purposes by the Scottish Education Department. Most authorities place class rooms at the disposal of tutorial and other classes free of cost. Others provide scholarships to summer schools. It is common for them to bear the expenditure involved in the holding of one-year classes organised by voluntary bodies. Almost all Local Authorities are prepared to arrange classes in non-vocational subjects where there is an expressed demand. But it is clear that the tentative and in many cases haphazard steps which have been taken in recent years are

inadequate to meet the growing needs of the post-war period. Far more remains to be done than has hitherto been attempted, and the problem of developing adult education is largely one of co-ordinating it with the other aspects of the national system of education without sacrificing the initiative and sense of responsibility on the part of the students, without which adult education invariably languishes.

192. In England and Wales, the Education Act of 1918 opens up new possibilities of growth and co-ordination. It enacts that, "With a view to the establishment of a national "system of public education available for all persons capable of "profiting thereby, it shall be the duty of the council of every county "and county borough, so far as their powers extend, to contribute thereto "by providing for the progressive development and comprehensive "organisation of education in respect of their area, and with that object "any such council from time to time may, and shall when required by "the Board of Education, submit to the Board schemes showing the "mode in which their duties and powers under the Education Acts are "to be performed and exercised, whether separately or in co-operation "with other authorities." Whilst the Act imposes no new statutory duties upon Education Authorities so far as adult education is concerned, the clause quoted may be reasonably interpreted as requiring them to take within their purview all forms of education. The draft proposed regulations of the Board of Education for Continuation, Technical and Art Courses in England and Wales clearly aim at co-ordinating in each area the educational activities carried on within it. The Prefatory Memorandum emphasises "the need for a complete and systematic plan "of further education in each area, properly related to Elementary and "Secondary Schools and Universities, adapted to local needs and particularly to industrial needs, and offering to every student facilities "for a graduated and progressive course of instruction suited to his or "her requirements." It also lays stress upon "the importance of continuing general education side by side with technical instruction, "particularly by means of grouped courses for younger students, and of "providing facilities for disinterested studies making for wise living "and good citizenship." The "scheme" which the Board of Education may require Local Authorities to submit will presumably include its arrangements for providing for the needs of their areas as regards all forms of "further education," including "facilities for disinterested "studies making for wise living and good citizenship." It would seem to be the intention of the proposed regulations to secure unity of administration by bringing all the work of "further education" (including adult non-vocational education) under the direct control and supervision of Local Education Authorities (except university tutorial classes, the position of which remains undisturbed). All state-aided adult education now organised or undertaken by voluntary bodies will fall within the "plan" of the Local Education Authority, and new financial arrangements are suggested, which we deal with elsewhere. Non-vocational studies will form an integral part of the work of the suggested "Local Colleges." The scope of a Local College is thus described in Appendix III. of the Proposed Regulations (p. 33):—"A Local College should fulfil "two main functions in the educational life of the area which it serves. "It should supply technical instruction for all local industries . . . "and facilities for disinterested intellectual development by means of "classes in Literature, History, Economics and other humane studies "which make for wise living and good citizenship."

193. The Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, is mainly concerned with the reorganisation of local educational administration and the establishment

of compulsory continuation classes. The bearing of the Act on adult education is less direct than in the case of the Act relating to England and Wales. It provides that every education authority shall "prepare" and submit for the approval of the Department a scheme or schemes for "the part-time instruction in continuation classes of all young persons within the education area of the authority" who may be required under the Act to attend such classes. These schemes must provide for "instruction in the English language and literature, and in such other parts of a general education as may be deemed desirable." Local Authorities in submitting schemes under this head *may* "make provision for the attendance at continuation classes of persons of any age who desire to attend such classes, although not required by the authority so to do." It is further laid down that it shall be lawful for every education authority with the sanction of the Department to contribute to the maintenance of any educational institution or agency, where such contribution appears to the Department desirable for the educational benefit of persons resident within the education area of the authority." It may also be noted that every Education Authority is required to establish an advisory council "consisting of persons qualified to represent the views of bodies interested in education." Lastly, we may observe that the Act gives power to the education authority of a county, "as an ancillary means of promoting education, to make such provision of books by purchase or otherwise as they may think desirable, and to make the same available not only to the children and young persons attending schools or continuation classes in the county, but also to the adult population resident therein."

194. We do not think that Local Authorities will, generally speaking, take bold steps to provide facilities for the study of non-vocational subjects. Indeed, we believe that they are more likely to provide vocational studies. The field of adult education is so large that the active co-operation of Local Education Authorities is a vital need, and non-vocational adult education should be regarded as an integral part of their activities. We are of the opinion that each Local Authority should be required to submit a separate scheme or schemes dealing with its provision of facilities for non-technical education. We deem adult education to be of sufficient importance to warrant separate consideration, and we feel that adequate attention may not be given to this aspect of education if the provision which is made takes its place in a general scheme of continuation education largely concerned with technical studies. The schemes for adult non-vocational education submitted by a Local Authority to the Board should set forth the provision of facilities for non-vocational studies made by it in its own institutions, whether organised by or established in co-operation with a voluntary body, and, as far as possible, the educational programmes of societies or movements carrying on organised and systematic teaching work.

195. In Scotland the Local Education Authorities should, we think, also give separate attention to the needs of adult students and should deal with this aspect of education as a subject requiring independent treatment. It is, we suggest, essential that the new Advisory councils attached to the Local Education Authorities should include members interested in adult education. Moreover, we believe that adult education would benefit considerably if the Scottish Education Authorities were to exercise their powers to give financial assistance to educational institutions and agencies. Voluntary organisations engaged in adult education would then be able to expand their activities and to play a more prominent part in the organisation and development of educational facilities for men and women.



196. In addition to direct participation in adult education by means of the provision of classes, Local Authorities may give encouragement to various forms of educational effort. Some authorities—for example, Birmingham, Bradford, Kent, Lancashire, London, Stoke-on-Trent, the West Riding of Yorkshire, to mention but a few—have generously supported the establishment of university tutorial classes. There can be no doubt that the demand for classes of this nature will grow very considerably in the near future and take an important place in the system of local education. Such classes should be, of course, included in the “plans” submitted by Local Education Authorities to the Board of Education and regarded as a normal type of educational provision, and one, moreover, which is worthy of generous financial support by Local Authorities. We hope that the practice of many Local Authorities in aiding tutorial classes will be widely extended in the immediate future. To a much smaller extent university extension lecture courses have received encouragement from Local Education Authorities, a number of which, *e.g.*, Bournemouth, Leicester, London, Staffordshire, Stoke-on-Trent, have given them financial aid, some to a considerable extent. We recommend in a subsequent chapter<sup>1</sup> a system of Government grants to these courses on lines which we think would do much to place them on a better educational footing, and give them greater opportunities of service. We have before us evidence to show that in cases where Local Education Authorities have made adequate grants, extension courses have done educational work of high value in their areas. We think these extension courses meet a distinct educational need which no other agency supplies; we believe, also, that in the future they could with great advantage be introduced into the higher classes of secondary schools and day continuation schools.<sup>2</sup> We have recommended in our report on libraries and museums that these institutions should be administered by the Local Education Authority. Public libraries and museums should become valuable centres for university extension courses on subjects of literature, science and art. For these reasons Local Authorities will, we hope, in the future give increasing support to extension lectures and include them, along with tutorial classes, in their schemes. We have suggested that with the probable growth of university tutorial classes resident tutors in particular areas will become necessary. Such a resident tutor will not, we hope, confine his attention to university tutorial classes, but, as representing the extra-mural department of his university, will take an active part in other forms of non-vocational education. This decentralised university work, carried on in a prescribed area and for the benefit of that area, will entail considerable expenditure, to which the Local Authority might reasonably be expected to contribute. In this connection we would particularly refer to the recent decision of the Staffordshire and Stoke-on-Trent Education Committees to make a grant, the former of £350 and the latter of £150 for the coming year (1919-1920), to enable the Oxford University Tutorial Classes Committee to accede to the application of the North Staffs. Higher Education Movement for the appointment of a resident tutor to

<sup>1</sup> Chapter XII.

<sup>2</sup> It may be noted that the Education Act, 1918 (England and Wales), provides that “the local education authority from time to time may, and shall when required by the Board of Education, submit to the Board schemes for the progressive organisation of a system of continuation schools, and for securing general and regular attendance thereat, and in preparing schemes under this section the local education authority shall have regard to the desirability of including therein arrangements for co-operation with universities in the provision of lectures and classes for scholars for whom instruction by such means is suitable.” (Clause 3 (2)).

teach in the movement and to supervise its adult education work generally. The University Committee have now made the appointment, and it is hoped that the tutor will take up his residence and begin his duties in North Staffordshire almost immediately.

197. Moreover, we think that the elaborate system of secondary school, technical college and university scholarships which the larger authorities now provide should be developed to include scholarships to summer schools and maintenance grants to enable adults to go into residence at a university for a shorter or longer period. A scheme of scholarships is not complete which does not offer opportunities to adult students to take advantage of summer schools and render it possible for selected students to withdraw for a time from wage-earning employment in order to pursue their studies in a university. Then, also, the newer universities—all of them inadequately endowed—have in some parts of the country received considerable financial assistance from Local Authorities. In view of the development of all forms of education which we may anticipate, Local Authorities will find it necessary to utilise to an increasing extent and in many different directions the resources of the Universities, and it is reasonable to expect the Local Authorities to contribute to university funds. We cannot but think that Local Authorities which annually voted, say, a penny rate to the provincial universities with which they were most closely associated would be amply recompensed both directly and indirectly. We would suggest that where Local Authorities contribute substantial sums in this way to universities, they might earmark a portion of it for extra-mural education, *e.g.*, the provision of tutorial classes and extension courses, the maintenance of resident tutors and the provision of summer schools for non-vocational students.

198. As regards the programme of work carried out by the Local Education Authority itself, it is obvious that the establishment of day continuation classes over the whole of Great Britain will create a need for evening continuation education of a kind somewhat different from that hitherto supplied by evening schools. The evening continuation school which was established to carry forward the education of the elementary school will be superseded by the compulsory day classes for adolescents. The new evening continuation schools will be established, not upon the basis of the elementary schools, but upon the foundation of day continuation classes. They will consequently be of a less elementary character. Further education, after the age of eighteen years, will develop on both the vocational and non-vocational sides. So far as the latter is concerned, we think that the non-vocational institutes which have already been established by some Local Authorities should be multiplied. They should become centres of humanistic study, just as the technical institutes are the centres of vocational studies. If non-vocational institutes are to be successful, they must co-operate with voluntary agencies and seek to establish a new tradition. Social and recreational activities should be a prominent feature, and music, drama, dance and handicrafts should be an integral part of the programme of the institutes. The formation of students' societies should be encouraged; for it is conceivable that much of the educational work of the institutes may be carried on by means of them. University extension courses should be given in the institute, and the subjects chosen from time to time might be such as bear upon activities of the students' societies. Any attempt to standardise and stereotype the organisation and curriculum of non-vocational institutes will be fatal. They should be allowed to develop freely in accordance with experience and the needs of the students.

These institutes will, we imagine, prove to be the means of satisfying the needs of young adults, that is to say, of young men and women between the ages of eighteen and about twenty-one. In other words, they will cater for those beyond the age of compulsory education who have not yet reached the full responsibilities of citizenship and begun to take an active part in the organised life of the community.

199. The Local Colleges foreshadowed by the proposed regulations of the Board of Education, to which we have referred above, are intended to provide the coping stone of local education. It is suggested that the local college, besides supplying technical instruction, should offer facilities for "disinterested intellectual development by means of classes" in literature, history, economics and other humane studies." The membership of the classes in these subjects will be drawn partly from the non-vocational institutes and partly, also, from the students organised by voluntary agencies—two classes of students which, as time proceeds, will overlap. The tendency, we think, will be for ex-students of non-vocational institutes to be re-organised on lines of their social interests, and therefore to approach the local college through the agency of voluntary organisations, with which they will at least have been familiar when in attendance at the non-vocational institute. As we have suggested, the institutes will require the co-operation of voluntary bodies; the need for such co-operation is even stronger in the case of local colleges. In the realm of social and political studies—the full significance of which becomes apparent only with experience of life and participation in organised political, social and economic activities—the voluntary agency supplies a means of communication between the potential educational demand and the potential supply. The humane studies provided at a local college should be the outcome of a demand formulated and organised by a body or bodies in close touch with possible students. The function of the voluntary agency is to bring together students and to ascertain and express their needs; the duty of the local college is to satisfy those needs. By the co-operation of the Local Education Authority and voluntary educational bodies a development of adult education is possible which neither the former nor the latter can achieve alone. The classes in humanistic subjects conducted in a local college should be established and developed with due regard to the decentralised university work carried on in the area of the Local Authority, and the work which may be conducted by residential or non-residential settlements, whose activities must, of course, be taken into account in the "plan" of the Local Authority relating to adult education. Such institutions might be recognised as non-vocational institutes or regarded as affiliated with the local college for certain purposes.

200. We have indicated our belief that the growth of extra-mural university education must lead to the appointment of resident tutors, who will be so many links between the Universities and the people. We do not anticipate that the resident tutor will render unnecessary the non-vocational side of the local college, nor do we think that the local college dispenses with the need for decentralised university education. Rather do we believe that each will assist the other. Within the area of any Local Authority, adult education will flourish most when the Local Education Authority, the University and voluntary organisations are in active co-operation. It is neither possible nor desirable to attempt to define with any precision the relations which should exist between them. In brief, we may say that each has its peculiar contribution to make. The Local Education Authority, with its statutory powers, its wide range of activities and its contact with other aspects of municipal life on the one hand, and with the Board of Education or the Scottish Education

Department on the other, supplies a general framework of educational organisation and administration and gives continuity to educational work. The Universities bring to bear a wide outlook and wide interests; they provide opportunities which it is beyond the power of Local Authorities to supply; their independence of local prejudices supplies a necessary corrective to misguided local patriotism. Voluntary organisations, by their spontaneity and responsiveness to local needs, by their elasticity and the enthusiasm they evoke, are a safeguard against over-organisation and formalism and an encouragement to the growth of the social spirit.

201. It will be gathered that our main proposals with regard to Local Education Authorities are intended to apply to the whole of Great Britain. We are aware that educational administration in Scotland has developed along lines different from those in England and Wales, and we do not wish to suggest that uniformity should be imposed upon Local Authorities in Great Britain so far as adult education is concerned. On the contrary, we have throughout this Report emphasised the need for freedom and elasticity. We are of opinion, however, that if Local Education Authorities are to play the part in the growth of adult education which we think they should, they must accept certain responsibilities and co-operate with universities and voluntary educational organisations. These responsibilities and means of co-operation we have outlined above, and our recommendations on these questions appear to us to be applicable to Scotland as well as to England and Wales, though we recognise that modifications may be necessary to meet local conditions and circumstances. We have recommended in the previous chapter<sup>1</sup> the establishment by the Scottish Education Department of a standing joint committee of representatives of the Scottish Universities, Local Education Authorities and voluntary educational organisations for consultation on questions affecting adult education.

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## CHAPTER VII.

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### VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS AND ADULT EDUCATION.

202. It will not, we think, be denied that adult non-vocational education has owed its main inspiration and the success it has attained to voluntary organisations of various kinds, and particularly those established for educational purposes. Whilst we frankly recognise the part which evening continuation schools have played in the past, it is clear that little demand is made upon Local Education Authorities by adults for classes in humane subjects. It is irrefutable, however, that the demand exists. The activities of the Universities and voluntary bodies bear eloquent witness to the reality of this demand. It must be concluded, therefore, as we have suggested in a previous chapter, that local authorities have not adopted a suitable method of approach owing to the growth of traditions arising

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<sup>1</sup> Par. 186 (pp. 103-4).

out of the character of their chief kinds of work, which lie in other directions. The experience of voluntary bodies has shown the necessity for the recognition of the peculiar needs of adults and for methods of education and methods of organisation and administration appropriate to the satisfaction of these needs. The experience of local education authorities has been amongst young people with their own range of interests and their own needs, and technical students with limited interests of a special kind. This experience, so far from throwing light upon the problems and methods of humane education in the case of students of mature years, has undoubtedly led to profound misapprehensions. Non-vocational studies have developed in recent years largely because attention has been concentrated upon the formulation of methods in harmony with adult needs. The scope and content of the facilities provided by voluntary organisations and by the Universities acting in conjunction with them, and the methods of conducting and managing adult classes, are based upon considerations which either do not apply at all or apply with less force in the case of other forms of education.

203. The question of methods has already been dealt with at length in an earlier chapter of this Report. It has been pointed out that in non-vocational education the social purpose generally predominates and that freedom of choice of subject and freedom of discussion are indispensable. Most of the subjects of political, social or industrial interest are highly controversial; the very fact that there are conflicts of view upon the problems of social life and organisation, so far from being a justification for the exclusion of controversial questions, is a strong reason for study and the fullest discussion. In the consideration of such problems and the principles involved, the students bring to the class a varied and valuable experience of life, and in consequence the method of education is largely that of a frank exchange of views and mutual criticism rather than that based upon the relation usually existing between teacher and taught. The voluntary organisations engaged in educational work have striven to provide an atmosphere in which a social spirit and co-operation in the search of truth can flourish.

204. The development of adult education, however, has not been due only to the method of conducting classes; it is also attributable to the method of organisation. The influence of voluntary bodies will continue to be needed in order to counteract the sterilising effects inherent in organised education and to safeguard the freedom of both students and teachers; but effective voluntary associations are also vital to the continuance and progressive development of adult education. Neither universities nor local authorities can do much more than make provision for education; it is not their function and they are not equipped to focus demands and to organise potential students. Unless this work is done with some thoroughness, the educational facilities which are available will not attract those who might take advantage of them, nor will they meet the needs of students. If humane education is to become as extensive as we would wish, the voluntary educational agencies must play an important part. Indeed, we would go so far as to say that, broadly speaking, the advance of adult education can proceed only as quickly as these agencies can stimulate, focus and organise the demand for it; and that, in the last resort, the volume of educational activity is determined, not by the capacity of the Universities and Education Authorities to provide facilities, but by the ability of organising bodies to give shape and substance to the demand.

205. In a modern community voluntary organisation must always occupy a prominent place. The free association of individuals is a normal

process in civilised society, and one which arises from the inevitable inadequacy of State and municipal organisation. It is not primarily a result of defective public organisation; it grows out of the existence of human needs which the State and municipality cannot satisfy. Voluntary organisations, whatever their purpose, are fundamentally similar in their nature, in that they unite for a defined end people with a common interest. There is, therefore, in a voluntary body a definite point of view, a common outlook, and a common purpose which give it a corporate spirit of its own. This corporate spirit is, perhaps, the most valuable basis for group study. It is to be found in trade unions, adult schools, co-operative societies and other bodies. Voluntary organisations, consequently, form the best nucleus for adult classes. There may, of course, be a tendency to narrowness of outlook in groups of people brought together for a specific purpose, but the disadvantages may be overcome by breadth of teaching and by a leaven of other students. It is interesting to observe that voluntary organisations of all kinds are feeling the need for some systematic study of the problems in which their members are interested; and it is significant that these bodies have provided the majority of students in adult non-vocational classes. Whilst in the future a considerable number of unattached individuals will enrol in classes to study humanistic subjects, we are of the opinion that the real centre of educational development will be found within the various voluntary associations. Members of these bodies are potential students; they are easier to approach, because they are grouped together, than individuals outside the orbit of organised activities; they possess a social interest which is known and which will ordinarily provide a starting point for educational work. The existence of voluntary bodies, therefore, simplifies enormously the task of stimulating and focussing intellectual interests.

206. There is a number of voluntary agencies whose purpose is primarily educational. Some have created their own public, as, for example, the adult schools. Others have devoted themselves primarily to work amongst other organisations, though they have at the same time created a membership of their own, as, for example, the Workers' Educational Association and the Labour College (with the Plebs League). A body such as the Workers' Educational Association possesses experience of educational administration; it has, moreover, a knowledge of the methods and constitution of voluntary organisations such as universities and local authorities cannot be expected to possess. It is largely composed of voluntary associations, to whose needs it is, therefore, responsive. On the other hand, its contact with suitable teachers, and its connection with Local Education Authorities and Universities give it an advantage which voluntary organisations in general are without. Educational agencies of a voluntary kind perform an essential service in stimulating, organising and assisting educational efforts both amongst individuals and associations. The method of the university or Local Education Authority is usually to make an announcement as to educational facilities, which may or may not be widely published. This necessarily perfunctory procedure is not likely to touch more than the fringe of the public which might take advantage of such facilities. In the majority of people the desire for education is latent and requires to be aroused. To bring a group of students into existence is work which voluntary educational agencies are admirably fitted to perform. It is work of a missionary character, requiring special knowledge and a special organisation. These bodies open up new sources from which students may be drawn; they prepare the ground; they stimulate the demand for education; they

ascertain the needs of students, and bring together those with similar interests and tastes; they arrange for the type of class which in the circumstances is most suitable. They consult the students on all matters connected with the organisation and conduct of the class. They infuse into it a corporate spirit. The students organised by voluntary agencies conduct the internal affairs of the class and become responsible for its success. In this way freedom and responsibility are combined. Moreover, voluntary educational movements are able to bring groups of students in the same and even in different towns into touch with each other by means of common discussions, week-end lecture schools, and social functions. Students by these means become associated with others enjoying the same interests and come to realise that they are identified with a wider movement than membership of a class would otherwise appear to involve.

207. Voluntary agencies, then, are of value in the organisation of educational work. But they do much more. They provide facilities for students. Whilst the more systematic and continuous study of a high standard is usually provided in conjunction with universities and Local Education Authorities, there is a large field of less ambitious work carried on under the auspices of voluntary bodies. This will inevitably increase. It would appear that the Board of Education desires to make the Local Education Authority the vehicle for the payment of State grants, except in the case of university tutorial classes. The tendency will probably then be for voluntary agencies to concentrate rather on the organisation of classes than on their provision; except, however, that they will continue to arrange and conduct classes for which no public financial aid is required. But classes conforming to requirements rendering them eligible for grant are by no means the only form of sound educational work. Study circles, discussion classes, conferences, courses of lectures, and activities of a less systematic character are in varying degrees and in different ways valuable means of education. They may be carried on in adult schools, working men's clubs, or trade union branches; they are, in fact, facilities taken to the students in places where they are accustomed to assemble. This work stands in a different category from the more highly organised facilities offered by Local Authorities or arranged by Universities, and can best be developed under voluntary auspices.

208. The difficulty is not that voluntary agencies have usurped the functions of Education Authorities, but that at the present time voluntary effort is inadequate to perform the work which it alone can effectively undertake. The development of the educational interests of voluntary associations, and more particularly the expansion of voluntary bodies of an educational character, is one of the greatest needs of our time. In many towns and most rural areas the volume of non-vocational education carried on is negligible, not so much because the official educational machinery is averse from making provision as because of the absence of organised voluntary effort in the cause of education. The extension of the franchise and the gradual enlargement of women's interests have opened up a new field of opportunity which must be prepared and sown and harvested. We would draw special attention to the need for considering the younger men and women. After boys and girls leave the elementary school, organised influences play, in most cases, a relatively minor part in their lives. A fraction pass through evening continuation schools or pursue courses of technical study; lads' and girls' clubs touch a small proportion; but, on the other hand, the hold of religious organisations admittedly weakens. The voluntary educational movements have made their strongest

appeal to the people of more mature years. The Education Acts of 1918 bring the youth of Great Britain under supervision to the age of sixteen and ultimately eighteen. Even if the continuation school system were developed until it became, in effect, a universal system of secondary education, we should still be faced by the gap between the age of 18 and manhood and womanhood. The needs of young adults should, we think, be closely studied. Advanced study following upon the work of the continuation classes will meet the needs of some; an introduction to the philosophical, economic and political studies which are so prominent a feature of adult education may appeal to the more precocious; and opportunities in both directions should be made available. For a larger number it appears to us that music, folk dances, and literature and the drama, on the one hand, and creative handwork, on the other, will provide appropriate opportunities for self-expression. To these we would add games and physical pursuits. These interests lend themselves to treatment by the voluntary association. Freedom is the essence of them and over-regulation would destroy their vitality and value. We have suggested that the non-vocational institutes, which we conceive as being mainly concerned with young adults, should make liberal provision on these lines, in co-operation with voluntary bodies. Hitherto voluntary associations have not given any special consideration to this class of student, but we feel that they have before them large opportunities of pioneering work such as they have performed in the past in the case of older students.

209. Our general view is that the extension of publicly provided education will not destroy the value of voluntary educational effort, nor will it supersede the need for it. One of the greatest evils which can befall education is a rigid uniformity. It inevitably devalues education of every kind; but it would cause adult non-vocational education either to perish or to seek new channels outside the influence of the uniform system. In the sphere of adult education, where so much yet remains to be discovered, and where, owing to the age and experience of the students, direction from above plays a smaller and initiative from below a much greater part than is the case in other forms of education, voluntary association and effort are essential. The voluntary organisation stands as a link between those whose duty it is to provide education and those who desire education. It takes the knowledge of available facilities to potential students and interprets the educational needs of students to bodies providing education. It advises educational institutions as to the kind of facilities which it is desirable they should offer, and it endeavours to mobilise groups of students to take advantage of them. As more adequate provision is made for non-vocational studies, and as the appetite for knowledge grows amongst adults, the voluntary organisation will find itself, not with a narrowed area of activity, but with a wider field of service before it. Voluntary agencies must, therefore, be regarded as an integral part of the fabric of national education, in order to give spontaneity and variety to the work and to keep organised educational facilities responsive to the ever-widening needs of the human mind and spirit.



## CHAPTER VIII.

**THE STATE AND ADULT EDUCATION.****(I.) PRINCIPLES OF STATE ASSISTANCE.**

210. The relations of the State to education are now close and complex. Through various channels and for various purposes it is incurring an increasing expenditure upon educational work, both directly through State institutions and State action, and indirectly through Local Authorities and voluntary institutions. Into this many-sided activity of the central Government it is not necessary for us to enter. We are concerned only with non-vocational adult education. Though it is not possible to ascertain the proportion of State money devoted to education which is expended on non-vocational adult education, it is clear that the amount is relatively small. Whilst it is true that the State has not always exhibited much sympathy for adult education, in recent years it has shown itself responsive to the new needs and given the movement encouragement and considerable financial support. If the State has not given greater assistance to non-vocational studies it is largely because the extent of the demand for them has not been realised until comparatively recently. But now that there is a widespread educational movement amongst adults which, after a period of tentative experiment, has established itself, we may expect the State to give it every encouragement and assistance, in the interests of good citizenship and national well-being. If the large expansion of adult education which we earnestly desire to see is to be possible, a considerable increase in financial contributions from the State will be needed. We are, of course, aware of the constantly increasing claims which are made upon the national exchequer for educational and other purposes. Nevertheless, we suggest that the high social value of adult education entitles it to special consideration, and though we do not desire to attempt any comparison of the relative importance of different aspects of education—for such a comparison would be useless and opposed to the spirit of our views regarding education—yet we maintain that no form of social expenditure is more truly productive than expenditure on education.

211. Our detailed proposals regarding the financial aspects of adult education are contained in Chapter XII., and all that we need do here is to lay down what we regard as the main conditions upon which different types of adult education should be eligible for assistance from public funds. It will be generally agreed that it is of great importance to develop habits of organised study and reflection as widely as possible, and that therefore any financial obstacles to organised study should be as far as possible removed. It has never been a principle of public education that it should be self-supporting. Even in schools, colleges and universities where pupils pay fees, the net cost of their education is in excess of the fees paid, the balance being met from endowment or public funds. The extension of adult education is bound up with the provision of adequate financial support from public sources which will make education possible for all, irrespective of their financial position.

212. Moreover, as we have insisted more than once in this Report, study and discussion grow more easily among groups of students who have considerable freedom in organising education for themselves and who are assisted to experiment on their own lines rather than bound to follow any prescribed system. They are favoured, in short, by what one may call the collegiate or corporate spirit. Therefore, a public authority, while removing or assisting the removal of financial obstacles, will be

wise not to interfere with the freedom of the students to work out the type of education which suits them best.

213. Nevertheless, it must be recognised that public money is limited and that there are many demands for it. Consequently, before the State supports education it must satisfy itself that the education is serious and continuous and, because of its quality, worth supporting. In other words, the provision of financial assistance by the State involves some degree of supervision. In practice, the State lays down certain conditions which the students must comply with as a guarantee of good faith and seriousness, *e.g.*, regular attendance, punctuality, and the writing of essays. In addition, the State may establish a system of inspection. Thus the university and university colleges and classes receiving public money are inspected. The inspectors merely satisfy themselves as to the quality of the teaching, equipment, &c., and do not interfere with details of curricula or administration. Inspection is usually regarded as a dread process; but the Board of Education inspectors of tutorial classes, for example, have invariably shown great sympathy with the work of the classes and keen appreciation of the peculiar difficulties of adult education. Their helpfulness in suggestion and criticism is generally recognised. Inspection and the fulfilment of reasonable conditions need not, therefore, interfere with the intellectual freedom of either students or teachers. The general tradition of this country, at least so far as adult education is concerned, is that the State should aid education, but that it should leave wide powers of self-organisation to those whom it aids. This tradition, though it does not make for administrative symmetry, is, we believe, a sound one.

214. The question for us is whether, and how, that tradition can be applied to the new fields of adult education which await cultivation. The practical point is, if the State is to expend largely increased sums upon aiding adult education, what are the safeguards which are to be laid down to ensure that the money is well spent? Our view is that the State must rely upon the same safeguards in the future as in the past. It must (a) require the fulfilment of certain conditions as to regularity of attendance and work, &c., and (b) inspect the classes to satisfy itself by direct evidence that the educational work done is on a level which entitles it to public support. If it is clear that the work done is solid and continuous, and that the teaching is competent, the State ought to remove financial obstacles or at least aid in their removal.

215. The State should not, in our opinion, refuse financial support to institutions, colleges and classes, merely on the ground that they have a particular "atmosphere" or appeal specially to students of this type or that. All that it ought to ask is that they be concerned with serious study. It is said in criticism of this view that the adult educational work of sectarian bodies ought not to be subsidised out of public funds. We do not agree; in our judgment, whether the State ought to help such education depends upon the quality of the work and not upon the institution which conducts it. The basis of discrimination between education and propaganda is not the particular opinions held by the teacher or the students, but the intellectual competence and quality of the former and the seriousness and continuity of study of the latter. Any other standard puts the State in a position of censorship which it ought not to be expected to take. It would inevitably give rise to a differentiation between the knowledge which in the opinion of the State it is desirable to disseminate and knowledge the diffusion of which should not be encouraged. The State could, indeed, hardly avoid the charge of "manufacturing public opinion." In our view, the only sound

principle is that the State should be willing to help all serious educational work, including the educational work of institutions and organisations which are recruited predominantly from students with, say, a particular religious or political philosophy.

216. This course is undoubtedly in the best interests of the community, for an enlightened public opinion is most likely to emerge from encouraging every type of student to think out and state his position. Truth is many sided, and out of study and discussion of controversial problems from many different points of view the truth will probably emerge. Moreover, we would point out that education is its own safeguard. The cure for the prejudices of partial knowledge and one-sided thought is more knowledge and thought. In actual fact, most adults start with some fairly definite point of view and find in that a motive for study; experience has shown that it is not a bad thing but a good thing to appeal to that motive. It is, we suggest, a sound educational principle to utilise to the full the interests of students. Finally, we would point out that the practical evil to-day is not too much study by students with a sectarian bias, but too little study of any kind. The real danger to the national welfare is not from students pursuing their studies animated with a particular view of things, but rather from the far larger number of those who pursue no intellectual interests and have made no efforts to equip themselves for the duties of citizenship and the organised activities of the community.

217. It is essential that these considerations should be borne in mind for two reasons. In the first place, adult education is still viewed with a certain suspicion by many people and the study of controversial questions is regarded as a practice not to be encouraged. This attitude, we hope, will soon disappear. Secondly, there is undoubtedly an educational ferment at work in voluntary organisations of many different kinds, and if it issues in sustained educational work, claims will be made—and in our opinion rightly made—for financial aid from public funds. We would plead, therefore, for a very broad and liberal interpretation of what is meant by adult education, and urge that the conditions of eligibility for financial assistance should be such as to include as many different kinds of educational effort as possible. The practical application of this policy would be that various collegiate or semi-collegiate institutions would become eligible for grants, provided they satisfied the central authority as to the quality of their educational work and that any group of students who comply with the conditions as to attendance, paper work, etc., and are open to inspection would know that they could earn a grant.

## (II.) EDUCATION IN H.M. FORCES.

218. In the foregoing paragraphs we have been concerned with the State as a medium for encouraging and assisting the activities of universities and Local Education Authorities and the educational work of voluntary bodies. This we regard as the main function of the State so far as education is concerned. Nevertheless it has been found necessary for the State itself to organise and direct educational opportunities. From our point of view, the outstanding example is to be found in the case of the educational work carried on by the State in the Army. This question formed the subject of our Second Interim Report, and is referred to at some length in Appendix I. of this Report.<sup>1</sup> We cannot over-emphasise the significance of this development, and its possibilities in the future. We are strongly of the opinion that in the Navy, the Army and the Air

<sup>1</sup> Appendix I, pp. 336 *et seq.*

Force provision for education should continue to be made on an ample scale and that educational training should form an integral part of the daily life of members of the Forces of the Crown. In times of peace, as it appears to us, there would be an opportunity for serious and continuous educational work of which the fullest advantage should be taken. The experience gained from the experimental work which has already been carried out, not only points the way to new possibilities, but provides a groundwork for the evolution of a more permanent organisation. So far as the necessary teaching staff is concerned, we would suggest that it should stand in the same relation to the army as the Royal Army Medical Corps; that is to say, it should be organised as an educational corps, for the performance of specific duties. We are not sufficiently familiar with the organisation of the fighting services to make any detailed recommendations on this point; though we are convinced that specially equipped teachers with wide powers of initiative and the utmost freedom of action within the sphere of their duties will be essential. We hope that the practice already established of consulting and utilising the services of civilians with educational experience will be continued and developed. It will not be necessary, nor indeed desirable, that the education officers should be trained for the work in institutions under the auspices of the War Office, unless such institutions were conducted in close association with a university; but it will be necessary to insist upon certain academic qualifications or standards in the teachers and to ensure as far as possible that they possess the personal qualities and sympathies indispensable to those engaged in teaching work amongst young men. In order that the teachers should retain their vigour, enthusiasm and intellectual interests, it is important that opportunities should be provided for teachers with the forces to go into residence at a university for, say, a term every three years. The value of a period of continuous study and of the opportunities for personal contact with students and scholars would be very considerable and would do much to safeguard the educational system of the Navy, the Army and the Air Force from becoming sterile, mechanical and stereotyped.

219. We would also venture to suggest that every effort should continue to be made to ensure that there is freedom of teaching and of discussion. There is a suspicion in the minds of many people that education in the Army is hampered by restrictions upon free discussion. There is a danger that the educational opportunities which are provided may be used for ulterior purposes, such as the dissemination of "sound" knowledge and the eradication of unpopular views. It would, in our opinion, be the gravest mistake if any action were taken which would lead to a suspicion that an education scheme for the Forces was being utilised to "manufacture" public opinion. We believe that officers of all grades are becoming more and more convinced of the value of education, but it is desirable that arrangements should be made which will effectively prevent any injudicious action on the part of those in authority.

220. In our Second Interim Report we recognised that certain forms of technical education could be usefully carried on, but we pleaded for a recognition of the fundamental importance of humane studies. We are glad to think that the provision already made has been on broad lines, and we are of opinion that in the future non-technical studies should be given a prominent place in the curriculum. A wide latitude as to the subjects taught should be given to the responsible officers. The precise curriculum which is followed must clearly depend upon the qualifications and interests of the teachers and upon the needs and interests of the students. It should become an understood condition on enlistment that education will be a compulsory part of the training

given to members of the Forces. Attendance at a minimum number of classes would be obligatory upon all. At the same time, we are of opinion that the students should be encouraged voluntarily to pursue their studies further during their leisure time. The men should be allowed to form their own reading circles and literary and similar societies. Spontaneous organisation for an educational end is most desirable and would give a deeper meaning and value to the training courses provided by the authorities. Moreover, the Army and the Air Force would both benefit in their educational work by co-operation with voluntary educational organisations. Such co-operation would be less easy in the case of the Navy. The advantage of giving these voluntary bodies an opportunity of carrying on their work within the Army and the Air Force would be that they would assist the growth of voluntarily organised education and stimulate the formation of groups of students interested in particular subjects. They would also be able to encourage studies for which provision could not normally be made in the official scheme of education.

221. We understand that the Army authorities are compiling an educational record of the men who have come under the education scheme, whether as students or teachers. The continuance of this record will be most desirable in the future, and should be a means of bringing soldiers on leaving the Army into touch with the activities of Local Education Authorities, educational institutions, and voluntary organisations. The register of records, therefore, should be made freely available to every Education Authority, educational institution and organisation, and they should be supplied with copies of that part of the register which relates to their particular districts or to service men whose educational needs fall within the range of their activities. For this purpose a quasi-official organisation should be established under the supervision of the Board of Education and the Scottish Education Department and financed by a Treasury Grant. Associated with this, there should be an advisory committee, representing the various interests concerned. In order that the educational work done in the Army should not end there, but that men whose interests have been aroused in studies of various kinds should find adequate opportunities of continuing them in civil life, we think that these proposals should be put into operation without delay.

222. We welcome most heartily the announcement made by the Secretary of State for War in the House of Commons on August 5th, 1919, that it has been decided that education is henceforward to be regarded as an integral part of the Army training, and we hope that this principle will be definitely accepted also by the Navy and the Air Force. We regard it of the utmost importance that it should also be carried into effect without delay, so that, as far as the Army is concerned, regular units proceeding on foreign service within the next few months should go with adequate personnel and equipment for educational work. Unless this step is taken there is danger that the experience of the war may be to a large extent dissipated, whilst the present *personnel* upon whose knowledge and enthusiasm the success of the work so largely depends will be compelled by reason of uncertainty to return to civil life.

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE SUPPLY OF TEACHERS.

#### (I.) INTRODUCTORY.

223. In the following pages we are concerned with the supply of teachers for the different kinds of adult education which have already been described, and we make certain proposals for increasing it. But the quality of the teachers is at least as important as their number, and since it is the latter with which we shall be mainly occupied in the subsequent paragraphs, we desire here to emphasise the importance of maintaining a high standard of qualifications among all who are engaged in adult education. The teacher of adult classes undertakes work which, while it varies according to the kind of class and nature of the subject, is, if properly performed, not less exacting than that of an intra-mural teacher in a university. He encounters critical audiences. He must be able not merely to lecture, but to answer questions, to meet difficulties, and to hold his own in discussion. He may exercise a great influence, but only if he never attempts to rely on authority. He has frequently to expose his knowledge, such as it is—and also, if he is wise, his ignorance—and to encourage the students, who are colleagues, rather than pupils, to pass their own judgment upon them. Such work cannot be done successfully except by men and women who have a wide intellectual background.

224. But intellectual qualifications are not the only point which needs to be considered in the selection of a teacher of adult classes. Equally important are qualities which cannot be discovered merely by an examination of academic records. Unlike most intra-mural teachers, the teacher of adult classes is concerned with students who have considerable practical experience, have formed their convictions upon the basis of it and who are often more mature in mind than himself. If he is to aid them in their studies, he must understand, at least in part, how their opinions have been formed, and must have sufficient insight to place himself at the angle from which they approach the subjects under discussion. He must, therefore, be interested, or be willing to be interested, in the same kind of problems as they are, and must be prepared to learn from them as readily as to teach. Not less important, he must be ready not merely to do the formal work of education involved in teaching a class, but also to give time and energy to promoting a temper of comradeship and mutual helpfulness among its members. Adult education is most successful where it creates and is strengthened by a corporate spirit. The development of that spirit must depend largely upon the personality of the tutor.

225. From these general considerations, which apply in different degrees to teachers engaged in all the different kinds of adult education described above, we turn to consider the adequacy of the existing supply of teachers and the conditions under which they work. There are certain kinds of educational work, indeed, which defy classification, and the needs of which we are, therefore, obliged to leave on one side. All kinds of adult education will gain if the number of persons willing to act as teachers is increased, but we do not think it practicable to make special recommendations with regard to each of them. The main types of adult education for which teachers are required are tutorial classes, university extension lectures, and classes lasting for one year, or for some shorter period.

## (II.) THE PRESENT POSITION OF TEACHERS IN ADULT EDUCATION.

(a) *University Tutorial Classes.*

226. The rapid growth of the tutorial class movement has involved an equally rapid growth in the number of teachers. In January, 1908, there were two classes taught by one tutor: in the winter of 1913-14 there were 142 classes taught by 71 tutors: in the winter of 1916-17 there were 99 classes taught by 48 tutors: in 1918-19 there were 150 classes taught by 76 tutors.

The tutors engaged in this work may be divided roughly into three classes:—

- (a) Professors and lecturers on the regular staff of universities taking one or two tutorial classes.
- (b) Full-time tutors, who may, however, do some intra-mural teaching.
- (c) Tutors, whose principal work is not university teaching of any kind, who take one or two classes.

The part taken by each of these categories is indicated in the following table:—

## GREAT BRITAIN.

| Number of classes taken by—          |     | 1913-14.          |     | 1918-19.          |
|--------------------------------------|-----|-------------------|-----|-------------------|
| (a) Professors and regular staff ... |     | 35 = 25 per cent. | ... | 44 = 32 per cent. |
| Professors alone ...                 | ... | 7 = 5             | "   | 12 = 9            |
| (b) Whole-time tutors ...            | ... | 48 = 35           | "   | 38 = 28           |
| (c) Occasional tutors ...            | ... | 57 = 40           | "   | 56 = 40           |

The proportion of tutors who make tutorial class work their principal work, and those with whom it is only secondary or supplementary, can be gathered from the following table:—

| No. of tutors taking 5 classes |   |         |   | 1913-14. | 1918-19. |
|--------------------------------|---|---------|---|----------|----------|
| "                              | " | 4       | " | 10       | 14       |
| "                              | " | 3       | " | 10       | 5        |
| "                              | " | 2       | " | 15       | 16       |
| "                              | " | 1 class | " | 35       | 39       |
|                                |   |         |   | 71       | 76       |

227. The type of organisation adopted depends very much on the internal organisation of the university concerned. Thus, Oxford employed before the war mainly full-time tutors, who did no intra-mural teaching except in the case of one who lectured in Oxford during the summer term. Manchester gives most of its classes to lecturers on the regular staff: London relies almost entirely on tutors whose main work is something other than University teaching.<sup>1</sup> Before the war the tendency was to increase the proportion of classes taken by tutors making it their chief work. During the war the tendency has been to increase the proportion of classes taught by members of the regular staff of Universities.

228. The method of payment is almost universally a fixed fee per class per session. The sum before the war was £60, except in the case of Oxford, which paid £80, and Cambridge, which paid £72. Slight increases have been made during the war by London, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Nottingham, and Aberystwyth. Differentiation is made

<sup>1</sup> Tutors teaching only one class are more numerous under the University of London, owing to the special circumstances of life in London, than under any other university.

between the payment to full-time and other tutors in only one case, namely, at Aberystwyth. Payment on a higher scale on account of experience is made in only one case, that of Nottingham, although Cambridge sometimes pays at less than its full rate to tutors taking up classes for the first time. Full-time tutors have no guarantee of their normal income should the number of classes fall off, except in the case of one staff tutor each in the cases of Leeds and Manchester, and before the war, of Liverpool and Nottingham. Tutors have no guarantee that they will be employed for more than one session, though tutors on the regular staffs generally hold their other appointments for a term of years, nor is it the practice to pay them anything if illness prevents them from teaching classes. In practice, Joint Committees try to ensure full-time work for those tutors who wish it, but the tutor's security depends on the efficiency of the Joint Committee in planning ahead and carrying through a programme.

229. In the case of tutors whose main work is either intra-mural university teaching or some other profession, and who take only one class, this uncertainty is a matter of minor importance. To tutors who have adopted tutorial class teaching as their profession, or at any rate as their principal occupation—and it is these tutors whose number it is of vital importance to adult education to increase—it is a very grave disadvantage, since it makes their income highly precarious. It has hitherto been the exception for a tutor who is not engaged primarily in intra-mural teaching to lecture in the university or to be given any status in the department of the subject which he teaches. With the same general exception, and with the particular exception of Nottingham, they are not eligible for the university pensions scheme, and their names do not appear in the University Calendar.

230. It appears, therefore, that after ten years of tutorial class work, tutors are still without organic connexion with the universities. So far as there is any principle underlying the present arrangement, it is that the taking of a class is a self-contained piece of work for which a uniform fee can be paid, and that no deliberate provision need be made for recruiting tutors, ensuring them an adequate income, increasing their remuneration with experience, and linking up their work with the other work of the university. In reality, of course, the work of a tutor, who makes tutorial classes his chief occupation, involves very much more than the mere taking of four or five classes. The propagandist and organising work of the W.E.A., popular lectures, week-end and summer schools, all make heavy calls on him, which he cannot neglect without prejudicing the success of the classes for which he is responsible, and the development of the tutorial character of the classes would seem to depend very largely on the allocation of neighbouring classes to the same tutor. The occasional tutor and the part-time tutor will always take an important part in the work, and we hope that the number of persons engaged in intra-mural work who also take tutorial classes will largely increase. But the preservation and development of its present character depends very largely on the maintenance of a body of teachers who make it their chief profession.

#### (b) *University Extension Lectures.*

231. As the only universities at present carrying on any considerable volume of university extension work of the older kind are Cambridge, London and Oxford, we have not considered it necessary to obtain information with regard to the remainder. In 1914, the number of lecturers upon the Cambridge list was 48, of whom 32 were actually employed



during the session, 10 being staff lecturers, 30 lecturers on the ordinary list, and 8 lecturers on the supplementary list. At London (in 1917) the total number of lecturers was 82, of whom 55 (including 4 staff lecturers) were on the panel, and 27 supplementary lecturers. At Oxford (in 1914) the total number of lecturers was 41, of whom 7 were staff lecturers, 23 were on the Class A. List, and 11 on the Class B. List. The fees charged to the centres were as follows:—

*Cambridge.*

| —                                       | Twelve Lecture Courses. | Six Lecture Courses. |
|---|-------------------------|----------------------|
|   | £ s. d.                 | £ s. d.              |
| Staff Lecturers ... ..                  | 56 0 0                  | 36 0 0               |
| Lecturers on the Ordinary List ... ..   | 50 0 0                  | 30 0 0               |
| Lecturers on the Supplementary List ... | 34 0 0                  | 20 0 0               |

(These fees include travelling expenses of lecturers.)

*London.*

| —                                    | Sessional Course (24 Lectures in 2 consecutive courses of 12 each). | Terminal Courses of 10 Lectures. | Short Courses of 5 Lectures. |
|--------------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
|                                      | £ s. d.   | £ s. d.                          | £ s. d.                      |
| Lecturers on the panel               | 75 0 0  | 32 10 0                          | 16 16 0                      |
| Lecturers on the Supplementary List. | 61 0 0  | 25 0 0                           | 12 12 0                      |

(The fees for short courses are inclusive. In the case of sessional and terminal courses lecturers' travelling expenses are charged when the centre is outside, or on the borders of, the administrative County of London.)

*Oxford.*

| —                     | Twenty-four Lecture Courses. | Twelve Lecture Courses. | Six Lecture Courses. |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
|                       | £ s. d.                      | £ s. d.                 | £ s. d.              |
| Staff Lecturers ...   | 102 12 0                     | 54 12 0                 | 30 12 0              |
| Class A Lecturers ... | 78 12 0                      | 42 12 0                 | 24 12 0              |
| Class B Lecturers ... | 45 15 0                      | 25 15 0                 | 15 15 0              |

(These fees do *not* include lecturers' travelling expenses, which are charged at 3rd class return fares, plus 5s. per lecture for incidental expenses.)

232. As these fees are charged by the university extension authorities to the centre, and usually cover all incidental expenses, such as travelling, they are in excess of the sums actually received by the lecturers. The remuneration of lecturers depends upon the grade in which they are placed and it varies from university to university.

233. The work, involving as it does much travelling, is extremely exacting for those lecturers who aim at supporting themselves exclusively

by it. A large majority of them, however, are engaged in some other occupation, and give only one or two lectures a week. Their connection with the university employing them is normally not more than nominal, and it is increasingly unusual that they should be engaged both in extension lecturing and in intra-mural work. This is at least in part owing to the naturally increasing absorption of a lecturer in one or other line of work.

(c) *One Year Classes.*

234. The teachers engaged in educational work with one-year and other short classes form too miscellaneous a body for any exact account to be given of their position. Almost all of them are engaged in some other kind of work in the day and give only one or two evenings a week to teaching. A number of them are secondary school teachers and members of other professions; an increasing number are ex-tutorial class students and other working-class students. The sources from which funds can be obtained to remunerate the teachers of one-year classes are three. If they conform to the regulations of the Board of Education they may receive Government grant. Up to the present, however, the sum thus obtained for a class meeting perhaps 20 to 24 times rarely amounts to more than £8-£12. In the second place a small amount may be raised by students' fees. Thirdly, the Local Education Authority may provide the rest. In the case of one-year classes, conducted under the auspices of Local Authorities, and as part of the educational work carried on by them and supported out of the rates, the remuneration of the teachers has usually been scandalously small. The reason appears to be that Local Education Authorities have utilised the services of their day school teachers for evening continuation schools. These teachers were, as is generally recognised now, underpaid and evening school teachers have been paid on a similarly meagre scale. Many teachers have been glad to accept, even at a small remuneration, the chance of supplementing their income. Thus the vicious circle has been completed and evening school work has become, like other forms of teaching, an ill-paid employment. Technical classes, though the scale of payment to teachers has been rather higher, have also been taught by men and women who received only a very small remuneration for their labours. As one-year classes fall under the regulations for technical, art and continuation schools for grant earning purposes, in some cases earning a lower rate of grant than technical classes, it is not surprising that the standard of pay for the teaching of adult classes should be low. By a recent Regulation of the Board of Education, it is proposed that adult classes giving "advanced instruction in subjects of general, as distinct from vocational, education" shall in future receive grant on a higher scale, and in these circumstances an improvement in the remuneration of the teachers may reasonably be anticipated.

235. But many one-year classes are conducted by voluntary agencies. They have in the past been eligible for Government grant, which has been the most reliable source of income. In some cases a grant has been received from the Local Education Authority, but this is far from general. Students' fees, which do not contribute much to the income of a class, are sometimes used for local expenses, such as the hire of a room, lighting and heating. It is clear, therefore, that one-year classes which are not rate-aided cannot offer more than a nominal fee to the teachers. Nevertheless, many excellent and well-qualified teachers for one-year classes have been forthcoming. They have been attracted by the intrinsic interest of the work and by their devotion to education, and often to some educational organisation. In

practice many teachers of such one-year classes do not accept a fee and it is true to say that the majority of them have hitherto been taught by unpaid teachers.

236. We cannot overlook the teachers and study circle leaders who undertake educational work under less onerous conditions than a one-year class entails if it is to become eligible for grants. Many well educated people and an ever growing number of adult students from tutorial and other classes have engaged upon teaching work. In all the centres organised by the North Staffordshire Miners' Higher Education Movement the teaching is voluntary and the Movement does not make application to the Board of Education for grants. In Adult Schools, Co-operative Societies and Co-operative Guilds, in branches of the Workers' Educational Association and in a considerable number of voluntary organisations of various kinds there are to be found numbers of short classes or study circles which are almost invariably conducted by volunteers.

### (III.) THE PRESENT SHORTAGE OF TEACHERS.

237. After this short description of the type of persons at present engaged in adult education, the conditions under which they are employed and the sources from which they are drawn, we desire to record our opinion that the number of such persons is at present inadequate to the extent and importance of the work which requires to be done. Unless adult education is to be seriously crippled, the supply of teachers must be largely increased in the near future, their status must be raised and their remuneration must be increased. The problem is not altogether a new one. Even before the war it was evident that the growth of all types of adult education was likely to be restricted by the difficulty of securing sufficient teachers. But the war has made the situation more difficult; for it has both diminished the supply and increased the demand. On the one hand, a considerable number of young men who were engaged, or might have been engaged, in teaching work have lost their lives in the war. The Universities which, though not the only source of teachers, were one of the most important sources, have been temporarily disorganised—the difficulty of finding teachers is becoming serious. On the other hand, there has been a striking expansion of intellectual interests, the number of potential students has been largely increased; and a new form of educational activity, such as the day continuation classes to be established under the recent Education Acts, are already competing for the services of a depleted supply of teachers. Already, indeed, teachers of adult classes are being drawn into continuation school work. It will not be easy to find sufficient teachers to restore certain forms of adult education, for example, tutorial classes, even to the stage of development which they had reached before the war. But, as we have pointed out above, it is not enough merely to recover ground that has been lost. The possibilities of adult education are only beginning to be understood. If they are to be seized and developed, the number of teachers must not simply be what it was in 1913-1914. It must be many times greater. Above all, the number of full-time teachers who make the teaching of adult classes their main interest must be largely increased.

238. There is no short cut to the creation of a body of men and women able and willing to undertake educational work. Though we are limited by the terms of our reference to adult education, we feel bound, before entering upon our detailed recommendations, to remind our readers that the progress of adult education is ultimately conditioned by the progress

of higher education of other kinds. It is dependent upon the existence of a supply of teachers of the right quality, who have at once the intellectual qualifications and the sympathy to enable them to take part in carrying it on. If any branch of teaching is inadequately remunerated, those who might otherwise have become teachers will, of course, not enter the profession, and it is only too true that the supply of teachers has been seriously reduced for that reason in the past ten years. Nevertheless, it is not less true that the number of potential teachers depends in the last resort predominantly upon the extent to which education is diffused throughout the whole community, upon the number of persons who receive a full-time secondary and university education, and upon the contact maintained between the centres of higher education and other departments of national life.

239. It is for this reason that the development of adult education has tended to follow at an interval reforms which have increased the number of persons capable of arousing an interest in it and of acting as teachers, leaders or missionaries. The working class educational efforts of the 'thirties and 'forties of the nineteenth century collapsed partly because, in the absence of a system of elementary education, there was no secure foundation of knowledge among the students on which to build, but partly also because, with the restriction of higher education to an insignificant fraction of the population, there was no body of persons available for assisting them as teachers. The remarkable growth of various aspects of adult education in the past thirty years, if its deeper motive has been a renaissance of intellectual interests among working people, has been conditioned by the changes in the national system of education which have increased the number of persons interested in educational progress and capable of acting as teachers. Had Oxford and Cambridge remained in the 'eighties what they were before the first University Commission, there would have been no university extension movement. What has rendered possible the growth of university tutorial classes since 1908 has been the foundation or reconstitution between 1900 and 1910 of some seven new universities in the industrial districts of Great Britain. The different types of adult education analysed in Chapter II and described in Appendix I owe much to the impetus to educational endeavour given by the creation, in the last forty years, of a public teaching profession, whose members take a pride in education and are willing in their scanty leisure to take part in assisting new forms of it, to the growth of a body of educational administrators, to the increase in the number of persons who have received a secondary and university education, and, not least, to the progress of higher education among women.

240. It is true, indeed, that the wider diffusion of secondary and intra-mural university education will not by itself create the demand for adult education on the part of men and women of mature years who seek it after their day's work is done, though by diffusing a knowledge of the possibilities of education it is likely to prepare the ground for it. It is true also that adult students themselves, provided they have had adequate opportunities of intensive study, already supply a considerable number of teachers for certain of the classes which we have in mind, and that, as we point out below, it is desirable that the number of such students who become teachers should be largely increased in the future. But no type of adult education can fail to be strengthened by the assistance given by men and women who have received a full-time secondary and university education; and some, like the tutorial classes, must continue to

depend very largely upon them. The most general condition of its development, therefore, is such a widening of educational opportunities as will greatly increase the supply of men and women who are willing and able to take their part, as teachers, in promoting it. The larger the number of students in the Universities, the easier, other things being equal, will it be to find such teachers; the smaller the number, the more difficult. As long as the population of our public secondary schools amounts only to a quarter of a million, of whom less than 17,000 are over 16, and of universities to about 20,000, there will continue to be a grave difficulty in finding an adequate supply of teachers for adult classes. If the community desires not merely to meet the exceptional needs of a comparatively small number of adult students, but to bring adult education within the reach of all who desire it, the fundamental need is for a great and rapid increase in the number of students in secondary schools and universities.

241. We have emphasised the considerations stated in the preceding paragraphs, because we think it important to realise that the progress of adult education has hitherto very largely depended, and must in the future depend upon the progress which is made in other departments of higher education. But a consideration of those departments lies outside the terms of our reference; and even were they within the scope of this Report, we could not wait until the supply of teachers for adult students has been increased by the gradual process of increasing the number of students at secondary schools and universities. For the reasons already given the demand for adult education is urgent and is likely to become more urgent with the return of normal conditions.

242. If the needs of the next few years are to be met, they must be met mainly by attracting into the work a far larger proportion of those who have already obtained, or who are likely in the next few years to obtain, the necessary intellectual qualifications in combination with the even more important qualities of character and insight which are required. In the paragraphs which follow we put aside, therefore, the possibility of large developments of secondary and intra-mural university education, eminently desirable though we believe these to be. We consider the methods by which, under present conditions, the supply of teachers for adult education may be increased, and which even the extension of intra-mural university education will never entirely supersede.

#### (IV) THE STATUS AND PROSPECTS OF ADULT TEACHERS.

243. Of these methods the most important is undoubtedly an improvement in the remuneration and status of teachers engaged in adult education. If an adequate supply of teachers is to be attracted, and if the work itself is to be performed efficiently, the status, prospects and emoluments of the teacher must be such as to compare favourably with other work open to men and women of the required capacity. It is true, of course, as we have already pointed out, that much of the work of adult education is carried on by teachers who are engaged in work of another kind during the day and who give their evenings to teaching classes. It is true, also, that a certain number of teachers are attracted to the work not primarily by financial considerations, but because they are enthusiasts for education. Such teachers are an invaluable element in the movement, and it will flourish only so long as the spirit which they represent is widely diffused. Nevertheless, the question of status and emoluments is of the first importance. Among both tutorial class teachers and extension lecturers are a considerable number of men and women

who give their whole time to the work, and who can continue to do so only if they are adequately paid and work under reasonable conditions. Of those who do not give their full time, the vast majority are busy men and women who cannot afford to undertake what is extremely exacting work, involving not only the preparation and delivery of lectures, the correction of essays and the personal tuition of individual students, but a considerable amount of travelling, unless they are adequately compensated for the extra duties imposed upon them. The teaching of one-year classes is, in most cases, less exacting and more suited to the volunteer. But that, too, involves the expenditure of time, and very often considerable travelling. While, therefore, we look to an increase in the number of persons who desire to act as teachers of adult classes for the love of the work, we think that the possibility of obtaining for the movement a sufficient number of teachers of the right quality, and of retaining them in it, must depend very largely on the prospects which are offered them.

244. It is unnecessary to recapitulate here the description already given of the status, work and emoluments of tutorial class teachers. While in the earlier years of their work their position compares not unfavourably with that of many members of the junior staff at the newer universities, there are, we think, five main respects in which an improvement in it is now required.

245. In the first place, universities ought in the future to rely to a smaller extent upon securing as teachers men and women who are engaged in professional occupations and ought to appoint a larger number of tutors for the special work of teaching tutorial classes. The former have rendered valuable service to the tutorial class movement, and we do not desire to see their numbers diminished. The part which they can play is analogous to that of the expert who is invited to give instruction within a university in some subject upon which he is an authority, without becoming a member of the permanent staff. But they ought to be regarded as supplementary to such a staff, not as a substitute for it, and the possibility of securing such outside help from persons whose first claim is to some other occupation ought not to lead universities to under-estimate the importance of appointing teachers for whom tutorial class work is their primary duty and interest. As we have already pointed out, the success of adult classes depends to a considerable extent upon the willingness and ability of those teaching them to throw themselves into the pioneer work of educational propaganda and to act as missionaries of education. Such activities may occupy a considerable part of the energies of full-time tutors, and are often vital to their work. But they can hardly be expected from teachers whose primary duty is to some other profession. We think, therefore, that in future universities ought to make a point of increasing the number of teachers who are teaching three or more tutorial classes, and that in the appointment of intra-mural lecturers they should give consideration to their suitability for undertaking the teaching of tutorial classes. At present, as we have already pointed out in this Report, there is a grave and unjustifiable disproportion between the staff and expenditure allocated to intra-mural and that allocated to extra-mural work. Both are essential parts of the work of a modern university, and equal pains should be taken to secure a permanent staff adequate to the development of both.

246. In the second place, we think it of vital importance that the scale upon which the teachers of tutorial classes are now paid should be revised in such a way as to offer them a financial position more commensurate with the importance of the work demanded from them. As we have already explained, the method of payment is almost invariably

a fixed fee per class per session. At the present time it is possible for a tutor teaching four classes and giving his whole time to the work to be in receipt of an income of no more than £240, which, as long as he remains a tutor, he has no hope of increasing, except from other sources. Such a salary was inadequate before the war, and has been rendered doubly inadequate to-day by the rise in prices which has taken place in the last four years. Under such conditions it is inevitable that adult education should suffer through the necessity under which a considerable number of teachers are placed of abandoning it, however reluctantly, for more remunerative work. It is essential, we think, that their salaries should be raised. In future the minimum fee per class per session should be, at any rate, not less than £80, the sum paid by Oxford since the time it commenced tutorial classes. It should be a net payment, and all travelling and other expenses should be paid in addition. Payments should, of course, be made promptly and at regular intervals, and, in view of the expenses incurred by tutors upon travelling, it is desirable that a payment on account should be made at the beginning of each session. In the event of a tutor being prevented by illness from taking his classes, he should, like other members of the university staff, be paid by the university employing him. Women tutors should be paid the same salaries and offered the same conditions of employment as men.

247. An increase in the fee per class is not, however, the only change which is required. In the third place, we think that an attempt should be made to give additional security to the position of full-time tutorial class teachers by paying such teachers of three or more years' experience a fixed annual salary, instead of a fee for each class which is taught. At present the position of a tutorial class teacher is often highly precarious, since his income depends upon the number of classes which he takes. If the university curtails that number, or if the classes which are anticipated fail to be established, or if he himself falls ill, he may fail to earn a living. We do not think it possible to dispense altogether with teachers who are paid by the number of classes which are taught; nor, when a man begins work, is there any great hardship in such an arrangement. But though the exact number of classes must always be uncertain, it is usually possible, in view of the experience of preceding years, to be confident that they will not, at any rate, be less than a certain number. If, for example, in the preceding year a university has conducted twenty tutorial classes, it may anticipate with some degree of confidence, that the number of classes next year will, at any rate, not be less than fifteen. It would be practicable, therefore, to employ on a fixed annual salary the teachers required to conduct that number of classes, the establishment of which is reasonably certain, while paying the teachers of the remainder a fee per class taught. There are at the present time, as we have pointed out above, three or four staff-tutors who are paid a regular salary by the universities employing them irrespective of the number of classes which they teach. What is needed is that the number of such staff tutors should be largely increased, and that each university should employ as large as possible a proportion of its tutorial class teachers upon these terms.

248. It would be reasonable, in our opinion, in carrying out such a change, that a distinction should be made between tutors primarily dependent upon tutorial class work for a livelihood and those teaching only one or two classes. The former, the full-time tutor, stands in a special relation to the classes and should be offered special treatment by the Universities. He gives his whole time to the work, carries it on normally for several years, obtains an experience which greatly increases

his effectiveness in it, and is usually debarred from adding to his income by other forms of employment. He ought, we consider, to be able to count upon a salary of not less than £500, especially with money at its present value (middle of 1919), at any rate after he has been engaged in the work for (say) two or three years. This figure would be reached if he took four classes for a fee of £80 each, were paid £80 for lecturing in the university, and received in addition a payment which might vary with his experience, but which should not be less than £100 a year for a tutor with three years' experience. We do not desire, however, to do more than suggest how the salary should be made up. The essential points are two: first, that tutors who are employed full time should be paid a fixed salary, and not merely a fee per class; and, secondly, that the salary should advance as their experience increases, and should reach the sum of not less than £500 within a reasonable time. Such an arrangement would be of great benefit both to the teachers of tutorial classes and to the Universities. The former would know that after three years' service they would be paid a regular salary on which they could count in advance, and that this salary would increase, within limits, in proportion to their length of service. They would be members of the regular staff of the University, would appear in the University Calendar, and would enjoy all privileges (if any) attaching to such a position. The latter would no longer lose tutors because the casualness of their employment makes it necessary for them to enter some occupation in which their prospects are more secure.

249. In the fourth place, we think it important that tutorial class teachers should usually combine some intra-mural university work with the teaching of tutorial classes. In the case of tutors teaching only one or two classes and giving the greater part of their time to other occupations, this will often be impossible. But we think that it should be the normal arrangement for tutors engaged principally on tutorial class work to perform some intra-mural university work. This combination of intra-mural and extra-mural work is beneficial both to the tutors and to the Universities. It keeps the former in contact with academic standards and enables them to be aware of the work which is done by other teachers. It brings into the Universities a body of teachers who have had a wider experience of the concrete problems of industrial life than can easily be obtained by those who spend their whole time in intra-mural teaching. Thus it tends to correct both the tendency to slipshod methods which is the temptation of the populariser of knowledge, and the tendency to intellectual in-breeding which is the characteristic temptation of academic thought. The progress of knowledge depends on the due admixture of reflection and experience. It may fairly be claimed that the progress of economic and political science has already been somewhat assisted by the closer contact of the Universities with practical affairs which recent developments of adult education have helped to encourage.

250. In the fifth place, it is necessary to arrange the work of teaching tutorial classes in such a way that the teachers may not be overworked. In the past some of them have undoubtedly been overworked. In the year 1916-17 one tutor was teaching six classes—of which two were over an hour's journey from the place in which he resided—and two were teaching five classes. In previous years, when the aggregate number of classes was considerably larger—in 1913-14 it was, for example, 150—the number of tutors teaching five classes was probably larger too. The number of classes for which a tutor can be responsible without undue pressure must depend to some extent upon their distance from his place



of residence, upon whether they are studying the same or different subjects and upon whether he is or is not engaged at the same time in intra-mural work. But, from the evidence submitted to us, we are convinced that the number of classes which he can teach successfully and without excessive strain does not, in the most favourable circumstances, exceed four per week. If the classes are at long distances from each other, or if at the same time the tutor is teaching within a university, the number which he can teach is likely to be less. It must be remembered that the two hours' class, an hour's lecture followed by an hour's discussion, is considerably more exhausting than a lecture given in a university, that the period during which the classes run continuously is usually twelve weeks instead of the ordinary university term of eight to ten weeks, that if the class is successful, many hours a week must be spent in correcting essays, and that a tutor teaching four classes may well have to spend ten or twelve hours a week, and in some cases considerably more, in travelling.

251. Nor must it be forgotten that the success of a class depends to a considerable extent upon the tutor finding time and energy to mix with the students outside the hours in which he is actually engaged in attending the class. It is true, of course, that the classes do not continue in summer, and that the tutor ought then to have more leisure than is possessed by the ordinary intra-mural lecturer. But for part of the summer he is often engaged in a summer school, and if he is to keep abreast of the subject he must have leisure to spend on reading and research. We think, therefore, that Joint Committees should take special pains to avoid the temptation of over-burdening a successful tutor with an excessive number of classes, that the number taught should in no case exceed four and that, if the tutor is engaged to more than a small extent in intra-mural work, it should normally not exceed three. It is important that tutors should devote themselves to research and take an active interest in the pursuits of their students.

252. In the preceding paragraphs we have been concerned primarily with the position of tutorial class teachers. But much of what has been said of them applies in principle to other classes of persons engaged in educational work among adults, in particular to many of those teaching shorter classes and to university extension lecturers. The variety of type and standard obtaining among one-year classes is, as we have already pointed out, very great. Some are extremely elementary; others do work which, especially when the class continues from year to year, is hardly distinguishable from that done in tutorial classes. Nevertheless, such classes carry on in the aggregate a large amount of valuable educational work, and they will form an important and permanent feature of a developed system of adult education. Their formation is, therefore, to be encouraged; but any large increase in their number will intensify the problem of providing suitable teachers. One of the essential conditions is that the teachers of one-year classes should be adequately paid. It is clear that the widely varying standards which are reached in classes of this description render it impracticable to lay down any uniform scheme of remuneration and organisation which would be suitable for all types of one-year classes. In classes which involve on the part of the teacher work which is not much less exacting than that of tutorial classes, the fee of the tutor should be higher than in the case of classes of a less organised and less advanced character.

253. In our chapter dealing with the finance and organisation of adult education we suggest that Government grants for adult education should be based upon the salaries paid to the teachers. This method would go far towards improving the remuneration of tutors of one-year classes.

When University Joint Committees assume responsibility for one-year classes, the fees paid to tutors ought not to fall below £40 per class. When they are conducted by full-time tutors whose main work is tutorial classes, it is clear that the tutors ought not to suffer financially by taking them. In the case of classes arranged under the auspices of the Adult Education Joint Committee suggested in Chapter XII., or of Local Education Authorities or voluntary bodies organising classes in receipt of Government grant, we realise that the salaries paid will tend to bear a close relation to the general level of payment for evening continuation and technical school work. The fact, however, that the Board of Education has seen fit to amend its regulation so that a higher rate of grant than previously will be made "in the case of advanced instruction for adults in subjects of general as distinct from vocational education" will render the better payment of teachers of these classes practicable.<sup>1</sup> Without going so far as to make any hard and fast proposals regarding the standards of payment for one-year classes, we may draw attention to our suggestion that for a one-year class conducted under university auspices not less than £40 should be paid to the tutor. We do not assert that all university one-year classes will reach a higher standard and do more serious work than other one-year classes, but we think it will be agreed that, broadly speaking, the former will, on the whole, represent the higher water mark of the one-year class system. Where other one-year classes approximate to them in seriousness and continuity of work and in the intellectual level reached, the teachers should be remunerated on a somewhat similar scale. For the rest, the emoluments of the teachers should be related to the demands their classes make upon them.

254. The position of university extension lecturers is closely similar to that of tutors of tutorial classes. Almost from the beginning of the movement forty-six years ago, the problems of remuneration, of permanent employment, and of intra-mural position have constantly engaged the attention of the responsible authorities. It is not necessary to repeat the considerations which have already been stated in full in connection with the tutorial classes. They have been given the first place in this chapter because they affect practically every university in Great Britain, while the problems of extension lectures affect seriously at present only Oxford, Cambridge and London. But these problems are essentially the same.

#### (V) PROPOSALS FOR INCREASING THE SUPPLY OF TEACHERS.

255. The review which has been given above of the present position of those engaged in adult education shows that they are drawn mainly from one or other of three sources. In the first place, there are men and women who have taken up adult education as a career either by itself or in connexion with intra-mural work at a university. In the second place, there are those who have taken up adult education while continuing to be engaged in some other profession, for example secondary education or the Civil Service. In the third place, there are those who have become teachers as a result of having been adult students in some class or college carrying on adult education. Of these the first are engaged mainly either in tutorial class work or in university extension lecturing.

<sup>1</sup> If and when the proposed Revised Regulations of the Board of Education come into operation, the amended Regulation will presumably lapse and a block grant be paid though the new block grant may be based upon the higher rate of grant laid down in the amended Regulation.

The second, though including some tutorial class teachers, are engaged chiefly in teaching one-year classes or conducting study circles. The third mainly teach one-year classes, though they include also some teachers of tutorial classes as well as some teachers at such institutions as Ruskin College, the Labour College, and the Working Men's College. Teachers drawn from these different sources already commonly pass from one type of work to another. Some tutorial class teachers, for example, take one-year classes or give extension lectures and some teachers of one-year classes become teachers of tutorial classes. We have thought it best, therefore, not to deal separately with the teachers drawn from each of these sources, but to treat the problem as a whole and to state the general developments which we believe to be necessary in order to increase the supply of teachers for all kinds of adult education.

256. The most obvious source, though not the only source, to which it is reasonable to look for an increase in the supply of teachers for adult education consists of men and women who have already obtained the necessary educational qualifications, and who would be willing to undertake it provided they understood more fully the importance of the work and what was required of the teacher. Such persons are to be found among the existing staff of universities, among students who are graduating but have not yet entered on a career, and among graduates who are already engaged in a profession.

257. The members of university staffs whose primary function is intra-mural teaching already teach a certain number of extra-mural classes. They have, in some cases, proved admirably suited for the work, and have themselves derived much benefit from the new types of experience with which they have been brought into contact. It is probable that when extra-mural work assumes its proper place of prominence as one of the most important functions of a university the number of such teachers will be increased. We think that every effort should be made to enlist their services, and, in particular, that in appointing their intra-mural staff universities should have regard to the desirability of selecting men who, at any rate in the earlier years of their academic career, will be able and willing to undertake extra-mural teaching, and who possess the necessary personal qualities.

258. Students about to graduate or those who have already entered some profession other than University teaching are one important source from which teachers for adult classes are to be drawn. But they will not be made available in sufficient number unless a deliberate attempt is made to enlist their interest and to point out to them the possibilities of useful and interesting work open to the teacher of adult students. At the present time such attempts are made only very spasmodically. The Central Joint Advisory Committee receives applications from men and women who wish to become teachers and communicates them to the different Joint Committees. The General Secretary and District Secretaries of the W.E.A., by addressing meetings at universities, do something to spread knowledge of the needs of adult education among undergraduates; but the number reached by such information as they can give is necessarily extremely limited. To establish a connection with the numerous persons who have left the universities and who might, while engaged in a profession, be willing to take part in adult education is, of course, still more difficult since they are widely scattered. Yet it is such graduates who are particularly needed. Young graduates, in the great majority of instances, lack experience and, in consequence, they will not generally be acceptable to the students in tutorial classes.

259. At present, therefore, it is by no means easy to make use even of the limited supply of persons who have the necessary qualifications. Some of those who might be good teachers do not know of the work which is being done; and some of those who have thought of the work do not know to whom they should apply if they wish to undertake it. In practice, so far as tutorial classes and one-year classes conducted in connection with the W.E.A. are concerned, tutors and teachers are usually found as they are required by Joint Committees or by the District Secretaries of the W.E.A.; and even in London, where the supply of persons suitable to act as teachers should be abundant, it has sometimes happened that the establishment of a class has been postponed because no teacher has been available. Women teachers, no doubt, can usually be found with less difficulty than men, and many women have been eminently successful in class work. But no increase in the supply of women can make up for the deficiency of men. Admirable as women teachers have proved themselves, they have not, save in exceptional cases, the kind of experience needed to enable them successfully to conduct classes composed largely of working men of mature years. They have a great field before them in teaching working women, and in some cases in teaching classes of both sexes. But classes composed of men usually demand a man as a teacher, and the main need at present is to increase the supply of men taking up the work.

260. Success in adult education depends very largely on personal qualities which can only be discovered by personal knowledge. Those who take it up should do so because they feel enthusiasm for it, not because it is an obvious or agreeable "career," and it would be a misfortune if it became "popular" in the sense of attracting young men and women who have no special interest in it. But we cannot doubt that at present it is deprived of the services of many who might make admirable teachers, because it is not brought to their attention, and we think that nothing but good can result from more systematic efforts to ascertain the number of those likely to be interested in it and to put the needs of the classes before them. Such efforts might proceed somewhat as follows:—

- (a) Steps should be taken by the University Joint Committees and University Boards and Delegacies, or, as we should prefer to say, by the extra-mural departments of universities to secure that proper prominence is given to extra-mural adult education. They should interest the Universities in the work and should endeavour by meetings and conferences to bring before university students the opportunity of useful work open to teachers of adult classes.
- (b) A list should be formed by each university department for extra-mural adult education of all graduates who have left the University in the last ten years and who are likely to be able and willing to take part in adult education, and also in the case of universities other than Oxford and Cambridge of all persons residing in their area who are likely to be able to undertake teaching work in their spare time. In the preparation of such lists University Appointments Boards might well be requested to co-operate.
- (c) The work now done by the Central Joint Advisory Committee as a clearing-house of teachers for tutorial classes should be extended and developed. In addition to circulating, as at present, the names of applicants for teaching work to the different Joint Committees, it should receive from the Joint Committees the list of graduates suggested above and should communicate them to the Joint Committees and District

Secretaries of the W.E.A. and to other organisations in whose area they reside.

- (d) The university departments for adult education should keep a register of all the bodies carrying on adult education in their area, for example, the W.E.A., the Adult School Union, the Co-operative Movement, and the numerous literary and educational societies which exist in many districts, and should obtain from them the names of persons who have shown that they are suitable to act as teachers. The names could then be circulated among the different bodies concerned with adult education.

261. We have spoken first of the possibility of increasing the number of teachers drawn from those who already possess educational qualifications fitting them to act as teachers of adult classes. But we think it equally important to increase the number of persons possessing such qualifications by increasing the opportunities of training open to all who desire to undertake the work. At the present time educational work of the highest value is being done by students in adult classes, who become teachers in their turn and pass on to others the education which they have received. Numerous classes, for example, are conducted by tutorial class students, by Labour College students and by students in co-operative classes, as well as by members of the teaching and other professions. We think that the number of such teachers could be increased, and existing teachers stimulated and assisted, if more systematic efforts were made to offer special opportunities for study and training to teachers engaged in adult education.

262. Such efforts might well proceed upon three main lines. In the first place it would be advantageous, we think, if in every locality where numerous classes are carried on, there were a centre where the teachers of such classes could find some one capable of giving them expert guidance in the preparation of the subjects which they are teaching, and could discuss difficulties and plans of work with them. In towns where universities exist, or are easily accessible, the university is the natural centre from which some such work should be carried on. At the present time arrangements have already been made by certain universities for offering special tuition on Saturday afternoons to the more advanced students of tutorial classes. The Leeds Joint Committee, for example, in 1918 established a special class with the purpose of assisting advanced students to prepare themselves to teach one-year classes and study circles. Such arrangements might well be developed so as to offer students who have taken up, or desire to take up, the work of teaching adult classes, the opportunity of obtaining assistance from a university teacher who has practical experience of the teacher's problem and difficulties. There is no reason why in London, Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, and elsewhere classes for teachers of adult classes, held on Saturday afternoons or evenings and during the summer, should not form a regular part of the work of the university. In some districts, where no university is within easy reach, it would be more difficult to arrange the provision of the same facilities. But we have already suggested that one direction in which adult education may develop is the establishment in an increasing number of districts of resident tutors, and, if that development takes place, the assistance of teachers engaged in adult education will naturally form part of their work.

263. In the second place, we desire to see the summer school movement extended so as to offer increased assistance to actual or prospective teachers. The growth of summer schools and other educational work

during vacations at universities is a comparatively modern development—till recently it would have been hardly an exaggeration to say that Oxford, for example, was unused for fifty years in every century—and such activity is still confined to a comparatively small number of universities. We think that summer schools should be regarded as a normal part of the work of universities, and that they should be used partly to offer special training to students who are engaged in teaching adult classes. The majority of those attending the summer schools consists, of course, of tutorial class students, who are not themselves engaged in teaching; and in planning the work of the schools their needs and interests must continue to occupy the primary place. But at most summer schools there are a certain number of students who are also engaged in teaching, and that number is likely to increase year by year.

264. They gain much from the work which is common to all those attending the schools. But they have also needs of their own. They require, for example, more detailed guidance as to books and sources of information than the ordinary students, as well as the advice as to the arrangement of their subject matter and the preparation of syllabuses by which an experienced teacher can save a younger one much unnecessary trouble. Exactly what methods of organisation should be adopted to meet their special requirements is a matter of detail which must vary from university to university and from year to year, and we do not think we can usefully offer any suggestions on the subject. Many non-university collegiate institutions might also be utilised during vacations for training courses. We think it important to emphasise that in the future summer schools ought to give special attention, not merely to the interests of the students, but to developing prospective teachers. By doing so they would in time create a body of teachers capable of carrying on adult education within the districts in which they reside.

265. In the third place, there should be increased facilities for students who have shewn special capacity for teaching, as witnessed by work done in their own locality, to take an intra-mural course of study at a university, or at an institution such as Ruskin College or the Labour College. We are aware that any such proposal is attended by difficulties. The students whom we have in mind are many of them men of mature years, and it would often be necessary to make provision for their wives and families. They will often find it difficult to leave their work for more than a few weeks at a time without jeopardizing their industrial future. Nor is it desirable that the opportunity of a prolonged period of study should become the subject of emulation which might prejudice the friendly and co-operative spirit obtaining in most adult classes. These are genuine difficulties. They have caused some of the attempts made in the past to render the universities accessible to adult students to be less successful than their promoters anticipated. The Report on Oxford and Working Class Education, which inaugurated the tutorial class movement, recommended as an essential part of the proposals that students should pass frequently from the tutorial classes to residence in the Universities. But only in a few cases has that result actually been achieved. Adult students have occasionally entered Oxford or Cambridge as undergraduates, sometimes as the result of the university extension movement. At the new universities the full-time adult student is, we believe, hardly more common.

266. We do not under-estimate the difficulties involved in creating facilities by which an increased number of adult students may pass for a long or shorter period to study in a university or collegiate institution. Nevertheless, we believe that they are not insuperable, that the present moment is favourable for a renewed attempt to overcome them, and

they are more than counter-balanced by the advantages which would accrue. The Universities would gain considerably. On the one hand, it would bring into them a body of students more mature than the ordinary undergraduate, and would do something to promote the mixing of different ages and different types of social experience which is a distinguishing feature of foreign, and, indeed, of Scottish universities, which is found to some extent in the new universities of England and Wales, but which is comparatively absent from Oxford and Cambridge. On the other hand, it would offer an increased number of men and women of proved intellectual capacity and educational enthusiasm opportunities of intensive study, from which they would derive the greater benefit because it followed, and did not, as in the case of most undergraduates, precede their acquaintance with the practical problems of industrial life. They would be the better students for possessing that practical experience. They would be the better teachers for having added to that experience greater opportunities for leisure and reflection than are open to men and women, however able and energetic, who can study only at the end of their working day. The Universities, like other institutions, have had their traditions suspended and organisation disturbed by the war. Now that they are resuming their interrupted activities it should be easier for them than in the past to accommodate their methods to the needs of adult students.

267. Increased facilities for intra-mural study might be offered to adult students in two main ways. In the first place it is desirable that short courses of study should be arranged for teachers of the shorter adult classes, lasting for from two to six months, and that such financial assistance should be provided as may be needed to enable them to attend them. Such short courses should be open to all persons who desire to obtain help in qualifying for teaching adult classes. But it should be a condition of financial assistance that a student has spent (say) two years in some kind of adult class, and that he has already shown in practice his capacity to act as a teacher.

268. It is sometimes alleged in criticism of such a proposal that short courses of study, such as we have suggested, involve an attempt to cram into a few months work which, in order to be educative, must be spread over years. But this objection rests on a misconception. The short courses of intensive study are not suggested as a substitute for more continuous work, but as the completion of it. Those attending them would already have spent some years as students in adult classes of one kind or another. They would come, therefore, prepared to make the most even of a comparatively short period of study, and could, if desirable, repeat their attendance on more than one occasion. Moreover, short courses of this kind are free from most of the practical difficulties which have been mentioned above as attending the residence of an adult student in a university or college for a prolonged period. Leave of absence from work could be more easily obtained and work could be more easily resumed. The financial obstacle would be smaller. Nor would students be cut off to the same extent from the friends and environment of their ordinary life. Such considerations have led, we understand, the authorities of Ruskin College to contemplate adding to their present arrangements, under which students reside normally for not less than twelve months or sometimes for two years, a system under which a larger number of students will be received in the College for periods of one, two or three months. We think that all universities should take steps to plan such short courses, and that it should be the function of the university departments for adult extra-mural education to make this a normal part of the work of the Universities.

269. In the second place, it is necessary to provide for the needs of students who are suitable to undertake the teaching of university tutorial classes and other work of a high standard. Such students will naturally be fewer in number than those of whom we have just spoken. They will require a longer course of study than can be offered in three or six months, and for that reason it will be more difficult to provide for them. But we are convinced that in future all adult classes must draw an increasing number of teachers from their own ranks, both because without them the supply of teachers is likely to remain inadequate and because the infusion among the teachers of men who have themselves been students would invigorate the movement and bring new types of experience into it. We think, therefore, that special efforts should be made to offer opportunities of more prolonged study in a university or at an institution such as Ruskin College or the Labour College, to students who have proved their capacity to undertake educational work.

270. Such opportunities should normally be subject to three conditions. Firstly, there should be evidence of intellectual fitness and preliminary training. Secondly, the students should already have been engaged in teaching work, for example, in teaching one-year classes. Thirdly, it should be their intention to take up the teaching of adult classes, or other work of the same kind, when their period of study is over. Provided these conditions were observed, it would, we think, be highly advantageous for extra-mural university departments to take steps to enable students from tutorial classes to enter universities and colleges for courses of study lasting for from two to three years. Funds should be provided for the purpose by the Universities, aided by the Central Authority and by Local Education Authorities, and a guarantee of employment as a teacher of adult classes on the completion of the course should be given to the student.

271. Such developments would have the effect of adding considerably to the number of persons qualified to do effective teaching work among adults, and thus would prepare the way both for an improvement in the standards of higher education and for a far wider extension of it than has as yet taken place. At the same time we must reiterate our opinion that they should be accompanied by a systematic attempt to place the position of those at present engaged in teaching adults upon a sounder basis in the matter both of status and remuneration. In the earlier stages of a growing movement it was natural that the position of the teachers should be somewhat undefined. But the pioneer work of adult education has now been accomplished. Its value and possibilities have been proved by experiment. If it is to develop as it should in the future it is essential that those who adopt it as a profession should have adequate remuneration and a reasonable degree of financial security.

272. In the general scheme of adult education which we have in mind, we give a large place to the less systematic forms of education, and also to those which are semi-recreational in their methods. This sphere of work will be the special province of the volunteer. We may be sure that adult education will never be dominated by a caste of professional teachers. There will always be ample opportunity and, indeed, a paramount need for the enthusiastic amateur, who is half teacher, half missionary. There is no royal road to their provision; but with every increase in the extent of adult education, and with a clearer appreciation of its scope and possibilities, an ever-increasing number of voluntary workers will be forthcoming.



## CHAPTER X.

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF RURAL EDUCATION.****I. SOCIAL CONSIDERATIONS.**

273. Many of the recommendations contained in this Report are capable of general application to Great Britain. Nevertheless the special circumstances surrounding the problem of rural education to which we have drawn attention in Appendix I in this Report<sup>1</sup> require that we should give separate consideration to the needs of rural areas. We have already pointed out that the conditions of rural life and society have, on the whole, retarded rather than assisted the growth of educational interests in the country. Until there is a great rural revival under the impetus of new ideals, adult education will never rise to its possibilities. On the other hand, the growth of a new rural culture and civilisation is inextricably interwoven with, and largely dependent upon, the spread of education. The many ramifications of the rural problem stretch far beyond our terms of reference. The revival of the manifold economic activities of the countryside, the establishment of new economic opportunities, the land question, the efficiency of agriculture, the housing of the rural population, and many other complicated but fundamental problems lie outside our purview. But as we explained in some detail in our First Interim Report,<sup>2</sup> we cannot divorce the consideration of education from the reactions of political, social and economic institutions and traditions upon educational thought and activity. It is not for us to embark upon the elaboration of proposals touching the various aspects of country life. We may, nevertheless, emphasise, by way of illustration, the urgency of dealing with rural housing. We believe that the nation is now fully alive to the need for a large programme which will, first, remedy the famine which undoubtedly exists, and secondly, guarantee to the countryman and his family a home which will satisfy civilised standards of decency, comfort and convenience. The moral and psychological effects of better housing would be profound. A more immediate result would be that it would be practicable for small study circles to meet in the homes of students under less formal and therefore more advantageous conditions than is the case where a group meets in a school. Already in the towns much valuable work has been done by study circles meeting round the fireside of one or other of their members. The rural student would, moreover, be better able to pursue his studies than is possible in existing circumstances in the small and overcrowded cottages of the countryside.

274. Educational work amongst adults suffers if it is self-centred. It tends to lose in enthusiasm and vitality unless it is linked with similar work elsewhere. The voluntary educational bodies have owed much to the corporate spirit which the association of class with class and group with group in a larger movement has engendered. The need for contact with other groups is particularly great in the case of groups of students in country villages. The classes are small, and the experience of the members not sufficiently varied to overcome paucity of numbers. The difficulties of distance hamper contact and co-operation, and defective transport places an almost insuperable obstacle in the way of effective co-ordination. The hope lies in the recognition of the country market town as the natural centre for the surrounding villages and the gradual development of transport facilities radiating from the market towns. In

<sup>1</sup> Appendix I, pp. 262-276.

<sup>2</sup> *Industrial and Social Conditions in relation to Adult Education*, Cd. 9107.

some parts of the country, more particularly in the Home Counties, there has been a development of motor omnibus services which does something to meet the need; but there are many districts which are devoid of any form of passenger transport service beyond railways, which may be remote from the majority of villages in a district. The development of rural transport has been generally recognised as a pressing problem and we hope that any steps which may be taken will not overlook the importance of passenger traffic by confining attention too exclusively to the transport of produce. We have referred to housing and transport in order to illustrate our contention that the full development of adult education is impossible apart from the realisation of a comprehensive rural programme.

275. We may now turn to rural needs which are directly and obviously related to adult education. In our First Interim Report<sup>1</sup> we insisted upon the handicap imposed upon those who desire to arrange classes and study circles by the absence of suitable places of meeting. We there urged the importance of establishing in every village a hall under public control, which should be the nucleus of the social and intellectual life of the village. We are aware, of course, that in many villages there are halls and institutes which are empty shells; sometimes they are derelict; in other cases their activities flicker uncertainly. It is not possible to assign any general reason for failure. It may be that the administration is patriarchal and under patronage; it may be that there are restrictive covenants which limit the uses to which the hall may be put. On the other hand, the reason may be found not in the institute itself, but in the apathy of the villagers. We cannot but think, however, that the past five years have created new circumstances which will offer better prospects of success in the immediate future. The soldier from the countryside has become accustomed to varied social intercourse; he has listened to lectures which have interested him; he may have pursued a course of study whilst in the army; he has attended concerts and plays. On his return, the old dissatisfaction with the poverty of the village so far as social amenities and recreations are concerned, will be strengthened. Countrymen who have remained on the land during the war have enjoyed a wider experience than was common before the war, and the growth of the trade union movement and the establishment of the District Wages Committees have given them new interests. It is clear that, as a result of the events of the last five years, the conscious needs of the rural population have become more varied, yet it is certain that the drift to the towns with which we were familiar in the past will continue unless country life provides more avenues than is the case at present for the employment of leisure time. Moreover, the development of transport and the extended use of electric power will tend to the decentralisation of industry and the movement of firms from the town to the country. It is improbable, however, that town workers will be prepared, in any large numbers—even when the housing shortage is remedied—to exchange urban life for life in the country so long as the latter is without the counterpart of the many and varied activities to which they have become accustomed in the towns.

276. The rural problem, from whatever point of view it is regarded—economic, social or political—is essentially a problem of re-creating the rural community, of developing new social traditions and a new culture. The great need is for a living nucleus of communal activity in the village, which will be a centre from which radiate the influences of different

<sup>1</sup> Par. 16.

forms of corporate effort, and to which the people are attracted to find the satisfaction of their social and intellectual needs. We conceive this nucleus to be a village institute, under full public control. Its size would vary with the number of people it was designed to serve. In the description which follows we have endeavoured to visualise an institute which is fully developed, though we are aware that not all institutes will be able to provide the programme we have outlined.

## II. THE VILLAGE INSTITUTE.

277. The institute should be the headquarters of organised local activities of all kinds. Trade union branches, friendly societies, pig clubs and bee clubs, and agricultural and horticultural societies of one sort and another, adult schools and classes arranged by voluntary organisations, women's institutes, schools for mothers, chess clubs, and so forth should be encouraged to use the institutes; and one or more rooms, as may be necessary, should be provided for the purposes of their meetings. The institute should contain a hall large enough for dances, cinema shows, concerts, plays, public lectures, and exhibitions. At the institute there should be a public library and local museum. If arrangements can be made for games and sports, so much the better. The institute, in a word, should be a centre of educational, social and recreational activity.

278. Under present conditions these activities are carried on to a greater or less extent, but more often than not they are hampered partly by the lack of any accommodation which does not suffer from the disadvantage of being under definitely sectarian or cramping philanthropic control, and partly by the unsuitability of such accommodation as there is. In our opinion nothing short of a great national programme designed to provide in every parish an institute suited to its needs will meet the requirements of the rural community in the near future. We are aware that some parishes are already provided with a building suitable for the purpose and that in others there are buildings that might be adapted. But, even if the fullest possible use is made of all available resources in the way of accommodation, this will go but a little way to meet the need, and a very large number of villages will remain unprovided for. It is clear that the cost of an institute such as we have suggested could not be borne by parish councils or even by county councils; and the uncertainty of private benefactions rules out this alternative method of dealing with what is in reality a national problem. Moreover, as the institutes will be used more and more for public and quasi-public purposes, it seems to us that they should be established out of public funds. In the main, the establishment of village institutes should be a national charge. The complicated social and economic questions which we call collectively the rural problem are a matter of the greatest national importance. They do not admit of any simple solution. They need to be approached by many roads; one of the most important is through direct encouragement to the establishment of a new communal organisation and to the development of corporate activities and social institutions in harmony with modern social ideas. The State cannot create a new social spirit; it can but provide opportunities for its growth and expression. One of the chief of these opportunities is the village institute, and we can think of no more profound and far-reaching piece of rural reconstruction than the provision of buildings expressly designed as a focus of the social activities of village communities. Whether such institutes become active centres of social and educational work will depend largely upon the degree to which voluntary organisations of various kinds co-operate in utilising the opportunities which the institutes

present. It is clear that a village institute can never become the main-spring of organised life in the village unless the organised activities of the village centre in the institute. The success of village institutes in the future rests upon an appeal to groups of people with common interests, rather than to individuals. It is because such groups have in recent years begun to flourish that we look forward hopefully to a vigorous life within the village institutes. It may well be that the Women's Institutes which have taken root in rural districts during the past four years will in many places provide the social stimulus and basis of social organisation necessary for the continuous and varied activities, without which village institutes must become moribund.

279. Our proposal is that the State should make a grant-in-aid as and when the demand arises to parish or rural district councils, through the county councils, in respect of capital expenditure, amounting to 90 per cent. of the total cost. The remaining 10 per cent. should be raised locally. The total cost to the State of such a scheme for Great Britain might amount to £5,000,000 or even more. Once the institutes were established, it should be possible for a parish council or a rural district council, as the case may be, to maintain the activities carried on in them. In the case of societies using the rooms for meetings or classes, a small fee would be charged. Where concerts, plays, public lectures, cinemas and exhibitions were arranged they would be a source of income, whether they were arranged under the auspices of some voluntary organisation or movement or by the parish or rural district council. The problem, therefore, of financing village institutes is not one which need detain us. It is otherwise, however, with the initial establishment of the institutes. For this there is no alternative but to rely upon very substantial grants-in-aid from the State, which would ultimately be more than recompensed for the outlay involved.

### III. THE EXTENSION OF LIBRARIES AND MUSEUMS.

280. Another urgent need of country districts is the extension of public libraries. In our Third Interim Report<sup>1</sup> we have already referred to this question. We may, perhaps, quote certain passages<sup>2</sup> summarising our views on this subject:—

“In the rural areas of Great Britain libraries are very rare; indeed, in most country districts they do not exist. The Yorkshire Village Libraries Association founded in 1856 by the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes, the Library of the Lancashire and Cheshire Union founded in 1847, the Claydon Village Libraries in Buckinghamshire, the Coats Libraries scattered over the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and similar schemes have been of real service within the areas in which they operated. The Report made by Professor W. G. S. Adams to the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust on “Library Provision and Policy,” emphasised the lack of libraries in rural districts. Whether from the point of view of the development of rural life or from the standpoint of educational provision, the adequate establishment of libraries in the country districts of Great Britain is an urgently needed measure. The fact that there are fewer social attractions in the country than in the towns is in itself a strong reason for the provision of libraries.

“Though individual parishes may adopt the Public Libraries Act, the county councils are unable to do so. But the product of a penny rate—insufficient to maintain and extend a town library—

<sup>1</sup> Libraries and Museums, Cd. 9237.

<sup>2</sup> Pars. 15, 16, and 19.

is totally inadequate for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a village library for which the annual income might be £10 or less. The law does, however, provide in some measure for collective action; but the combination of parishes for library purposes was almost unknown until this course was suggested by the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust. The chief problem of rural library administration arises from the fact that the population is scattered or concentrated in small communities.

"A large stationary library for a district does not fully meet the need, and small stationary libraries for each hamlet and village cannot offer sufficient variety of books to maintain local interest. It is probably the latter fact which accounts largely for the moribund condition into which many village libraries have sunk. The problem, therefore, becomes one of providing a central library for an area and making adequate arrangements for the regular circulation of small quantities of books to the villages within the area to supplement the nucleus of permanent books which should be provided. The existing network of administrative machinery provided by the County Education Authority supplies the nucleus of a library administration covering the same area.

"Reference may be made to the experiments which have been aided by the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust. In several counties in England and Wales financial assistance has been given by the Trust to County Education Authorities, whereby they have been enabled to organise comprehensive schemes of book provision for the areas under their charge. Mr. Hetherington, in his memorandum to the Committee, points out that 'the schools are the natural places where the books may find accommodation, and the school-master is naturally a person in more or less direct contact with the inhabitants of the village. Moreover, the school children can readily carry their books home to their parents and relatives in cases where the readers find it difficult themselves to pay a visit to the school. The school, however, may not always be the best depository for the consignments, and where village institutes or the like exist, consignments may be better placed therein.'

"Though certain weighty objections may be adduced to the transfer of urban libraries to Local Education Authorities, it appears to us that there is a particularly strong case for requiring County Education Authorities to undertake the establishment and control of public libraries within their area. Non-county boroughs and urban districts should, however, continue to control public libraries already established by them. It is clearly impossible in most rural communities to appoint full-time librarians, except for the central libraries, and the utilisation of the services of the village teachers is an obvious way of meeting the difficulty. As the school will naturally be the centre of local distribution in most cases, the machinery of educational administration could be used for library purposes. Even where village institutes already exist, or spring into existence, it would still, in our judgment, be desirable, on general grounds, that administration should rest with the County Education Authority."

281. With regard to museums in rural areas we need do no more than quote from our previous Report.<sup>1</sup>

"Museums should be established in those market towns which form the natural centres of rural life. Improved transport facilities

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, Par. 47.

and the improved economic conditions of the agricultural population must give a new importance to the market towns as centres of social activity. Moreover, it is desirable that the villages should build up collections of their own, reinforced from time to time by travelling exhibits from the county collection, maintained by the County Education Authority."

With the establishment of village institutes and the provision of public libraries and museums in rural areas, we should have laid the foundations for an ever-increasing volume of educational activity. Until classes and groups of students have adequate accommodation for their meetings, and libraries and museums within easy reach, the educational development of rural areas will necessarily be severely handicapped.

#### IV. THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES.

282: The educational work which has been carried on in country districts, whilst promising, has often been, by force of circumstances, fitful and discontinuous. It is necessary that it should be put upon a more permanent basis, so that the village may under normal circumstances never be without some form of serious intellectual activity. It is important, moreover, that the character of the educational work which is carried on should be adapted to the needs of the students, as regards both subject matter and method of treatment. It will not be surprising if handicrafts, dancing, music and plays offer great attractions, more particularly to the younger men and women of the village. On the other hand, it is certain that with the growth of trade unionism amongst agricultural workers, there will be a demand for economic history and economics from the point of view of the workers' experience and interests. It may be expected, also, that the demand for lectures and classes in agricultural and horticultural subjects of a technical and semi-technical character and in the natural sciences will increase. It is more than probable that, whilst courses of lectures will continue to be popular, serious study will be prosecuted in groups smaller than are common in the towns. This method will prove advantageous, as it will make it more feasible to cater for varying needs. On the other hand, educational work carried on by small numbers is, of course, much costlier than holding larger classes. It may also be found necessary to devise a winter session shorter than that which has been adopted in the towns, and the normal winter class might well be of twenty weeks' duration. Moreover, we are inclined to think that there should be some half-way house between the one-year class and the tutorial class meeting for three winters of twenty-four meetings each. A modified university tutorial class meeting for twenty weeks during two consecutive winters might be found to meet a real need in rural districts. This question, we think, is one to which the extra-mural departments of universities, in conjunction with the Board of Education and the Scottish Education Department,<sup>1</sup> should give early attention with a view to the formulation of a well thought-out policy of educational development in rural areas.

283. We are convinced that a rural educational movement would be short-lived, unless classes and groups of students which were formed were associated together in some way and imbued with a corporate spirit. It is desirable that voluntary organisations in rural areas should co-operate with a view to federating adult educational work within their districts. For it is only through some such federation that adequate

<sup>1</sup> The development of rural education in Scotland will naturally be one of the first questions to which the proposed standing joint committee of the Scottish Education Department would turn its attention (*see par. 186 above*).

efforts can be made to satisfy the educational needs of the area and to utilise the available resources as regards teachers and lecturers in the best possible way.

284. Whilst it is important that study circles and classes should, as far as possible, be arranged in every village, such a network of activity would by no means fully meet the needs of rural areas. It is desirable that the market towns and larger villages should become the centres of educational activity and that classes, week-end conferences, exhibitions, etc., should be arranged in them with the co-operation of the surrounding villages. It is in these rather larger centres of population that we may expect tutorial classes, or the modified form of tutorial classes suggested above, to be held. These centres would also cater for the special needs of those for whom it is impracticable to make adequate provision in their own villages. The market towns and larger villages would naturally become the focus of the educational work carried on in the surrounding villages and would provide the opportunity for that co-operation between various groups which we regard as essential. With the development of the work in rural areas it will undoubtedly become necessary to appoint resident organisers for the purposes of opening up new centres and carrying on the administrative work which is necessary if the various villages are to be linked together. These organisers should be fully conversant with country life and rural needs, and, in view of the difficulty of obtaining teachers and lecturers, it would be advisable that they should be able to take part themselves, as far as circumstances allowed, in teaching work. We do not, however, regard this as a satisfactory solution. We are of opinion that, just as in the case of towns, the development of a system of resident tutors and the decentralisation of university extra-mural education is desirable, so we regard the gradual establishment of resident tutors and lecturers in rural areas as a necessary part of the general scheme of rural education.

285. "Summer" schools and "summer" meetings—and we use these terms to describe the kind of work which has up to the present usually been carried on during the summer months but which may, where circumstances require it, be extended to the winter months—must form an integral part of the general scheme. No doubt, federated groups of students will desire to make arrangements for week-end lecture schools, and it is worth considering whether the tutorial class summer schools might not occasionally make their headquarters in a rural district, to the mutual advantage of both town and rural students. It is also desirable that the summer courses arranged for teachers and others in agriculture and kindred subjects should be widened in their scope to include the study of the many social and economic problems connected with rural life, and subjects of wider application such as literature, general history and philosophy. The development of rural vocational education by means of County Farm Institutes, and the increased provision of Agricultural Colleges, will probably not be without its effect on adult non-vocational education throughout the country districts, in bringing together, in residential institutions, those who have hitherto had small experience of this form of educational life. Besides the main courses, there will probably be shorter subsidiary courses in these institutions, which will thus be enabled to bring under their influence an increased number of the sons and daughters of small farmers and small holders, and, in due course, of the skilled labourers.

286. We hope, also, to see established residential colleges of a non-vocational kind. Though the question of compulsory continuation schools is outside our terms of reference, we may, perhaps, refer to the matter here in connection with the suggested establishment of residential colleges.

The small number of boys and girls of continuation school age in each village and the distances between the various villages are serious obstacles to the establishment of rural continuation schools. We cannot but think that the difficulties might be overcome at least in some districts by the establishment of residential continuation schools in rural areas where the pupils could go into continuous residence for three months. These schools would in the six winter months take in two relays of continuation school students. With but little additional expense the schools might be utilised for young adults and adult students as a residential college during the winter months. The continuation school staff would be able to give some of their time to the adult students in residence, though it would be desirable to have a responsible tutor concerned entirely with the older pupils. It would, of course, be desirable to allocate a special part of the buildings and separate lecture rooms for the adult students. It is only by some such means that adequate provision for adult education in rural districts is immediately practicable. Experience would show whether there was sufficient demand for residential colleges of the Danish High School type, which is what we have in mind, to justify the separate establishment of non-vocational colleges. These residential centres would be fully occupied during the winter months by rural students of one kind or another. During the summer months, they would be available for special courses for teachers and for summer schools arranged under the auspices of the increasing number of organisations which conduct summer schools. The attractiveness of rural surroundings would, undoubtedly, be a strong inducement to town dwellers to arrange summer schools in which they were interested in residential centres in rural areas. We are convinced of the value of the work of summer schools and of the salutary influence which it would exert upon the whole field of rural adult education.

287. The development of adult education in rural districts will necessitate considerable expenditure. The cost of educational provision and organisation in rural districts is proportionately higher than in the towns. Voluntary bodies engaged in education in town and country have in the past been unable to obtain sufficient financial assistance to enable them to carry on effective work on any large scale outside urban areas. It is obvious that rural educational movements will not be able to finance themselves from rural resources. Local Education Authorities have often been deterred from the provision of evening classes by the heavy expenditure per pupil which is incurred when enrolments are few. There is a strong case, so far as rural education is concerned, for more generous State grants and more elastic regulations. These grants should, we think, bear some relation to the difficulties and special circumstances obtaining in rural areas. Definite encouragement should be given to experimental educational work in country districts, and special grants-in-aid paid by the Central Departments. So much of the work now carried on is primarily experimental in character that a special grant is therefore justifiable. So far as Local Education Authorities are concerned, we would suggest that the most fruitful results would be obtained if they gave financial assistance in aid of the direct educational work of voluntary organisations rather than undertook any large development of their own classes. In Appendix I<sup>1</sup> we describe the arrangements existing between the North Staffordshire Miners' Higher Education Movement and the Local Education Authorities in the area, and we have already referred to the decision to appoint a resident tutor in the district.<sup>2</sup> Recently, the Kent Education Committee,

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 304-5.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 109-10.



as we have already stated, has undertaken to give financial assistance to the Kent Federation of Study Groups, according to the standard and amount of work done. We hope that other county authorities will give more liberal financial assistance to adult education in rural areas than they have done in the past, and that they will contribute towards the salaries of resident tutors as well as make contributions in respect of particular classes. We would further suggest that the payment of railway fares which Local Education Authorities already make in the case of secondary school and other pupils, should be extended to adult students travelling some distance to attend classes. In view of the increased financial assistance to Local Authorities which is now forthcoming from the State, it is to be expected that County Authorities will give active and substantial help to adult education within their areas.

## CHAPTER XI.

### TECHNICAL EDUCATION AND HUMANE STUDIES.

#### (I) TECHNICAL EDUCATION AND MODERN INDUSTRY.

288. Frequently in this Report we have drawn a sharp distinction between technical and vocational instruction on the one hand and non-vocational and "humane" studies on the other. We are aware that this clear-cut division is liable to misrepresentation. The latter may be a means of economic advancement, and the former, rightly conceived and practised, may be an important means of personal development. The former may produce pedants, and the latter men of wide interests and sound judgment. Nevertheless, whilst recognising that true education is a matter of method and spirit rather than of curriculum, we feel that the distinction between vocational and non-vocational education is one which may usefully be made, more especially because the distinction is one which exists in the popular mind and has taken root in practice.

289. There was a time when apprenticeship was the chief medium of education and culture for the bulk of people, and none can say that the training which was given did not provide at least some of the chief essentials of a liberal education. But in modern times the structure of industry and the development of mechanical appliances has robbed workshop training of much of its completeness and thoroughness and of the inspiration of creative craftsmanship. Formal instruction has become a necessity; hence the growth of technical education as a means of correcting the narrow experience of the workshop, by providing the general view and a knowledge of the principles underlying processes and methods, both of which are essential. One result of modern developments in industry has been, at least in certain trades, to supersede the need for the long apprenticeship which has survived from mediaeval times. Another even more important result has been the tendency towards specialisation and the division of labour. The descendants of the smith, the wheelwright and the armourer now range over a large number of processes, and the workers may be men with a wide range of skill and experience and the old pride of craftsmanship, or semi-skilled persons proficient in processes requiring a certain training within defined limits, or even less skilled people doing work which requires neither special qualities nor training. Moreover, the development of the distributive and transport industries, which have attained an importance unknown in earlier times, has led to the rise of large

classes of workers, most of whom require no lengthy training for the efficient performance of their duties.

290. We are not suggesting that skilled labour is being driven out of existence by the pressure of less-skilled labour. Indeed, we believe that the general level of industrial skill in the country is probably higher than ever it was before. Some highly skilled craftsmen have, it is true, almost or entirely disappeared. But skill in recent times has become more widely diffused, largely because of the growth of the semi-skilled class of labour. And we would point out that the "unskilled labourer" is as often as not a person with whom those who unthinkingly use the term could not compete with success. What we do suggest, however, is that for a very considerable proportion of people in this country—indeed, we would say for a majority—a sustained and lengthy technical education is unnecessary. In a large number of cases, specialised instruction for a short period may be advantageous. On the other hand, the need for highly skilled workers will not diminish in the future; on the contrary, we think that it will become more and more imperative in the great staple industries. Moreover, the gradually rising standard of taste will demand not less but more skill in production. People will desire a higher standard of fitness, durability and beauty in commodities and more sound craftsmanship in the things they buy. Technical education must always be a necessary and important part of a national system of education; but, unlike general or humane education, it is not a universal need.

## (II) THE DEFECTS OF TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

291. We cannot resist the conclusion that a considerable amount of technical instruction at the present time would be altogether unnecessary if the general educational standard of the pupils were higher. It can hardly be denied that much of the technical education which is carried on suffers because it is based upon inadequate foundations. It is built upon elementary education; it should be built, in our opinion, upon secondary education. Moreover, a considerable number of students embark upon courses of technical instruction in order to equip themselves for more responsible positions—positions which only a small fraction of them can attain. It has been suggested to us that not more than 5 per cent. of the pupils enrolled for certain kinds of technical instruction can ever find posts for which their special training would be necessary. We are far from believing that the efforts of the remaining 95 per cent. are to be regarded as so much waste time; but a goodly number of such students might with greater wisdom have pursued their studies in other directions.

292. Technical education has, unfortunately, only too often defeated its own object by the narrowness with which it has been conceived and carried out. It has been frequently illiberal in its spirit, and too closely confined in its scope. In consequence technical instruction has not become the powerful educational force it might have been, and in aiming too exclusively at increasing the economic efficiency of the producer it has not achieved this object with complete success; because technical efficiency is primarily dependent on qualities requiring for their growth opportunities of expression which cannot be adequately provided within the range of purely technical or, indeed, of scientific studies. This narrowness of aim, this concentration on purely economic considerations, is seen reflected in the mass of students themselves, who cannot escape from the prevailing atmosphere, and whose sole motive for attending vocational classes is usually a desire for immediate

economic betterment—a perfectly laudable motive in itself. Unfortunately, it has led to impatience on their part with any kind of subject, or treatment of a subject, which does not seem to be intimately connected with this limited end. We do not think that Local Education Authorities are, generally speaking, to be blamed for this state of affairs. They are public bodies who must, to a great extent, reflect prevailing ideas. Moreover, they are as a rule ready to liberalise their vocational courses where the demand exists. As a matter of fact, many of the courses they offer are reasonably wide in scope, but Authorities have difficulty in persuading students to undertake subjects which do not appear to have a very clear and decided vocational bearing. And even if such subjects are made a compulsory part of courses of technical training, unwilling study deprives them of real educational value.

293. We realise that efforts have been and are still being made with some considerable success to liberalise technical studies. But the utilitarian conception of education is slow to die; and amongst many workers the purpose of technical education is being interpreted in terms of the purpose which has dominated industry. Technical education is conceived as a means of improving economic efficiency in the interests of private gain and, as we said in our First Interim Report, “technical education, therefore, which might seem to offer opportunities for fuller self-expression is only too often . . . deemed to be a device not so much for the better satisfaction of the community’s needs as for the exploitation of the worker.” Moreover, the fact that many forms of wage-earning employment have lost their intrinsic interest for large numbers of workpeople has largely destroyed one of the most potent motives of technical education. To quote again from our First Interim Report: “Whilst modern industry has multiplied the commodities within reach of the consumer, it has undoubtedly lost many of the humanising and educative features which were characteristic of the earlier economic organisation. . . . It is not surprising that workpeople engaged upon a narrow specialised process, or in producing commodities which give little satisfaction in their production, should find little real interest in their work.”

### (III) TECHNICAL EDUCATION AND MODERN NEEDS.

294. It is, we believe, impossible to obliterate the artificial distinction between technical and non-technical studies unless there is a profound change in the motive and spirit of industry. The economic life of a community is one of its fundamental social activities, inseparably connected with its other social activities. It exists for a public purpose, and that purpose should govern its outlook, its spirit and its organisation. It is not for us to elaborate this view, but it seems to us clear that, until industry is clearly conceived as a vast organisation of co-operative effort, one of the essentials of a sound system of technical education is lacking. We have seen that in non-vocational adult education there are two closely interwoven motives. There is the desire for the satisfaction of personal needs, and there is the social motive springing from a public spirit which seeks through education a realisation of social aspirations. Hitherto, though many individuals have found in technical studies a means of personal development, it cannot be said that technical education has gained strength from any social motive. It has appealed either to the prospect of economic advantage or to the offer of opportunities for the expression of personal tastes. It has not expanded under the influence of a comprehensive ideal.

295. This is not because the Central Departments and Local Authorities have not striven to broaden and deepen the conception of technical education; nor is it because there are not teachers who give a wide interpretation to their responsibilities and who see behind the technical student the complex human being. It is because vocational instruction has inevitably taken its colour from the industrial system, which has pressed education into its service. The influence of economic forces has in the past tended to cripple the free development of technical education. It is desirable that efforts should be made to reinterpret the meaning and purpose of technical education. Such a reinterpretation would react upon industry itself and assist the further development of vocational studies. We are anxious that technical instruction should become a medium of humane education. The Royal Commission on University Education in London expressed the view that "the *differentie* of university education do not consist in the nature of the particular subjects studied, or in their difficulty or abstruseness, but rather in the nature and aim of the student's work and in the conditions under which it is done." The same may be said of humane education. It does not postulate the pursuit of certain definite studies or the exclusion of others. But it is known by its aims and methods and the spirit in which they are pursued. Vocational instruction ought to be part of general education, differing not in kind but only in the medium through which the powers of the pupil are stimulated and strengthened.

296. The study of the underlying sciences now forms an essential feature of technical courses. And though the various branches of Natural Science have their particular application to particular industries, both the study of the pure sciences and their application to practical affairs are processes of great educational value. The study of pure science, which is the arena in which even technical problems and difficulties have ultimately to be overcome, is consequently one of the most "practical" studies. A superficial classification of subjects into technical and non-technical, practical and academic, must destroy the vitality of technical education and leave it to become empirical and rule of thumb. The unity of knowledge and the impossibility of determining what knowledge is of practical value and what is not inevitably leads towards a wider interpretation of technical education. As Sir Walter Raleigh said in his Address on the Meaning of a University, "the standard of utility is a false and mischievous standard, invented by shortsighted greed and certain, if it is accepted, to paralyse and kill the University that accepts it. It cultivates the branches for profit and neglects the root."<sup>1</sup> It is clear that pure science must play an increasing part in technical education, and so far as it is included in the courses of study of vocational students, so far at least technical instruction contains some of the elements of a liberal education.

297. We would suggest that co-ordinated courses of technical instruction should be further broadened by the inclusion of studies which will enable the student to relate his own occupation to the industry of which it is a part, to appreciate the place of that industry in the economic life of the nation and the world, and to interpret the economic life of the community in terms of social values. In other words a complete system of technical education would include economic history, economics, and sociology. But in order that the sharp demarcation of technical and non-technical studies should be destroyed, it is, in our opinion, essential

<sup>1</sup>Quoted in the Final Report of the Royal Commission on University Education in London, p. 76.

that the technical student should also pursue studies but remotely connected with his vocational training. This is desirable to ensure that other sides of his nature will be developed. With the establishment of day continuation classes, which we hope will proceed upon liberal lines, intellectual interests will be strengthened and will in a greater or less degree survive into later years. Pupils will be more adequately prepared for the continuance of their studies and for the broad interpretation which we have put upon technical education.

298. It is equally important that technical education should not be confined to attendance at classes and courses of lectures. Instruction ought not to be its only medium. There is, however, a strong tendency to concentrate upon specialised studies and to attach too little importance to the development of the collegiate atmosphere and spirit. Technological students at a university gain enormously from the subtle influences which spring from contact with other students through the corporate life of the university. A great part of the vocational education in this country has undoubtedly suffered because the student has been conceived primarily as an individual pursuing a vocational purpose and not as a member of a community of students with an *esprit de corps* and corporate activities of its own.

299. We have already expressed our view that technical education is not a universal need; it is the requirement of a proportion of the people. And there is little to be gained by an attempt to swell the numbers of technical students by bringing within the ambit of technical education pupils for whom it is not appropriate. The great need is to provide the finest and most inspiring technical education for those who have need of it and to encourage other forms of education amongst those whose occupations call for no specialised training. Amongst these other forms we include all kinds of craftsmanship. We have in an earlier chapter pressed the claims of handicrafts as an important branch of humane education. At this point and also in regard to economic and allied studies, technical and non-technical education will in the future overlap. In a better social order, with a nobler conception of industry and a broader view of the meaning and purpose of education there would be a considerable amount of common ground which was within the sphere of both technical and non-technical education.

300. In the meantime, however, technical education is inspired by aims different from the motives which lie behind non-vocational education. The extension of the former will not supersede the need for the latter. There is, we think, a special importance attaching to humane education at the present time. We do not wish to underrate the value of increased technical efficiency or the desirability of increasing productivity; but we believe that a shortsighted insistence upon these things will defeat its object. We wish to emphasise the necessity for a great development of non-technical studies, partly because we think that it would assist the growth of a truer conception of technical education, but more especially because it seems to us vital to provide the fullest opportunities for personal development and for the realisation of a higher standard of citizenship. Too great an emphasis has been laid on material considerations and too little regard paid to other aspects of life. "Getting and spending we lay waste our powers." Technical efficiency is but one element in national well being. Our powers ought to be directed into wider channels in order that the intellectual and spiritual treasures of the race should be the heritage of all rather than the possession of a few, and so that the social virtues and the social spirit shall enjoy freedom of growth.

## CHAPTER XII.

**THE ORGANISATION AND FINANCE OF ADULT EDUCATION.**

301. Non-vocational adult education is carried on by Universities, Local Authorities and voluntary organisations and institutions. Some of this work is financially supported either wholly or in part from public funds, whilst some is maintained by voluntary bodies. There is co-operation for particular kinds of work between the various agencies. In the case of university tutorial classes, for example, there is effective co-operation between the universities and voluntary organisations, and often Local Education Authorities are associated with the work. University extension courses are occasionally arranged by universities in co-operation with Local Authorities. In some places we find Local Education Authorities and voluntary bodies acting in conjunction for the provision of facilities. Yet it cannot be said that there is over the whole field a comprehensive plan of organisation and administration such as obtains with regard to university tutorial classes.

The existing organisation of non-vocational adult education has already been referred to in various parts of this Report, and it will be sufficient for our purpose at this stage if we give some account of the existing regulations governing the finance and administration of the various forms of State-aided adult education coming within our terms of reference.

**(I) EXISTING STATE GRANTS.**

302. State grants to adult education are governed by the Board of Education Regulations.<sup>1</sup> Subject to compliance with the conditions laid down in these regulations, tutorial classes, one-year classes, tutorial class summer schools, and, in certain circumstances, university extension lecture courses are eligible for grant.

*(a) University Tutorial Classes and Summer Schools.*

University tutorial classes are specifically provided for under Part III. of the Regulations where it is laid down that the Board will be prepared to make grants to classes—

- “under the educational supervision either of a University or
- “University College, acting directly or through a Committee or
- “Delegacy; or of an educational body containing representatives
- “of a University or University College, and constituted expressly
- “for such supervision.”<sup>2</sup>

This supervising body “must be responsible for the framing of the syllabus and the selection of a suitable tutor.”<sup>3</sup> Under the Regulations, an annual grant is payable in respect of each class to the amount of £45 per year, or three-quarters of the fee exclusive of travelling and similar expenses paid to the tutor, whichever may be the less, such grant being subject to reduction in certain contingencies.

Under Part III. provision is also made for special grants in aid of more advanced tutorial class courses, extending over one year for students who have passed through the ordinary tutorial class three-year course.

<sup>1</sup> See the *Regulations for Technical Schools, Schools of Art and other Forms of provision for Further Education in England and Wales (in force from 1st August, 1918)*. Cd. 9152.

<sup>2</sup> Part III, Article 1(a).

<sup>3</sup> Part III, Article 1(b).

To these advanced courses the same regulations for supervision apply as for the three-year courses, and the grant payable is based upon the block grant of £45, or three-quarters of the tutor's salary, whichever may be the less, the actual amount depending amongst other things upon the number of hours of instruction given by the tutor.

The Regulation dealing with tutorial class summer schools is as follows:—

“The Board may make such additional grants as they may think fit in respect of vacation courses for selected students organised in connection with the classes aided under these Regulations.”<sup>1</sup>

The grants in each of the above three cases are paid direct to the supervising body (*i.e.*, the University Joint Committee) except that in the case where a Local Education Authority takes full financial responsibility for a class the grant is paid direct to that Authority.

### (b) *One Year Classes.*

303. As to one-year classes, the Regulations provide that “any Literary or Commercial subject may be accepted if a suitable syllabus is submitted. The rate of grant for these subjects will as a rule be from 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d., but may, in the case of instruction of a higher standard up to that appropriate to a Junior Grouped Course, be increased up to 5s. for Literary subjects and 8s. 6d. for Commercial subjects.”<sup>2</sup> The above classification of subjects is not a hard and fast one, and grants are paid on subjects which do not fall into the category of literary or commercial subjects. These Regulations apply primarily to the classes of Local Authorities, but in the past advantage has been taken of them by voluntary bodies and sometimes by University Tutorial Class Committees for one-year classes preparatory to tutorial class work. It is under the above provision that all non-university adult classes in receipt of State assistance obtain grant. The usual rate for such classes is 5s. for each 20 hours of attendance made by students, and a reasonably efficient class of about 25 students would earn from £8 to £12. The Board of Education has now amended the above Regulation by the addition of the following words:—“In the case of advanced instruction for adults in subjects of general as distinct from vocational education, the rate may be further increased up to 10s.”<sup>3</sup> The amended Regulation marks a new stage and will encourage the further development of non-vocational classes for adults.

304. As regards organisation and supervision under the existing Regulations, it is open not only to the Local Education Authorities but to a voluntary body which has organised a group of students to apply and obtain from the Board the recognition of such class for grant earning purposes, subject to there being a suitably constituted body of managers to superintend the class, and to the Board's being satisfied with the arrangements made for securing due supervision and local interest. The grant is then payable to such body of managers.<sup>4</sup> In practice this has made for a considerable amount of freedom in establishing classes in any given area, and voluntary bodies have been enabled to organise and supervise their own classes and to be the recipients of the State grant. This freedom has undoubtedly made for greater variety and encouraged the growth of non-vocational classes for adults in their own organisations.

It is true that before recognising as eligible for a grant any school or class not working under the direction of a Local Education Authority

<sup>1</sup> Part III, Article 8.

<sup>2</sup> Part I, Chap. 2, Article 32 (*d*) (i).

<sup>3</sup> Technical Schools, etc. (Amending), Regulation, 1919.

<sup>4</sup> Part I. Chap. 1, 1(*a*).

the Board as a rule invite the opinion of the County or County Borough Council on the necessity of such school or class, and have regard to the co-ordination of all forms of education in the area of the Council.<sup>1</sup> There has, however, very seldom been any difficulty under this provision, and voluntary bodies under existing conditions have enjoyed freedom to initiate and supervise their own educational work.

(c) *University Extension Lectures.*

305. There is at present no specific provision made for grants to university extension lectures as such, although in certain circumstances extension courses can become eligible for grant under the above-mentioned Article 32 (d) (1) of the Regulations. Article 21 (b) of Chapter 1 of the Regulations bears on this point:—

“ Mere attendance at a course of lectures unaccompanied by class exercises will not, as a rule, be regarded as constituting satisfactory instruction. University Extension Courses will only be recognised provided that each meeting be registered as a single period of instruction, and that at least half of each meeting other than the first is devoted to class exercises.”

Thus a course of twelve lectures with accompanying class work might become eligible for grant; but in practice it has proved a very difficult matter to organise the lecture courses so as to bring them within Regulations which are primarily intended for other types of work. The same remarks as to freedom of control and supervision apply to State-aided extension lecture courses organised by voluntary bodies as to the case of one-year classes dealt with above.

There are no provisions in the existing Regulations which apply to extension summer meetings.

## (II) PROPOSED REVISED REGULATIONS OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION.

306. A new situation is created as regards non-vocational adult education by the “ Draft of Proposed Revised Regulations for Continuation, Technical, and Art Classes in England and Wales ” issued by the Board of Education in February, 1917, for the consideration of those concerned. Under these Regulations, although it is proposed to leave the position of university tutorial classes and their summer schools as at present, far-reaching changes in other directions are suggested which have an important bearing on the future of adult education. The prefatory memorandum (page 4, paragraph 2) makes clear the considerations upon which the Proposed Revised Regulations are based. The first is: “ The need for a complete and systematic plan of further education in each area, properly related to Elementary and Secondary Schools and Universities, adapted to local needs and particularly to industrial needs, and offering to every student facilities for a graduated and progressive course of instruction suited to his or her requirements.”<sup>2</sup> In the second place regard is had to “ the position of the Local Education Authority as the body responsible for formulating and carrying out such a plan.”<sup>3</sup> Thirdly, the Board are impressed with “ the importance of continuing general education side by side with technical instruction, particularly by means of Grouped Courses for younger students, and of providing facilities for disinterested studies making for wise living and good citizenship.”<sup>4</sup> “ The keynote of the contemplated advance is the Local

<sup>1</sup> Part I, Chap. 1, 8(b).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Article 2(2).

<sup>2</sup> Page iv, Article 2 (1).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Article 2(7).



Education Authority's 'plan.'"<sup>1</sup> It seems clear that, should these Regulations become operative, all State-aided work other than university tutorial classes now undertaken by voluntary bodies will fall within the plan of the Local Education Authority. This unity of control is to be accompanied by a change in the basis of assessment of grants. Under existing arrangements, although the method of the inclusive "block grant" is to some extent used, for the most part the grant is paid piecemeal—class by class or subject by subject. Under the new proposals the method of the inclusive or "block" grant is to be applied to each type of work, for example, continuation courses, local colleges, &c. We learn from the proposed Regulations that "a simple inclusive grant will be calculated on the whole of the continuation work of an area . . . and paid to the Local Education Authority. It will be understood that under this system . . . the Board will not be in a position to declare what is the grant paid for, or 'earned by' any particular class; for the rate of grant will no longer be assessed separately for that class, but the class will merely form one element in the whole provision of the area for which a single collective rate of grant will be determined."<sup>2</sup> Similarly in the case of local colleges the whole of the work "will be treated together and a single or inclusive 'block' grant in respect of it paid to the College."<sup>3</sup>

307. As we have already stated, under the existing Regulations voluntary organisations are able to initiate and supervise classes established by them and to receive the grants due in respect of such classes. Under the proposed Regulations, however, the recognition of a class for grant-earning purposes will presumably depend upon its inclusion in the plan of the Local Education Authority. In these circumstances it would appear that the administration and control of non-vocational classes so far as they depend upon grants will fall into the hands of Local Authorities. Many Local Authorities will undoubtedly be willing to assist voluntary bodies and to give them facilities for organising and conducting their own classes, but it is clear that voluntary bodies concerned with non-vocational adult education are in danger of losing much of that freedom of initiation and control of and responsibility for their own work which they now enjoy. Moreover, public financial assistance in aid of such classes will depend upon grants voluntarily made in respect of them by Local Education Authorities, as any Government grants will be included in the "block" grant to the Local Authority and the amount payable for particular classes will not be ascertainable. Where Local Authorities are unsympathetic, therefore, to the activities of voluntary agencies the work of the latter will be considerably hampered.

308. There can be no doubt, we think, of the intention of the new Regulations to subordinate all educational work within an area to the Local Education Authority. According to the new proposals "the Local Education Authority will be required to take a substantial amount of responsibility for the whole of the Continuation Courses given in its area, receiving all the grant in respect of this work and aiding centres which it does not itself maintain, after considering the value and cost of the work done in them, either out of the grant alone or out of grant and other funds at its disposal . . . In some areas . . . this will mean that the Authority will have to take responsibility for a

<sup>1</sup> Page iv.

<sup>2</sup> Page vii, Article 6. Continuation Courses in many areas are, at the present time, assessed for grant under the "block" system.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. vii-viii, Article 8.

good deal of work which is now not under its direction, or only nominally under its direction, if this work is to continue to receive grant aid." In the second place, it may be noted that though the Proposed Regulations give a more definite place to non-vocational and humane studies than they have previously held, chief consideration is given to technical education. It is suggested, for example, that the governing body of a local college (which is to be the apex of the local educational system, giving instruction "under collegiate, but not under university conditions") "may very well be that Sub-Committee of the Local Authority which is responsible for other forms of Technical Instruction in the area. If, however, the college is large there should generally be appointed a separate governing body which should contain adequate representation of local industries and of the interests of women's work."<sup>2</sup> The insistence on the representation of economic interests upon the governing body of a local college must undoubtedly give a strong bias to the work carried on there. In these circumstances it would appear unlikely that non-vocational education will flourish vigorously in local colleges, as the predominant note of the colleges will be struck by the technical studies which will be their first consideration. We are most anxious that Local Authorities should take a much greater part in the work of adult education than they have done in the past, but this is possible only if they are brought into co-operation with voluntary organisations interested in education. On this point we make suggestions below.

309. At the present time the responsibility for the great bulk of non-vocational education carried on in this country is borne by universities and voluntary organisations. The extra-mural university work of a non-vocational character has consisted of university tutorial classes (providing a course of study extending over three years), one-year classes preparatory to tutorial classes, summer schools conducted in connection with tutorial classes, university extension lecture courses and extension summer meetings. To all these, with the exception of the last-named, the Board of Education, as we have already explained, has given financial aid in varying degrees. The main functions of the Universities in the sphere of extra-mural education may be regarded as the provision of university tutorial classes and extension lectures. This work, by its nature, cannot be performed by non-university bodies. Summer schools and vacation courses of a non-vocational kind are, of course, normal functions of extra-mural university education. Special training courses in which ex-tutorial class students can receive assistance to enable them to become teachers of one-year classes, and study circle leaders will, we hope, become an important part of university work. It is desirable, however, that universities should be able to organise and conduct one-year classes with a close relationship to university tutorial classes if they so desire. In the past this has been possible although the grant earned by classes of this kind has been meagre. If the Proposed Regulations of the Board are adopted however, such classes could only be eligible for grant if they formed part of the plan of a Local Authority, and in this case the precise amount of grant earned by a class could not be determined. One-year classes preparatory to tutorial classes could therefore only be arranged by University Joint Committees if Local Authorities were willing to give financial assistance to Universities. We have no doubt that Local Authorities will often assist to finance one-year classes as they have assisted tutorial classes; but this single method does not appear to us sufficient to meet the need. We

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, pp. vi-vii, Article 5(5).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, Appendix III, 2, p. 33.

believe that one-year classes in vital connection with tutorial classes will become an integral part of the extra-mural work of universities, and the opinion of experienced tutors shows that such classes would enormously strengthen the tutorial class movement. As a pioneering effort they would break new ground in a way which is impossible to full university tutorial classes. They might also be the means of carrying those who have attended extension courses to more sustained work. After a full consideration of the question, we think that any hard and fast regulation with regard to the finance and administration of one-year classes would be injurious to the development of non-vocational adult education, and we think that University Joint Committees should be in a position to develop classes of one year's duration as part of their general scheme of extra-mural work.

### (III) THE ORGANISATION AND FINANCE OF EXTRA-MURAL UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.

#### (a) *Organisation.*

310. If extra-mural university education is to develop freely on satisfactory lines it is important that it should be regarded as a whole and therefore that there should be unity of organisation so far as this is possible. It is proposed, therefore, that there should be in each university a single body responsible for the whole field of non-vocational extra-mural education. It is not possible, however, at present to lay down precisely the composition of such an authority; but experience will undoubtedly point the way to the kind of constitution which is necessary for a body of this kind. At the present time there are cases where both university tutorial classes and extension lectures are under the supervision of the same university body. In other cases, however, the administration is distinct. Where two bodies already exist the basis for the new university authority might well be a committee composed at the outset of the members of the two bodies in question. In any case, it may be found desirable to co-opt members who are representative of the Local Authorities and other interests. So far as the supervision of tutorial classes is concerned, the constitution of the supervising body is well established and provision made for the representation of working people and it should therefore not be interfered with. It is representative of the university on the one hand and on the other of those for whom the tutorial classes are primarily intended. The Tutorial Classes Joint Committee should be a committee of the new university authority for the purposes connected with university tutorial classes. Similarly there should be a university extension lectures committee representative of the university and of the other interests concerned.

311. We do not wish to limit in any way the activities and autonomy of either body, but we are anxious that the two committees should consider together the whole field of non-vocational extra-mural work and that there should be the closest co-operation between them. The combined body would be generally responsible for the extra-mural department which we have already proposed should be set up in each university and university college. There should be an academic head of the department, who should also be a member of the senate. In these ways we believe that the various forms of extra-mural university work would receive a great stimulus and lasting benefit.

*(b) Finance of Tutorial Classes.*

312. We have outlined elsewhere the financial arrangements regarding both tutorial classes and extension courses. The former are financed in varying degrees by the universities themselves, the Board of Education, Local Authorities, and from voluntary sources. We have referred to the wide differences which at present exist in the extent to which universities support tutorial classes and have urged that as extra-mural teaching is an integral part of university work, a reasonable proportion of the incomes of universities should be allocated to it. It will, however, be necessary for the State to augment the grants already made in respect of university tutorial classes and, if possible, that such grants should encourage and not entirely supersede university expenditure on these classes. In considering the financial side of tutorial class work it will be necessary to differentiate between the older universities and the newer universities, because of the different sources of origin of their incomes. A considerable proportion of the incomes of the newer universities, is derived from public sources, whether from the State or from Local Authorities. These funds are devoted to the general work of the universities, and it is argued that it cannot well be ear-marked by the universities themselves for the particular purpose of tutorial classes, as tutorial classes are already aided out of public funds. In the case of the older universities, their incomes are derived to a much greater extent from their endowments. Then, further, there are differences in the cost of organisation of tutorial classes. The classes organised by the newer universities are concentrated in relatively small areas and the organising and travelling expenses are relatively small. In the case of the older universities, however, the classes cover a wide area and expenses are therefore much higher. Taking these matters into consideration, and also having regard to the importance of viewing as a whole the tutorial class work undertaken by each university, we suggest that the Board of Education grant should be paid in two parts. In the first place, there should be a grant per class amounting to 50 per cent. of the tutor's salary as approved by the Board of Education. It should not be limited, as is the case at present, to a maximum of £45. In the second place, there should be an additional block grant of a maximum of 25 per cent. of the total cost of the salaries of the tutors employed by the university. This supplementary or block grant should be payable on the work of the Tutorial Classes Committee judged as a whole. It is in respect of this grant that a distinction should be made between the older and the newer universities. In the case of the newer universities, the amount of contributions demanded from local centres, whether by Local Authorities or otherwise, should be taken into account in assessing the supplementary grant. Otherwise it is conceivable that by increasing the amount required as a local contribution a university might be relieved of the necessity of itself contributing at all towards the cost of its classes. It is suggested, therefore, that one of the conditions on which the block grant should be obtainable is that the local contribution demanded by the university committee, whether provided by Local Education Authorities or otherwise, should not exceed £15 per class. The older universities, on the other hand, should be required to contribute a definite percentage of the cost of tutorial classes as a condition of receiving the block grant. What this percentage should be would need to be carefully determined after a consideration of the present financial position. Apart from that, grants in respect of tutorial classes should be paid on the same basis as in the case of the newer

universities, except that no condition should be attached with regard to the local contribution.

(c) *Finance of Extension Lectures.*

313. Up to the present university extension lectures have in certain cases received financial aid from the Board of Education under the Regulations for technical schools, &c. In some places the Local Authorities have contributed towards the cost. The universities, on the other hand, have not regarded it as necessary to bear any part of the expenses themselves except the cost of central administration. The result has been, therefore, that university extension courses have had to be made self-supporting. This has been possible only by (i) the aid of local contributions, (ii) attracting very large audiences, or (iii) charging relatively high fees. Claims are now being made, however, that university extension lectures as such should receive State assistance. University extension lectures are in no way a competitor of university tutorial classes; their functions are quite different. Whereas the latter are intensive in their work, the former are, in the main, extensive. Whilst the former have a great value in providing an intellectual stimulus for comparatively large numbers and in arousing permanent interests, the tutorial class is concerned solely with small groups of serious students. The university extension course has in many places been the means of bringing together a nucleus of serious students. In all cases, it should be regarded as an essential part of a university extension course that provision should be made for class work which would allow of full discussion and which would give assistance to the student on matters such as books, &c. It is proposed, therefore, that Board of Education grants should be paid in respect of university extension lectures, provided that the lectures form a continuous course consisting ordinarily of ten or more lectures, and also that adequate arrangements are made for class work. Courses of six lectures should be recognised for grant where they are pioneer courses or lectures of a specialised and advanced character. As in the case of university tutorial classes, the grant should be payable in two parts. There should be a maximum grant per course amounting to 25 per cent. of the lecturer's fee and, in addition, a maximum block grant payable on the work of the extension lectures committee as a whole amounting to 20 per cent. of the total cost of the lecturers' fees. The block grant should have regard (i) to the range of subjects covered by university extension lectures, (ii) to the opportunities provided for various classes of the community to attend the lecture courses, and (iii) to the distribution of courses in the districts covered by the operations of the committee. The last-mentioned provision would prevent committees from devoting too much attention to districts where large audiences are probable and neglecting those districts where, in the nature of things, the audiences must necessarily be small.

(d) *Summer Schools and Meetings.*

314. At the present time Board of Education grants are made to university tutorial class summer schools, but not to extension meetings. It is clear that whilst summer schools and extension meetings both fulfil a valuable purpose, that purpose is different in each case. The latter are in general attended by large numbers of people, and the work done is extensive rather than intensive. Summer schools, on the other hand, are usually attended by a smaller number of students, who are or have been in attendance at a university tutorial class, and the characteristic

of the schools is that the work is of an intensive kind. It is suggested that in the case of summer schools, a grant should be paid, as at present, independently of the grant paid in respect of tutorial classes. It should continue to be assessed on the same lines, viz., after inspection by the State and taking into consideration the standard of the work done, the amount of individual tuition, the number and standing of the students, the number and qualifications of the tutors and the fees paid to them. So far as extension meetings are concerned, a block grant should be paid after inspection by the State, based on the numbers attending, the amount and quality of the work done and the provision of class work. The grant payable should bear some relation to the grants proposed for university extension courses.

315. If a summer meeting combines both an intensive summer school and an extension meeting, the two sections of the work should be assessed separately for grant. If one authority is created for tutorial classes and extension lectures, with a committee for each section, then the extension meetings would be arranged by the extension committee, and the summer school by the tutorial classes committee, with co-operation between the two bodies. As regards both schools and extension meetings, arrangements should be made for the admission of well qualified students who have attended, say, one-year classes provided by the Adult Education Joint Committee proposed below.

Summer schools and meetings are now developing rapidly under other than university auspices, and will probably continue to grow in the future. In some cases they will approximate rather to the type of university extension meetings; in other cases they will conform more to the summer school type. The grant payable would be determined by the seriousness of study, the numbers attending, the quality of the work, the number and qualifications of tutors and the fees paid to them. Whilst it is clear that they should be eligible for grant, it is difficult to lay down in any detail a basis of scale of grants until further experience of summer schools and meetings has been obtained.

#### (IV) THE ORGANISATION AND FINANCE OF NON-UNIVERSITY ADULT EDUCATION.

##### (a) *Organisation.*

316. Whilst the universities have attained a considerable degree of success in the organisation of one side of extra-mural work, *i.e.*, tutorial classes, by the appointment of a supervising body representative of university and non-academic interests and by leaving the local organisation in the hands of voluntary associations, there are no corresponding arrangements in the case of non-university adult education. We regard it as vital that Local Education Authorities should take an increasing share of the work done on behalf of the education of adults; but we regard this as possible only if they are brought into direct co-operation with the agencies which have undertaken the organisation and provision of non-vocational education, *i.e.*, with universities and voluntary organisations.

317. In the Proposed Regulations it is pointed out that "certain Articles of the Regulations contain provisions relating to co-operation between Local Education Authorities. The Board desire to emphasise the advantages of such co-operation, and are alive to the possibility that the adequate and efficient provision of further education . . . may involve or be promoted by the formation of joint bodies performing certain functions in connection with two or more Local Education Authorities. The Board will give favourable consideration to proposals

for constituting or utilising joint bodies both for administrative and advisory purposes, and will, if occasion requires, themselves make suggestions for the formation of such bodies." It is suggested that a joint body of this kind is particularly necessary for the purposes of non-vocational adult education and, further, that it should be the duty of the joint body to co-opt representatives of voluntary bodies engaged in organising non-vocational educational work and representatives of universities. It is reasonable to suppose that this plan would give a new importance to non-vocational education, and that the influence of the co-opted members would render the local authorities more fully alive to the possibilities of adult education and its special claims and special problems. It is not suggested that the establishment of such bodies should be compulsory. They will come into existence gradually as the various districts feel the need for them. At the present time, however, we believe that certain districts are already ripe for such a development.

318. This method of organisation would give considerable freedom to non-vocational education. It would also make fuller use of the available teaching power. Experience has shown that teachers of adult classes must possess certain qualities which are by no means common and which even the professional teacher engaged in other kinds of educational work does not necessarily possess. Moreover, the subjects for which there is considerable demand, *e.g.*, industrial and social history, economics, political science, &c., create additional difficulties regarding the supply of suitable teachers. A single local authority is considerably restricted in its choice of teachers. A larger area, however, would provide a larger supply, which would be available for work, subject to limitations regarding time and travelling, anywhere in the area. Further, some such panel is essential if industrial and rural villages and the smaller towns are to be properly provided for. There can be no doubt, too, that the opportunity of gaining experience with different types of students and in different places would increase the efficiency of the teachers. The use of peripatetic teachers would render possible the growth of an *esprit de corps* amongst students with common interests in different places in the area, and the way would be made easier for the growth of week-end schools, summer schools and other forms of joint action.

319. Under a scheme such as we propose below, the voluntary agencies at present organising adult education will develop an adequate programme for operating over the area covered by the new joint body and will break new ground. With a mobile force of teachers on the panel of the Adult Education Joint Committee, it will be possible for voluntary organisations to open up new districts with a more reasonable certainty of success than if the available teachers for new classes are confined to local resources. In a single town where educational work is already being carried on, new developments are, in practice, under the existing system limited by the number of suitable teachers in the town. In an area where no education is provided, it may be next to impossible to begin organising facilities, if it is necessary to rely upon local teachers. The larger area is essential to the best work of the voluntary organisations upon whose activities the development of non-vocational adult education depends. We do not think that this scheme can be applied with any degree of success within the area of a single county borough; but it would be suitable for a county area, even if the co-operation of other local authorities was not forthcoming.

320. It is clear that the suggestion which we make cannot deprive the Local Authorities of their statutory powers, and they will continue to be free to make such arrangements for non-vocational classes as they think

desirable. On the other hand, voluntary organisations will most probably pursue the policy of organising under their own auspices courses of lectures, classes and study circles on a non-grant earning basis. Whilst this is so, however, it is still felt that there is room for some attempt at organisation in non-university adult education.

321. The great need is to set up some machinery which will do for non-university education what Tutorial Classes Joint Committees have done for extra-mural university education. This, we suggest, could be achieved by bringing together representatives of Local Education Authorities, voluntary educational bodies and universities for the purpose of providing rate and/or State-aided non-vocational education other than that provided directly by Local Authorities or by the Universities. Such a body might operate over the area of a County Council and be composed of representatives of the County Education Authority and the Education Authorities of the County Boroughs within the county.<sup>1</sup> It should be the duty of such a committee to co-opt representatives (1) of bodies engaged in organising non-vocational classes aided out of public funds, and (2) of universities. This Adult Education Joint Committee should have power to co-opt upon the committee representatives of any other bodies who at a later date organise classes aided by Local Authorities or the Board of Education. The officers of the Joint Committee should be a Chairman representative of the Local Authorities, a Vice-Chairman representative of the voluntary organising bodies, a Treasurer, and two Honorary Secretaries representative of the Local Authorities and the organising Associations. It would be the duty of this body to receive applications for the provision of classes of a non-vocational character (other than university tutorial classes). It would also form a panel of suitable lecturers and from this panel appoint the teachers for the classes it provides, taking into consideration the expressed desires of the student group which has made application for a class. We have suggested that each Local Authority should be required to submit separate schemes for the non-vocational adult education provided in its area. Classes arranged by an Adult Education Joint Committee would consequently form part of such schemes, and a block grant be payable by the Central Authority. If a Local Education Authority agreed to allow a Joint Committee to provide the whole of its non-vocational facilities for adults, then the latter might receive the block grant paid by the State. Where in the area of a Local Education Authority there were adult classes provided both by the Authority and the Joint Committee, two methods are open. In the first place the Central Department might assess a total grant for all the non-vocational adult education carried on in the area and then divide it between the Local Authority and the Joint Committee in proportions representing the degree to which the efforts of each had contributed to the general scheme of adult education in the area. Secondly, the whole grant might be paid to the Local Authority, who might then remit a portion of it to the Adult Education Joint Committee. We are of opinion that the first method is the better of the two. It would impair the symmetry which the Board of Education and the Scottish Education Department naturally desire to attain, but it would add to the prestige of the Joint Committees, the establishment and development of which we believe to be essential to the growth of adult education. In either case, however, the Adult Education Joint Committee would receive directly or indirectly State

<sup>1</sup>In Scotland the Advisory Committee of the Local Education Authority will not supersede the need for an Adult Education Committee containing co-opted representatives.



grants. It might also receive grants from Local Education Authorities and contributions from the bodies organising classes in accordance with arrangements mutually agreed upon by the Adult Education Joint Committee and the organising bodies. Out of these funds the Committee would pay tutors' salaries, travelling expenses of tutors and administration officers, maintain a travelling library, and meet clerical expenses.

322. The lack of success of non-vocational classes arranged by Local Education Authorities in the past has been largely due, as we have insistently pointed out, to the absence of any organisation of the students. Voluntary bodies might play a very useful part in developing adult education by stimulating the demand for education and by organising groups of students. This work the voluntary bodies represented on the Adult Education Joint Committee would do, and they would ascertain the desires of groups of students with regard both to subjects of study and tutors. They would act as a channel of communication between the students and the Joint Committee, and would link the administrative body with the students themselves. The voluntary bodies would make all the necessary arrangements with regard to the place of meeting, &c., and would arrange for the appointment of the class secretary and librarian. They would determine the class fee, the proceeds from which would be devoted to the local expenses of the class. They would be responsible for the payment of the local contribution to the funds of the Adult Education Joint Committee referred to above. One of their most important functions would be to maintain the spirit of the class and to bring it into contact with other similar classes in the locality.

*(b) Finance of One Year Classes.*

323. The general effect of our proposals for the organisation and finance of non-vocational adult education is that it would be regarded as a special aspect of education, though closely related to the national system. We have already submitted that this course is essential, if adult education is to receive adequate consideration and treatment. But it is also necessary in order that its peculiar problems may be disentangled from other educational problems. Non-vocational adult education, in spite of the enormous growth of recent years, is still in many respects in an experimental stage, and there is still much to discover regarding its methods and technique. It should consequently be elastic and pliable to a considerable degree, and therefore should not be fitted too closely into the more clearly marked lines of the rest of the educational system. We are aware that any proposal to treat non-vocational adult education for grant earning purposes as something distinct from other educational work will raise considerable difficulties, yet we feel strongly that work carried on by extra-mural university authorities and Adult Education Joint Committees, together with the classes of voluntary organisations, with regard to which the Board are satisfied with "the arrangements made for securing due supervision and local interest," should be separately assessed for grant by the Central Authority. The problem mainly arises with regard to one-year classes. We have already suggested that such classes, arranged in connection with tutorial classes, should be regarded as a normal part of the work of the extra-mural university authority. The organisation and supervision of one-year classes will form the major portion of the work of Adult Education Joint Committees. Where such Committees do not exist—and perhaps in other exceptional circumstances—local authorities will arrange and conduct their own one-year classes

in non-vocational subjects. Voluntary organisations, which in the past have conducted one-year classes eligible for grant, will, if our proposals are adopted, concentrate their attention, so far as one-year grant earning classes are concerned, upon areas in which no Adult Education Joint Committee exists, and, in such cases, voluntary bodies should receive grants from the State. We would suggest that these classes should be assessed for grant together with the adult classes arranged and conducted by the Local Authority, and that the Central Authority should divide the block grant between the voluntary organisation or organisations concerned and the Local Education Authority. One-year classes, therefore, will fall in the plan adopted in this chapter into four groups according as they are provided by (1) University Joint Committees, (2) Adult Education Joint Committees, (3) Local Education Authorities, and (4) voluntary organisations.

324. It is essential that grants should be payable in respect of one-year classes on a more liberal scale. The increase of grant which has recently been announced by the Board of Education, to which reference is made above, is a recognition by the Government of the need for more generous financial assistance to humane education. Whilst we welcome the new scale of grant, however, we do not regard it as sufficiently generous. Our general principle is that one-year classes should not be judged so much by the numbers attending as by the quality of the work and the tutor. The chief item of expenditure in these classes will be the salary paid to the teacher and, therefore, regard should be had in determining grant to this large item of cost, as has already been suggested in the case of university tutorial classes and extension lecture courses. In the case of one-year classes provided by the extra-mural university authority a maximum grant of 50 per cent. of the approved salary of the tutor should be paid per class, whilst the block grant of 25 per cent. of the sum total of the tutors' salaries suggested above should include that percentage of the total salaries of tutors of one-year classes. A similar grant should be payable in respect of one-year classes provided by the Adult Education Joint Committee, viz:— (1) a maximum grant per class of 50 per cent. of the tutor's salary, (2) a maximum block grant of 25 per cent. of the total cost of tutors' salaries.

In an area where the Local Education Authority and an Adult Education Joint Committee (or a voluntary body, in the absence of a Joint Committee) both conduct one-year classes, the above arrangements should hold, the Central Department allocating to each agency concerned its proportion of the total grant.

#### (c) Collegiate Institutions.

325. Collegiate institutions, the number of which we hope will be largely increased in the future, should be eligible for a block grant from the State based upon the work of the institution judged as a whole, provided they fulfil the necessary requirements as regards educational efficiency. In the case of those institutions which operate within the area of a single Local Education Authority, such grant might, if thought desirable, be paid through the Local Authority.

#### (d) Rural Education.

326. As we have already suggested,<sup>1</sup> there is a strong case, so far as rural education is concerned, for more generous State grants and more

<sup>1</sup> Par. 287, p. 148.

elastic regulations. Exchequer grants should have regard to the difficulties and special circumstances obtaining in rural areas, and we think that the Central Department should make special grants in aid of experimental educational work in rural areas.

### (V) SUMMARY OF FINANCIAL PROPOSALS.

327. The State grants proposed in this chapter may be summarised as follows:—

(1) University tutorial classes and one-year classes conducted under university auspices:—

(a) A maximum grant per class amounting to 50 per cent. of the approved salary of the tutor, the present maximum of £45 for a tutorial class to be abolished.

(b) An additional maximum block grant amounting to 25 per cent. of the total cost of the salaries of the tutors of tutorial and one-year classes, estimated on the work of the Tutorial Classes Joint Committee as a whole. In the case of the older universities, one of the conditions to be that the university contributes a prescribed percentage of the total cost of the classes; in the case of the newer universities, one of the conditions to be that the local contribution demanded by the Joint Committee should not exceed £15 per class.

(2) Summer schools in connection with the above conducted under university auspices:—

Grants should continue to be assessed on the same lines as at present, viz.:—after inspection, and taking into consideration the standard of the work done, the amount of individual tuition, the number and standing of the students, the number and qualifications of the tutors and the fees paid to them.

(3) University extension lecture courses:—

(a) A maximum grant per course amounting to 25 per cent. of the lecturer's fee.

(b) A maximum block grant payable on the work of the Extension Lectures Committee as a whole amounting to 20 per cent. of the total cost of lecturers' fees.

(4) Summer meetings in connection with the above conducted under university auspices:—

A block grant, bearing some relation to the grants proposed for extension lectures, should be paid after inspection, based upon the numbers attending, the amount and quality of the work done and the provision of class work.

(5) Summer schools and meetings under non-university auspices:—

Grants should be payable based upon the seriousness of study, the numbers attending, the quality of the work, the number and qualifications of tutors and the fees paid to them.

(6) One-year classes under non-university auspices:—

(a) A maximum grant per class amounting to 50 per cent. of the teacher's salary.

(b) An additional maximum block grant payable on the whole of the one-year classes in an area, amounting to 25 per cent. of the total cost of teachers' salaries.

(c) The total grant payable to be allocated by the Board between the Local Authority and the Adult Education Joint Committee or (where such a committee does not exist), the voluntary agencies, if any, organising and conducting one-year classes in the area.

(7) Collegiate institutions, satisfying the necessary requirements as regards educational efficiency, should be eligible for a block grant from the State.

## CHAPTER XIII.

**CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.**

328. Our investigations have led us to a series of conclusions which are broadly of two kinds. In the first place we have laid down, after the consideration of the available experience of adult education, what we believe to be the principles which should guide future development and the general lines on which its advance should proceed. These conclusions are addressed not primarily to the Government but to Local Authorities, the Universities, voluntary agencies, and the increasing body of citizens who realise the fundamental importance of adult education. In the second place we have reached certain conclusions which can be expressed in the form of precise recommendations. These recommendations set out the steps which, in our judgment, should be taken by the Government and other bodies concerned to ensure that extension and development of adult education which we regard as essential in the best interests of the nation.

*The Demand for Education :—*

329. The history of adult education since the beginning of the nineteenth century has conclusively shown the reality of the demand amongst men and women for non-vocational education. The demand has persisted in the face of the gravest difficulties and the most adverse circumstances. The large volume of educational activity which we have analysed in Chapter II. and described in Appendix I. to this Report probably surpasses in volume the educational work amongst adults carried on in any other country. We have shown its extraordinary variety and its widespread character. We are certain that this large volume of work is an indication of the depth and persistence of the demand for adult education.

*The Motives behind Adult Education :—*

330. The adult educational movement is inextricably interwoven with the whole of the organised life of the community. Whilst on the one hand it originates in a desire amongst individuals for adequate opportunities for self-expression and the cultivation of their personal powers and interests, it is, on the other hand, rooted in the social aspirations of the democratic movements of the country. In other words, it rests upon the twin principles of personal development and social service. It aims at satisfying the needs of the individual and at the attainment of new standards of citizenship and a better social order. In some cases the personal motive predominates. In perhaps the greater majority of cases the dynamic character of adult education is due to its social motive.

*The Principles of Adult Education :—*

331. The fact that adult education is concerned with men and women of more or less mature experience, who are conscious either of their own needs or of social needs, gives to it a special character. Adult education will clearly thrive only under conditions which allow of the fullest self-determination on the part of the students as regards the studies to be pursued, the choice of the teacher, and the organisation of the class. Our proposals, therefore, are framed with a view to ensuring the maximum liberty to students and establishing the right relation between the students, the teachers and the bodies providing education—a relation which should be one of co-operation.

Whilst there should be the utmost liberty with regard to methods and organisation in the sphere of adult education, it is clear that where it is in receipt of public moneys certain defined conditions must be

fulfilled. It is, in our judgment, essential that whilst regularity of attendance and seriousness and continuity of study should be insisted upon, there must be freedom of teaching and freedom of expression. Without this the frank interchange of thought and experience which is essential to adult education will be impossible, and the work carried on will lose its vitality or change its character. We do not think that it is possible or desirable to eliminate from adult education the discussion of controversial questions, indeed one of the greatest values of adult education is that highly controversial subjects can be freely discussed in an atmosphere of mutual confidence and tolerance. Only in this way are students able to correct their own experience and adapt their points of view to the accepted experience of others. We have in an earlier chapter firmly expressed the view that the defect of to-day is not that there is too much teaching which is partial or one-sided in character, but that there is too little education of any kind.

*The Scope of Adult Education :—*

332. In the past certain types of study have predominated owing to the interest of the students in the problems of government or industry. Broadly speaking, the most popular subjects of study have been those more or less intimately connected with citizenship in one or other of its aspects. We have no desire that these studies should become less important. On the contrary, we feel that an acquaintance with them is an indispensable part of the equipment of the citizen. Nevertheless we think that opportunities involving other groups of studies and other means of stimulating and developing personal interests should be extended. There is already ample evidence to show that facilities of a more diversified kind would meet with response both among existing students and among others who have not yet enlisted in the movement. There ought, we think, to be far wider opportunities for the development of the study of natural science among adult students. Again, we think it desirable to emphasise the place which modern languages should occupy in the sphere of adult education. Moreover, we think it important that adult education should be interpreted in such a way as to include the encouragement of music and languages, of literature and drama, and of craftsmanship. In other words, adult education should cater for the varied needs and tastes of the people. The experiments which have already been made justify us in anticipating a great development of activity in these different directions.

*Universities :—*

333.—(a) The provision of a liberal education for adult students should be regarded by universities as a normal and necessary part of their functions. (*Pars.* 165–167.)

(b) The expenditure of universities upon the provision of teaching for adult students should be largely increased, and universities should apply a larger proportion of their revenues to the promotion of adult education. (*Pars.* 168–173.)

(c) University expenditure upon extra-mural education should be facilitated by more liberal assistance to universities from public authorities, both national and local. (*See par. 334(e) and par. 341(b)—(i) below.*)

(d) Universities should employ a larger and more adequately paid staff of tutors and lecturers, and should see that the officers concerned with the administration of extra-mural education (when such officers are employed) are properly remunerated and supplied with adequate clerical assistance. (*Par.* 175.)

(e) Universities should allocate funds to extra-mural adult education in such a way that those concerned may know in advance the amount of the income upon which they can rely. (*Par.* 171.)

(f) We recommend that there should be established at each university a department of extra-mural adult education with an academic head. The extra-mural authority should be the Tutorial Classes Joint Committee and the Extension Board or Delegacy meeting in joint session. It is desirable that the latter should be strengthened by the representation of different types of non-academic interests. The functions of an extra-mural department would be—

- (i) To promote the further development of such kinds of extra-mural adult education as can properly be assisted by the universities.
- (ii) To represent the needs and desires of adult students to the university authorities.
- (iii) To report upon questions arising from the work of the university in the sphere of adult education, such as the requirements of new types of students, the value of more educational experiments, and the possibility of extending the influence of the universities into fields as yet untouched by them. (*Pars.* 176-8 and *pars.* 310-11.)

(g) University Joint Committees administering tutorial classes should cease to be sub-committees (as in some few cases they still are) of the university extension syndicates, boards and delegacies, and become co-ordinate with them. (*Par.* 174.)

(h) Universities should consider carefully the question of providing residential tutors in those districts in which they carry on a substantial amount of extra-mural work, with a view, ultimately, to promoting the establishment of local colleges. (*Par.* 182.)

(i) It is essential that there should be greater opportunities to enable adult students to study in the universities for longer or shorter periods. "Summer" schools should be so extended and arranged as to offer throughout the whole year opportunities of study to extra-mural students. The universities should also provide opportunities for study for municipal civil servants, teachers, trade union officials and other groups of people. (*Pars.* 183-5.)

(j) Our recommendations with regard to teachers for extra-mural university work are summarised below. (*Par.* 338.)

#### *Local Authorities:—*

334.—(a) It is imperative that Local Education Authorities should take a large and important place in the development of adult education. The increasing co-operation of Local Authorities is a vital need, and non-vocational adult education should be regarded as an integral part of their activities. (*Par.* 190.)

(b) Each Local Educational Authority in Great Britain should be required to submit to the appropriate Central Department a separate scheme or schemes dealing with the provision of facilities for non-vocational adult education. (*Par.* 194.)

(c) We recommend the general establishment of non-vocational institutes as evening centres for humane studies. They should co-operate with voluntary agencies and seek to establish a new tradition. Social and recreational activities should be a prominent feature, and music, drama, dance and handicrafts should be an integral part of the programme of the institutes. The formation of students' societies should be encouraged, for it is conceivable that much of the educational work of the institute may be carried on by means of them.

University extension courses should be given in the institutes, and the subjects chosen from time to time might be such as bear upon the activities of the students' societies. These institutes, we think, will prove to be the means of satisfying the needs of young adults—that is to say, of young men and women between the ages of 18 and about 21. (*Par.* 198.)

(d) With regard to the local colleges foreshadowed by the Proposed Revised Regulations of the Board of Education, we think that co-operation with voluntary organisations is particularly desirable. The humane studies provided at a local college should be the outcome of a demand formulated and organised by a body or bodies in close touch with possible students. (*Par.* 199.)

(e) We suggest that local authorities should give substantial assistance to university tutorial classes, courses of extension lectures and to the salaries and expenses of resident tutors. The scholarship schemes of local authorities should be developed to include scholarships to summer schools and maintenance grants to enable adults to go into residence at a university or a collegiate institution for a shorter or longer period. We suggest that Local Authorities should consider the desirability of contributing annually the proceeds of a 1*d.* rate to the provincial universities with which they are most closely associated. (*Pars.* 196–7.)

(f) We think that there is need for some organisation which will do for non-university education what the University Joint Committees have done for extra-mural university education. We recommend that Local Education Authorities should, where practicable, combine to establish within the area they jointly cover, an Adult Education Joint Committee. This Committee should be required to co-opt representatives of universities and of bodies engaged in organising non-vocational classes aided out of public funds. The Joint Committee would receive applications for the provision of adult classes, and would form a panel of suitable lecturers from which teachers could be chosen for the classes provided. (*Pars.* 316–322.)

#### *Voluntary Organisations :—*

335.—(a) Broadly speaking, the advance of adult education can proceed only as quickly as voluntary agencies can stimulate, focus and organise the demand for it. In the last resort the volume of educational activity is determined not by the capacity of the universities and education authorities to provide facilities, but by the ability of organising bodies to give shape and substance to the demand. The organising work of voluntary bodies should, therefore, be maintained and developed. (*Pars.* 204–6.)

(b) It is also highly desirable that the varied and less systematic educational activities of voluntary bodies should be extended. (*Par.* 207.)

(c) We suggest that voluntary associations should give fuller consideration to the needs of young adults between the age of 18 and manhood and womanhood. (*Par.* 208.)

#### *The State :—*

336.—(a) We summarise below our recommendations with regard to State grants in aid of adult education. The general tradition of this country, at least so far as adult education is concerned, is that the State should aid education, but that it should leave wide powers of self-organisation to those whom it aids. This tradition, though it does not make for administrative symmetry, we believe to be sound. (*Pars.* 212–3.)

(b) The safeguards upon which the State should rely to ensure that public money is well spent are—

- (i) the fulfilment of certain conditions as to regularity of attendance and work, &c.; and
- (ii) inspection to satisfy itself by direct evidence that the educational work done is on a level which entitles it to public support. (Par. 214.)

(c) The State should not refuse financial support to institutions, colleges and classes merely on the ground that they have a particular "atmosphere" or appeal specially to students of a particular type. All that it ought to ask is that they be concerned with serious study. (Par. 215.)

(d) We would plead for a very broad and liberal interpretation of what is meant by adult education, and urge that the conditions of eligibility for financial assistance should be such as to include as many different kinds of educational effort as possible. (Par. 217.)

#### *Education in H.M. Forces:—*

337.—(a) We are strongly of the opinion that in the Navy, the Army, and the Air Force provision for education should continue to be made on an ample scale and that educational training should form an integral part of the daily life of members of the Forces of the Crown. (Par. 218.)

(b) The teaching staff should stand in the same relation to the Army as the Army Medical Service, and opportunities should be provided to enable the teachers to go into residence at a university for, say, a term every three years. (Par. 218.)

(c) Non-technical studies should be given a prominent place in the curriculum. In addition to attending compulsory classes, students should be encouraged voluntarily to pursue their studies further during their leisure time, and the co-operation of voluntary bodies should be enlisted in this direction. (Par. 220.)

(d) An educational record of the men should be kept and steps should be taken to bring them into touch with educational facilities on their return to civil life. For this purpose it is suggested that a quasi-official organisation should be established under the supervision of the Board of Education and the Scottish Education Department and financed by a Treasury Grant. Associated with this, there should be an advisory committee, representing the various interests concerned. (Par. 221.)

#### *The Supply of Teachers:—*

338.—(a) One of the most serious problems before those concerned with adult education is that of the provision of an adequate supply of suitable teachers. (Par. 237.)

(b) As regards tutorial class teachers, we think that the number of full-time tutors should be increased. (Par. 245.)

(c) In the appointment of intra-mural lectures consideration should be given to their suitability for undertaking tutorial class work. (Par. 245.)

(d) In future the minimum fee per class per session should be not less than £80. This should be a net payment, and all travelling and other necessary expenses should be paid in addition. (Par. 246.)

(e) Full-time tutorial class teachers of experience should be paid a fixed annual salary of not less than £500. Such tutors would be members of the regular staff of the university. (Par. 248.)



(f) Tutorial class teachers should, where practicable, combine some intra-mural university work with the teaching of tutorial classes. (*Par.* 249.)

(g) We do not think that full-time tutors should be expected to take more than four classes per week. This number should not exceed three where a tutor is engaged to more than a small extent in intra-mural work. (*Par.* 250.)

(h) *Mutatis mutandis*, the above principles should be observed in the appointment and remuneration of university extension lecturers. (*Par.* 254.)

(i) When University Joint Committees assume responsibility for one-year classes the fees paid to tutors should not be less than £40 per class. When they are conducted by tutors whose main work is tutorial classes, the tutors ought not to suffer financially by taking them. (*Par.* 253.)

(j) The pay for teachers of one-year classes under non-university auspices ought to bear some relation to the fees paid in the case of university one-year classes, depending on the standard of work done and the call they make upon the time and energies of the teachers. (*Par.* 253.)

(k) Efforts should be made to enlist the interest of an increasing number of university graduates in order to enlarge the number of teachers of adult classes. (*Pars.* 257-8.)

(l) Universities should give more direct assistance to students desirous of taking up teaching work in connection with adult classes, both by means of special extra-mural tuition and by attendance at a university. (*Par.* 262.)

(m) Summer schools should be extended so as to offer increased assistance to actual or prospective teachers. (*Pars.* 263-4.)

(n) Provision should be made for students to enter a university or collegiate institution for a period of from two to six months, and where desirable for a more prolonged period of study. (*Pars.* 265-70.)

#### *Rural Education :—*

339.—(a) The development of rural education cannot be considered apart from social and economic considerations. Two vital needs are the better housing of the rural population and the development of rural transport. The rural problem, from whatever point of view it is regarded, economic, social, or political, is essentially a problem of re-creating the rural community, and of developing new social traditions and a new culture. (*Pars.* 273-6.)

(b) We think that one of the greatest needs in the village is a village institute under full public control. The institute should be the headquarters of organised local activities of all kinds. (*Pars.* 277-8.)

(c) We propose that the State should make a grant-in-aid, as and when the demand arises, to parish or rural district councils, through the county councils, in respect of capital expenditure amounting to 90 per cent. of the total cost. The total cost to the State of such a scheme for Great Britain might amount to five million pounds or more. (*Par.* 279.)

(d) Educational work in the village should be put upon a permanent basis, so that the village may, under normal circumstances, never be without some form of serious intellectual activity adapted to the needs of the students as regards both subject-matter and method of treatment. (*Par.* 282.)

(e) We think it may be found necessary to devise a winter session, shorter than that which has been adopted in the towns, and the normal winter class might well be of twenty weeks' duration. (*Par.* 282.)

(f) We are also inclined to think that there should be some half-way house between the one-year class and the tutorial class meeting for three winters of 24 meetings each. A modified university tutorial class meeting for 20 weeks during two consecutive winters might be found to meet a real need in rural districts. This question, we think, is one to which the extra-mural departments of universities, in conjunction with the Board of Education and the Scottish Education Department, should give early attention with a view to the formulation of a well thought-out policy of educational development in rural areas. (*Par.* 282.)

(g) It is desirable that the market towns and larger villages should become the centres of educational activity and that classes, week-end conferences, exhibitions, &c., should be arranged in them with the co-operation of the surrounding villages and in order to supplement the activities carried on in the villages. (*Par.* 284.)

(h) It is desirable that voluntary organisations in rural areas should co-operate with a view to federating adult educational work within their districts. (*Par.* 283.)

(i) With the development of adult education it will become necessary to appoint resident organisers for the purpose of opening up new centres and carrying on the administrative work which is necessary if the various villages are to be linked together. (*Par.* 284.)

(j) We regard a gradual establishment of resident tutors and lecturers in rural areas as a necessary part of the general scheme of rural education. (*Par.* 284.)

(k) Summer schools and summer meetings should be extended, and it is worth considering whether the tutorial class summer schools might not occasionally make their headquarters in a rural district. Summer courses arranged for teachers and others in agricultural and kindred subjects should be widened in their scope. (*Par.* 285.)

(l) If, as we would wish to see, residential continuation schools are established in some rural districts, they might also be used as residential colleges for young adults and adult students during the winter months. Experience would show whether there was sufficient demand for residential colleges of the Danish High School type to justify the separate establishment of non-vocational colleges. (*Par.* 286.)

(m) State grants should bear some relation to the difficulties and special circumstances obtaining in rural areas. Definite encouragement should be given to experimental educational work in country districts, and special grants-in-aid paid by the Central Departments. (*Pars.* 287 and 326.)

### *Technical Education:—*

340.—(a) Technical education, though it must be an integral part of our educational system, is not an alternative to non-vocational education. The latter is a universal need; but whether the former is necessary or not depends upon the character of the employment. (*Par.* 290.)

(b) Technical education should be liberalised as far as possible by the inclusion in the curriculum of pure science and of studies which will enable the student to relate his own occupation to the industry of which it is a part, to appreciate the place of that industry in the economic life of the nation and the world, and to interpret the economic life of the

community in terms of social values, *i.e.*, of economic history, economics, and sociology. (*Par.* 296-7.)

(c) Technical students should also pursue studies but remotely connected with vocational training, and in places of technical education the corporate life of the students should be fostered. (*Par.* 297.)

(d) Vocational instruction ought to be part of general education, differing not in kind but only in the medium through which the powers of the pupil are stimulated and strengthened. (*Par.* 295.)

*The State and Finance :—*

341.—(a) The Board of Education and the Scottish Education Department should require Local Education Authorities to present separate schemes showing their provision for non-vocational adult education. (*Par.* 194.)

(b) With regard to Tutorial classes, we recommend that there should be a grant per class amounting to 50 per cent. of the tutor's salary as approved by the Board of Education. It should not be limited, as is the case at present, to a maximum of £45. (*Par.* 312.)

(c) In the second place, there should be an additional block grant of a maximum of 25 per cent. of the total cost of the salaries of the tutors employed by the university. This supplementary or block grant should be payable on the work of the Tutorial Classes Committee of the Extra-Mural Department judged as a whole. (*Par.* 312.)

(d) In the case of the newer universities we suggest that one of the conditions on which the block grant should be obtainable is that the local contribution demanded by the University, whether provided by Local Education Authorities or otherwise, should not exceed £15 per class. (*Par.* 312.)

(e) The older universities should be required as a condition of receiving the block grant to contribute a definite percentage of the cost of their tutorial classes. What this percentage should be would need to be carefully determined after the consideration of the present financial position. (*Par.* 312.)

(f) It is suggested that State grants should be paid in respect of university extension lectures, provided that the lectures form a continuous course consisting ordinarily of ten or more lectures, and also that adequate arrangements are made for class work. Courses of six lectures should be recognised for grant where they are pioneer courses or continuous courses of lectures of a specialised and advanced character. (*Par.* 313.)

(g) As in the case of university tutorial classes, the grant should be paid in two parts. There should be (a) a maximum grant per course amounting to 25 per cent. of the lecturer's fee, and (b) a maximum block grant payable on the work of the Extension Lectures Committee of the Extra-Mural Department as a whole, amounting to 20 per cent. of the total cost of the lecturer's fees. The block grant should have regard to (i) the range of subjects covered by university extension lectures; (ii) the opportunities provided for various classes of the community to attend the lecture courses; (iii) the distribution of courses in the district covered by the operations of the Committee. (*Par.* 313.)

(h) In the case of summer schools a grant should be paid as at present, independently of the grant paid in respect of tutorial classes. It should continue to be assessed on the same lines, *i.e.*, after

inspection by the Central Department, and taking into consideration the standard of the work done, the amount of individual tuition, the number and standing of the students, the number and qualifications of the tutors and the fees paid to them. (*Pars.* 314-5.)

(i) So far as university extension summer meetings are concerned, a block grant should be paid after inspection by the Central Department, based on the numbers attending, the amount and quality of the work done and the provision of class work. The amount payable should bear some relation to the grants proposed for university extension courses. (*Pars.* 314-5.)

(j) At both schools and extension meetings arrangements should be made for the admission of well-qualified students who have attended, say, one-year classes provided by the Adult Education Joint Committees proposed above. (*Par.* 315.)

(k) As regards summer schools and meetings under non-university auspices, whilst it is clear that they should be eligible for grant, it is difficult to lay down in any detail a basis of scale of grants until further experience of such schools and meetings has been obtained. (*Par.* 315.)

(l) Where a Local Education Authority agreed to allow an Adult Education Joint Committee to provide the whole of its non-vocational facilities for adults, the latter might receive the block grant paid by the State in respect of the non-vocational adult education carried out in the area. (*Par.* 321.)

(m) Where in the area of a Local Education Authority there are adult classes provided both by the Authority and an Adult Education Joint Committee, the Central Department should assess a total grant for all the non-vocational adult education carried out in the area, and then divide it between the Local Authority and the Joint Committee in proportions representing the degree to which the efforts of each had contributed to the general scheme of adult education in the area. (*Par.* 321.)

(n) In an area in which no Adult Education Joint Committee exists, voluntary organisations should be eligible to receive grants from the State in respect of one-year classes. These classes should be assessed for grant together with the adult classes arranged and conducted by the Local Authority, and the Central Authority should divide the block grant between the voluntary organisation or organisations concerned and the Local Education Authority. (*Par.* 321.)

(o) Universities should be able to organise and conduct one-year classes with a close relationship to university tutorial classes if they so desire. (*Par.* 309.)

(p) After a full consideration of the question, we think that any hard-and-fast regulation with regard to the finance and administration of one-year classes, such as appears to be suggested by the Proposed Revised Regulations of the Board of Education, would be injurious to the development of non-vocational adult education. (*Par.* 309.)

(q) It is essential that grants should be payable in respect of one-year classes on a more liberal scale; and whilst we welcome the new scale of grant for adult classes announced by the Board of Education, we do not regard it as sufficiently generous. (*Par.* 324.)

(r) In the case of one-year classes provided by the extra-mural university authority, a maximum grant of 50 per cent. of the approved salary of the tutor should be paid per class, whilst the block grant of 25 per cent. of the sum total of the tutors' salaries suggested above (Sect. (c)) should

include that percentage of the total salaries of tutors of one-year classes. (*Par.* 324.)

(s) A similar grant should be payable in respect of one-year classes provided by the Adult Education Joint Committee, viz., (i) a maximum grant per class of 50 per cent. of the tutor's salary, and (ii) a maximum block grant of 25 per cent. of the total cost of tutors' salaries. (*Par.* 324.)

(t) In an area where the Local Education Authority and Adult Education Joint Committee (or a voluntary body in the absence of a Joint Committee) both conduct one-year classes, the above arrangement should hold, the Central Department allocating to each agency concerned its proportion of the total grant. (*Par.* 324.)

(u) Collegiate institutions, satisfying the necessary requirements as regards educational efficiency should be eligible for a block grant from the State (*Par.* 325.)

(v) State grants should have regard to the difficulty and special circumstances obtaining in rural areas, and special grants should be paid in aid of experimental education in rural districts. (*Par.* 287 and *par.* 326.)

#### *Application to Scotland:—*

342.—(a) In making our proposals we have constantly borne in mind the fact that our terms of reference cover Great Britain. The educational system of England and Wales differs from that of Scotland in many ways, but we think that our proposals are applicable to the whole of Great Britain.

(b) We are of opinion that extra-mural university work should be developed in Scotland on the lines we have laid down in our recommendations, though this would necessitate a departure from existing practice north of the Tweed. (*Par.* 186.)

(c) The proposals we make regarding Local Education Authorities, i.e., the preparation of schemes for adult education, the establishment of Adult Education Joint Committees, the basis of assessment for grants, &c., and our suggestions concerning the place of voluntary organisations are, we believe, applicable to the whole country, though in matters of detail, England, Wales and Scotland will show local variations. (*Par.* 201.)

#### *Conclusion:—*

343. Many of the foregoing conclusions and recommendations require a much more detailed application to the varied phases of our subject than we are able to provide. That task is primarily the duty of those directly concerned with the organisation, provision and finance of adult education. It has been our duty to explore a new field of national effort and to prepare a chart which will enable those engaged in adult education to pursue their work with greater knowledge of the principles and the problems involved. We have tried to show that there is a great opportunity before the State, the Universities, Local Authorities, and voluntary bodies, that there is ample scope for the activities of all these agencies, and that the development of adult education, if it is to fulfil its possibilities, depends upon the utilisation of the resources of the State, the Universities, and the Local Authorities, and on the free and vigorous service of voluntary organisations.

344. In concluding our Report, we desire to express our very cordial appreciation of the services rendered by our two Secretaries, Mr. Arthur Greenwood and Mr. E. S. Cartwright. Their wide educational experience and unremitting zeal have proved of the utmost value, and without their assistance, it would hardly have been possible for us to discharge the task committed to us by our terms of reference.

We have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient Servants,\*

ARTHUR L. SMITH (*Chairman*).  
 H. JENNIE BAKER.  
 GRAHAM BALFOUR.  
 WILSON CLAYTON.  
 ROBERT CLIMIE.  
 C. T. CRAMP.  
 ALICE HUWS DAVIES.  
 J. H. DONCASTER.  
 RONALD G. HATTON.  
 FRANK HODGES.  
 HENRY JONES.  
 ALBERT MANSBRIDGE.  
 HENRY A. MIERS.  
 JAMES MORTON.  
 R. ST. JOHN PARRY.  
 R. H. TAWNEY.  
 T. H. J. UNDERDOWN.  
 BASIL YEAXLEE.

ARTHUR GREENWOOD, }  
 E. S. CARTWRIGHT, } *Secretaries.*

*July 29th, 1919.*

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\* Mr. Ernest Bevin has not attended the meetings of the Committee and, therefore does not sign the Report.

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**APPENDICES**

**TO THE**

**FINAL REPORT.**

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## APPENDIX I.

## A SURVEY OF ADULT EDUCATION.

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## APPENDIX I.

**A SURVEY OF ADULT EDUCATION.**

The following Survey falls under three main heads. The first part deals with adult education in Great Britain immediately prior to the outbreak of the war—or, more precisely, the winter of 1913-14—though we have also referred at times to a rather earlier period and to the changes which have taken place during the war. The second part deals with war-time developments in the sphere of adult education, and the third part with adult education abroad.

## PART I.

**ADULT EDUCATION IN GREAT BRITAIN.**

The following pages contain an outline of the adult educational work carried on in Great Britain. Consideration is first given to the activities of universities. An account of the work of Local Education Authorities follows. The third section deals with voluntary educational organisations and institutions and other voluntary bodies which include education amongst their activities. The survey also includes sections describing the work carried on in Wales, Scotland, and certain areas in England, together with separate accounts of education amongst women and in rural areas.

**(I) UNIVERSITIES.**

The Universities of Great Britain, in varying degree, make provision for non-vocational adult education for external students who can give only their leisure time to study. This provision consists almost entirely of extra-mural teaching in the localities in which the students reside, the facilities offered for intra-mural work being comparatively negligible.

The most highly organised and continuous part of this extra-mural provision, and by far the most considerable in amount, is that concerned with university extension lecture courses and university tutorial classes, including the tutorial classes summer schools and the extension summer meetings. In addition, all the universities provide occasional internal lectures for the general public, which are often largely attended, and in many instances special lectures on subjects of general interest are given from time to time by university teachers to audiences outside the universities.

Few facilities of an organised kind appear to have been available hitherto for adult students to study non-vocational subjects inside the university in their leisure time, though we understand that in a few instances a university has made arrangements whereby tutorial class and extension students may attend certain internal courses or receive help in other ways within the university. In other cases provision is made for students to take up a course of study or research work in their spare time in the university and to have the advice and assistance of the teaching staff, but this appears to be chiefly intended for post-graduate students, and to be professional or vocational in character.

While it is true to say that prior to the war the universities were gradually increasing the facilities for non-vocational education beyond their walls, they have as yet scarcely realised the greatness of the opportunity or the urgency of the need, and have not, therefore, thrown into this sphere of their activities the vigour and enthusiasm which are necessary if the desire of men and women in the work-a-day world for that humane education which the universities alone can give is to be satisfied as it deserves. The extent to which the universities undertake this extra-mural work seems to depend not so much upon its intrinsic value as upon the degree of public pressure which can be brought to bear, and upon the amount of surplus funds available after all other university activities have been provided for. While, of course, the internal work of the universities will continue to claim the larger share of their funds and attention, the provision of non-vocational education for adults should be equally recognised by them as an integral part of their work, and as such entitled to have made for it, as a matter of course, the necessary educational and financial provision in due proportion. In the case of the university tutorial class movement there is a recognition of the claims of men and women to receive instruction under university auspices. It is the one aspect of extra-mural work which has been taken up by all the Universities in England and Wales and by two of the Scottish Universities. The full possibilities of extra-mural university education, of which we have indications in the work which has already been accomplished, will be realised only when the universities perceive that it is part of their duty to the nation to respond in full measure to these new demands which are made upon them, and that this extra-mural work has an importance of its own, and in view of modern developments is a necessary part of the educational system of the country. The writer of an article on "The Education of the Citizen," which appeared in *The Round Table* for June, 1917, says: "The education of the working men at the industrial centres by means of tutorial classes is the most wholesome task to which they" (the Universities) "have put their hands in modern times, and in the performance of it they will henceforth interpret their functions more generously and prove a new and much greater power in the national life. The Universities, and more especially the older English Universities, will be led to reform themselves in the direction of serving citizenship more directly and much more widely."

#### (A) UNIVERSITY EXTENSION LECTURE COURSES.

University Extension Courses are conducted by most universities in Great Britain as part of their extra-mural programme, but by far the greater part of the work in England and Wales is carried on by the Universities of Cambridge, London and Oxford. These Universities have behind them a tradition of over forty years of extension work; and of their centres, which will be found in all parts of the country, many have a long history and have done continuous work for a considerable number of years, and have, indeed, sometimes been the seed from which a university or university college has sprung. As these universities by time and tradition have come to undertake the largest part of University Extension work in the country this survey necessarily is concerned largely, though by no means entirely, with the courses conducted and the methods adopted by them.

The first official beginnings were made at Cambridge in 1873, when the University appointed a syndicate for the superintendence of "local

lectures." In 1876 a society was formed for the extension of University teaching in London, and in 1878 Oxford appointed a Secretary to the Committee for the organisation of extension lectures, although it was not until 1885 that the University began to regard extension lectures as a substantive part of the work which it was called to do on behalf of the nation at large. This important development in the extra-mural work of the universities was due to the late Professor Stuart, of Cambridge. In 1867 he was himself invited to lecture in various towns in the North of England for the promotion of the higher education of women, and at about the same time was asked to lecture to the workmen employed in the London and North-Western Railway works at Crewe. In the course of these lectures Professor Stuart devised most of the methods which have now become an integral part of the university extension system. It is noteworthy that the demand for this extension of university teaching came primarily from those who were engaged in the higher education of women, and secondly from skilled artisans. The object of the extension lecture movement is to provide in every locality means of higher education for those engaged in the ordinary occupations of daily life. It aims, as has been said, "to bring the University to the people." "It seeks, not only to supply teaching adapted to popular needs, but to stimulate the demand for such teaching. It directs readers to the best books in each subject, and by encouraging habits and suggesting methods of systematic study helps students to make the best use of libraries, and assists them in home reading and self-culture."<sup>1</sup>

The method consists in providing courses of lectures to audiences in the localities where extension centres have been formed, such lectures being supplemented by classes for discussion and study, by written work and examination, each centre being supplied with a collection of books bearing on the subject of the course. The ideal scheme aims at a course of not less than ten or twelve lectures with classes, culminating in a full series of eight terms or four annual sessions of co-ordinated study. Shorter courses or single lectures should be regarded simply as preliminary and preparatory to the complete scheme. Students are encouraged to pursue the studies which they have begun in the lectures by a series of certificates awarded on conditions involving independent work and research. There are some slight differences between the three Universities named above in their scheme of the award of certificates, but the general plan, which may be said to be common to all three, is as follows:—(1) The Terminal Certificate, awarded in connection with a course of not fewer than ten lectures to students who have attended the lectures and classes regularly and satisfied the lecturer as to paper work, and have passed the examination held at the end of the course; (2) the Sessional Certificate, awarded on result of examination to students who have attended lectures and classes regularly and satisfied as to essay work for two successive courses in educational sequence, forming together a complete session's work (two Terminal Certificates gained within the prescribed time can be changed for a Sessional Certificate); (3) the Vice-Chancellor's Certificate, awarded upon examination after attendance at continuous and co-ordinated lecture courses extending over three or four years. Oxford and Cambridge have a scheme of affiliated centres and affiliation certificates. The centre must be approved by the governing body of the University as an affiliated centre, and the local committee must undertake to provide an approved series of courses of instruction extended over a period of years, such series to include not less

<sup>1</sup> Oxford University Extension Lectures Calendar for 1919-20.

than 96 lectures and classes or 8 sessional courses. To obtain the affiliation certificate a student must have gained certificates in each of the eight courses in the approved scheme; and must also obtain a certificate of having passed the Higher Local Examination in certain stipulated subjects. The holder of an affiliation certificate will then be excused, on certain conditions, one year's residence at the University and so will be able to obtain a degree in two years instead of three. In 1914 four affiliated centres were working under the Cambridge and one under the Oxford scheme. London has a scheme for the award of Diplomas in the Humanities, intended for persons who do not intend to graduate but desire to pursue the study of a subject to a high level. To obtain the Diploma the student must follow a full course extending over four years, involving regular attendance at a sessional course of lectures and classes each year, regular paper work, and success at the sessional examinations. At the end of the course a final examination is held upon the whole course of study. In 1913-14, Cambridge awarded 228 Terminal Certificates, 11 Sessional Certificates, and one Vice-Chancellor's Certificate. London awarded 811 Terminal Certificates, 294 Sessional Certificates and three Vice-Chancellor's Certificates, and 38 students obtained the Diploma in the Humanities. Oxford, during 1913-14, awarded 281 Certificates or "printed lists."

The usual practice is for the lectures to be held weekly, or sometimes, in the case of shorter courses, fortnightly. The attendances at the lectures vary considerably from place to place. In the larger centres audiences of from 800 to 1,000 may be found; in some of the smaller centres they may not exceed 30 or 40. An audience of about 200 can perhaps be regarded as normal. We are informed that taking a long period of years the attendance per centre for the Oxford courses ranged from 100 to 120. The composition of the audiences varies from centre to centre. The evidence goes to show that taking the country through, the majority of those who attend belong to the middle class, and that many more women attend than men. The occupations vary according to the character of the neighbourhood in which the centre is situated. Frequently an audience of extremely varied elements is found, *e.g.*, clerks, shop assistants, factory workers, school teachers, the wives and daughters of professional men, social workers, girls in the upper classes of secondary schools. In other cases, and more particularly in the South of England, the audiences will be composed almost entirely of well-to-do leisured people. This applies especially to courses held in the afternoon. Again—and this most often in the North and Midlands—centres will be found where working people form the majority of the audience. Such centres, we are informed, are among those where the best work is done and the keenest enthusiasm shown. No very clear distinction can be made, however, between different parts of the country, as to a considerable extent the type of audience is influenced by the policy of the local committee responsible for the organisation of the lectures.

As before stated, some of these centres have a long history and have run continuously for many years. In this connection, information has been placed before us giving particulars as to the Oxford centres. During the first ten years (1885-1895) 155 centres of teaching were established; in the second ten years (1895-1905) 112 centres; in the third period (1905-1914) 65 centres, making a total of 332 centres. Of these, 114 were actively carrying on work in the session 1913-14, *i.e.*, almost exactly one-third of the number which had been started at one time and

another. Of the 332 centres, 83 have carried on work for periods extending from 10 to 28 years, either without any break at all, or with breaks of only one year, or, in very few instances, with breaks of two or three years.

An analysis of the history of these 83 centres shows—

|   |   |   |   |   |         |
|---|---|---|---|---|---------|
| 15 centres have carried on for 25-28 years. |   |   |   |   |         |
| 20  | " | " | " | " | 20-25 " |
| 48  | " | " | " | " | 10-20 " |

The courses organised by the University of London are held in the Administrative County of London and the surrounding district, but the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge have the rest of the country for their parish. There is, we understand, a working arrangement between the three Universities to prevent over-lapping. The extension work of the new universities is localised—that is, the work is carried on in the locality in which the University is situated; while Oxford or Cambridge extension centres are to be found in almost every county in England and Wales. It is an accepted principle of the extension method that in connection with each course a class should be held as distinct from the audience. In the class will be found the real students, those who desire to pursue the subject more thoroughly than can be done by mere attendance at the lectures, and who are willing to follow a course of reading and to write papers set by the lecturer. It is the class which offers the best opportunity for educational work. The following figures show the average attendance at the classes connected with courses conducted by the Universities of Cambridge and London during the session 1913-14 and the average number of weekly essays written for the lecturers:—

|           |     |     | Affiliation Courses.       |                             | Sessional Courses.        |                             | Terminal Courses.          |                             | Short Courses.             |                             |
|-----------|-----|-----|----------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
|           |     |     | Avgc. Att'dce. at Classes. | Avgc. Weekly No. of Papers. | Avgc. Att'dce. at Classes | Avgc. Weekly No. of Papers. | Avgc. Att'dce. at Classes. | Avgc. Weekly No. of Papers. | Avgc. Att'dce. at Classes. | Avgc. Weekly No. of Papers. |
| Cambridge | ... | ... | 213                        | 66                          | No courses held           |                             | 1,152                      | 251                         | 695                        | 125                         |
| London    | ... | ... | —                          | —                           | 2,575                     | 983                         | 885                        | 206                         | 1,714                      | No paper work.              |

The following particulars relate to Oxford extension courses during the session 1913-14:—

|  |     |     |        |
|--|-----|-----|--------|
| Number of courses of from 10-18 lectures     | ... | ... | 17     |
| Aggregate average attendance at lectures     | ... | ... | 1,500  |
| " " " classes                                | ... | ... | 471    |
| Number of short courses of from 6-9 lectures | ... | ... | 114    |
| Aggregate average attendance at lectures     | ... | ... | 11,079 |
| " " " classes                                | ... | ... | 3,799  |

The students' associations which are formed in many, but by no means all, centres are a valuable adjunct to the university extension course. These associations consist of the keener extension students of the locality, and their object is to follow up the subject of the lectures more thoroughly by carrying on a definite course of study under the advice of the lecturer, in addition to the more formal work of the lecture and the class. The usual practice is for one of the members to act as leader, and for the students in turn to write papers for discussion by the association. The value of this method is that the students are thrown upon their own resources, that the subject becomes more real by being treated and discussed from different points of view, and that

the work of the centre is made more continuous by the fact that these associations are able to continue their studies after the completion of the lecture course, and thus to bridge the gap and to maintain the interest between one course and another.

In 1913-14, the last normal year before the outbreak of war, there were, as we have already pointed out, 114 Oxford centres actively at work. The number of Cambridge and London centres at work was 72 and 74 respectively. Particulars of the numbers of courses and the attendances thereat are given for Cambridge and London in the following table. The figures for Oxford will be found in the table already given.

|               | Affiliation Courses. |                                     | Sessional Courses<br>(24 or 25 Lectures). |                                     | Terminal Courses<br>(10 or 12 Lectures). |                                     | Short Courses<br>(5 or 6 Lectures). |                                     |
|---------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
|               | No. of<br>Courses.   | Aggregate<br>average<br>Attendance. | No. of<br>Courses.                        | Aggregate<br>average<br>Attendance. | No. of<br>Courses.                       | Aggregate<br>average<br>Attendance. | No. of<br>Courses.                  | Aggregate<br>average<br>Attendance. |
| Cambridge ... | 12                   | 1,012                               | —   | —                                   | 38                                       | 5,063                               | 32                                  | 3,358                               |
| London ...    | —                    | —                                   | 41  | 7,235                               | 30                                       | 2,474                               | 34                                  | 2,523                               |

The effect of the war has inevitably been to cause a falling off in the numbers of lecture courses and students, but we are informed that on the whole the work has been well maintained, and in the case of some centres has been more than usually successful, while there are indications that a new public is being created for extension lectures as for other forms of education.

To a small extent university extension courses are conducted by the new universities in their own localities, though it is stated that even before the war there was a falling-off in the demand, due to various causes, one of which is said to be the increasing number of public lectures arranged by voluntary bodies, and another the establishment of university tutorial classes. At the same time, while the contribution made by newer universities is small, it has been a valuable supplement to the extension courses provided by Cambridge, London and Oxford, which were first in the field. The following short account of the extension work of the new universities, while not covering the whole ground, will give some indication of their activities. In the case of the University of Birmingham extension work since the war has been in abeyance, and before war the courses arranged were very few. The courses conducted by the University of Manchester averaged about four or five per year. These are given chiefly in connection with an endowed institution which arranges a course each year, a Teachers' Training Centre, unions and associations of Sunday Schools desiring special training for their teachers, and one or two unusually active literary societies. In 1913-14 there were given: one course of 24 lectures; one of seven lectures; two of six lectures; one of four lectures; and three "pioneer" lectures. The University of Sheffield in 1917 arranged five courses of free Extension lectures which had an average attendance of 354, 253, 58, 608, and 150 respectively. In addition, a course of extension lectures was given at the University to Sunday School teachers on "Child Study in the Sunday School," followed by a course on "Methods of Training applied to Biblical Study," the average attendance being 134 and 135 respectively. The University of Liverpool in the session 1915-16 conducted four courses of lectures—two of 10 lectures each and two of 6 lectures each, the average attendance for the six-lecture courses being 36 and 50, and for the ten-lecture courses 70 and 104. The subjects were "Social

Problems, and how to meet them " (two courses), " Æschylus and Sophocles " (one course), and " Wordsworth " (one course). In 1913-14 the University College of Nottingham arranged courses of lectures and single lectures in many places in the East-Midland area. In the case of Durham and Leeds, we are informed that very few extension lectures are arranged, almost the whole of their activities being confined to university tutorial classes. At Southampton the University College in 1917 conducted a course of extension lectures on " The Modern Novel," the attendance at which averaged 120. In 1914-15 the University College of Cardiff offered a syllabus containing the names of 36 lecturers who were prepared to give single lectures or courses of from three to twelve on a variety of subjects, but these lectures have seldom been asked for in recent years, " chiefly perhaps because the pioneer classes of the Workers' Educational Association fulfil the purposes for which these courses were designed." As regards Scotland, we are informed that for many years Scottish Universities carried on extension courses which had a distinctive non-vocational character, but that of late their courses have been chiefly those for graduation. These courses have increased in number of late, the possible option for graduation greatly extended, and subjects included of a clearly cultural nature. The Scottish Universities from time to time arrange courses of lectures or single lectures on subjects of current interest which are open to and attended by members of the general public, but these are not extension lectures as ordinarily understood; in fact, there appears to be little or nothing in the shape of organised extension courses such as are conducted in England. It is interesting to note that the opinion has been expressed to us that a need for the extension of university work in this direction will arise in Scotland in the new conditions which will follow the war.

The subjects studied in the extension courses are chiefly on the Arts side. In the early days a good deal of science was demanded, but the difficulty of peripatetic scientific teaching and the increase of technical institutes and other means of scientific education has lessened this side of the work. The subjects now in greatest demand are history, literature, fine arts, social science, and economics.

The increase of interest in the last named is extremely marked, and since the war this subject and courses dealing with the historical causes of the war, studies of the countries engaged in it, and of international relations have come to take the leading place. The following are some typical courses followed during the past few years:—Mediæval England, Europe in the 18th and 19th Centuries, The French Revolution, Growth of the British Empire, History of London, Ancient Egypt, Gothic Architecture, History of Painting in the 19th Century, Shakespeare, Tennyson and Browning, The English Poets, English Essayists, The Paradise of Dante, The Greek Drama, Problems of Popular Government, Economic History, Modern Industrial and Economic Problems, Modern Makers of Music, Great Composers, Some Applications of Modern Science, Nature Study, Astronomy, The Air and Airships, The Belligerent Powers, Constantinople and the Far East, The War and the Smaller Nations of Europe.

The lecturers are university men and women, tested and appointed by the university, chosen by the local committees from lists sent down to them. In the case of the newer universities the lecturers as a rule are members of the internal staff. In the older universities this is usually not the case. The greater part of the lecturing is done by men who are engaged in other activities, while a few have adopted extension work as a career. These latter are not recognised as part of the

university staff, neither are they as closely in touch with the universities as is desirable. If the best results are to be obtained there must be a constant supply of lecturers who are not only good lecturers, but first-rate teachers, imbued with a missionary zeal, in touch with modern life and thought, and in constant contact with the universities. This supply, we are informed, has at the present time run nearly dry, and the movement has suffered accordingly. The chief reason of this, no doubt, is that university extension lecturing does not offer a career. With the exception of a few outstanding lecturers who have become well known and popular, and whose services, therefore, are always in request, there is no certainty that a man can earn a steady income of a reasonable amount year by year. His income depends upon the number of courses which he takes each year, and this number, through various causes, is apt to fluctuate from time to time. Thus it is becoming more and more difficult to retain the best men in the extension movement.

The work is administered and organised both centrally and locally. At Cambridge, London and Oxford the central administration is supervised by a Committee consisting of the Vice-Chancellor (in the case of London the Chancellor also) of the University, together with 15 to 20 graduates appointed by the University. Its primary functions are to appoint lecturers, to approve courses, and to conduct examinations.

At the centres the lecture courses are organised by local committees. Most frequently these are formed *ad hoc* of persons interested in university extension work. In a number of cases centres are organised by local societies and institutions, such as literary, philosophical and scientific societies, public libraries, mechanics' institutes, polytechnics, co-operative society education committees, &c. In a few cases Local Education Authorities undertake the responsibility for finance and organisation. Apart from the lecturer, the success of the work depends almost entirely upon these local committees and their secretaries. A considerable number have undoubtedly done devoted work in the educational cause, but the opinion has been expressed to us that many are unfitted by the social traditions of their members to organise a popular educational movement, and thus in these cases the work is apt to be confined to a clique and remain out of touch with the mass of the people. The audiences tend to reflect the policy and social outlook of the local committee and local secretary with the result that in some centres the extension course is apt to take on the nature of a social function. In other cases, where the local committee is representative of all sections and a democratic tone prevails, much greater success has been achieved in attracting working people and in making the most of the educational opportunities afforded by the extension course.

The finance of the central administration is usually borne by the university. Otherwise the local committees are responsible for the whole cost of the courses, including lecturers' fees, travelling expenses, &c., and are usually required to give a guarantee to the university for these expenses. The normal scale of fees charged to centres by the Universities of Cambridge, Oxford and London for lecture courses is shown in the table printed in Chapter IX.<sup>1</sup> The scale there set out is subject to reduction and variations in particular cases.

In England and Wales a 10 or 12-lecture course may obtain a grant from the Board of Education if it complies with the provisions of the

<sup>1</sup> See p. 125.



Regulations for Technical Schools, &c. In practice, however, it has not been found easy to bring these courses within the four corners of Regulations which are intended for quite different forms of education. Subject to the possibility of earning this grant, and also the grant of the Local Education Authority which is made in a few districts, a local committee has the responsibility of raising the necessary funds locally; for, except in a very few instances, university extension is self-supporting. Usually, as the sale of tickets seldom or never raises sufficient to meet these expenses, other means have to be resorted to. The ways most commonly adopted by local committees to meet the deficit are chiefly two: (1) to raise a guarantee fund from local sympathisers, and (2) the formation of a body of annual subscribers to keep the work going. Thus the finance of local committees is more or less precarious, and this, it is generally agreed, has militated against the educational efficiency of the work. A subject, however desirable educationally, cannot be chosen, because it will not attract a large enough number of takers of tickets; if successful for two years, the committee dare not continue it for a third year, because the ticket takers may weary of it, and yet they have to be considered at the expense of the keen students who wish to continue their study of the subject. Again, the question of expense influences the choice of lecturer. A lecturer is obliged often to go to centres to which he is not really suited because travelling expenses have to be kept down, and the centres must take a man who happens to be visiting their part of the country. Then, too, a centre, because it has to rely upon a few wealthy folk, will naturally tend to be dominated by their wishes and outlook, and thus fail to get in touch with the mass of the people.

A feature of the extension movement is the annual summer meeting for extension students, held at Oxford and Cambridge alternately. These meetings began thirty years ago, in 1888, when the first was held in Oxford and attended by about 1,000 students. The objects of the meetings are to give extension students the opportunity, through the means of an educational programme, of coming into touch with the university and its professors and teachers, and of providing the means of intercourse between students from the various centres for the exchange of experience, &c. These meetings have become exceedingly popular, and are attended annually by large numbers of people. In 1909, for instance, over 1,800 were present at the Oxford summer meeting. Since 1895 foreign students have been admitted, and up to outbreak of the war attended in large numbers. Since the war the meetings have been successfully continued, but their duration and programme have necessarily had to be curtailed.

The numbers in attendance at summer meetings since 1912 have been as follows:—

| —            | 1912. | 1913. | 1914. | 1915. | 1916. | 1917. | 1918 | 1919. |
|--------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|-------|
| Cambridge... | 565   | —     | 561   | —     | 483   | —     | 388  | —     |
| Oxford ...   | —     | 1,294 | —     | 568   | —     | 626   | —    | 812   |

In normal years the meetings cover a period of four weeks, divided into two parts of a fortnight each. The meetings are open to other than actual students from the centres, and as a matter of fact, are largely attended by people who are not members of extension courses. The

number of working people attending is comparatively very small, although in recent years the Workers' Educational Association has organised a party of its members to attend the meetings. The educational programme is confined almost entirely to lectures delivered to large audiences. A definite subject or theme is selected for study at the meeting, and this is treated from a large number of points of view in series of lectures. Lectures on miscellaneous topics are excluded, and the programme has become each year more systematised and co-ordinated.

There is no compulsion on those attending the meetings to attend the lectures or to follow a course of study, and little serious work is done. In recent years a certain amount of class work has been introduced to provide opportunities for more intensive study, and a development in this direction would seem highly desirable. While making little provision for the serious student, the summer meeting has its value in other directions. It gathers together each year hundreds of people for an educational purpose and gives them the opportunity of spending a few weeks in university surroundings, and of hearing lectures in various subjects. It thus widens their outlook and stimulates their interest in things of the mind and spirit, and many can date their intellectual awakening from attendance at a summer meeting. Its weakness is that it relies almost entirely on the lecture, with little opportunity for class work and discussion, and that it offers little in the way of serious intensive study to those whose intellectual interest it has aroused. The usual fee for the whole meeting of four weeks is £1 10s. or for either of the two parts of a fortnight each, £1 1s., with reduced rates for wage earners and others.

#### (B) UNIVERSITY TUTORIAL CLASSES.

A University Tutorial Class consists of a body of men and women not exceeding 32 in number who agree to study a subject chosen by themselves under a teacher supplied by a University Joint Committee for a period of three successive years; to hold 24 meetings of two hours each in each year (usually between Michaelmas and Easter); and to do the necessary reading and to satisfy the tutor as regards essay work. It is formed sometimes on the initiative of a W.E.A. Branch, sometimes after a conference of working class and educational organisations and occasionally by adult schools. Its essential features are (1) continuity of study; (2) the combination of free discussion with a lecture; (3) the mutual assistance and co-operation of the students with each other and the tutor. Continuity of study ensures that all points of view are represented and expressed, and corrects the bias of the teacher or of any section of the students. The spirit of mutual assistance gives the class a corporate life which is educationally more valuable than much formal instruction. Each class is provided by the University Committee with a library of books bearing on the subject of the course.

In addition to the weekly two-hours' class meeting, it has always been regarded as an essential feature of a tutorial class that a certain amount of individual tuition should be given to the students. As this means securing opportunities whereby the tutor can meet the students individually, it is, under the conditions which govern working people's lives, and by reason of the fact that a tutor can usually spend only a few hours in a town one night per week, a very difficult matter to arrange. As a matter of fact, this is a problem which remains to be solved. Prior

to the outbreak of the war several Joint Committees were giving particular attention to this aspect of their work, and the amount of individual tuition was on the increase. The effect of the war, with the disturbance of normal conditions, has been to postpone the satisfactory solution of this problem.

Though the standard set is exacting, this has not prevented a rapid increase in the number of classes, which increased from 8 in 1908 to 154 in 1914. The war had the inevitable result of reducing the number, which fell to 99 in 1916-17, but in the following year, in spite of the accumulating difficulties of the fourth year of the war, 121 classes were in operation, and in 1918-19 the number had grown to 153.

The following table shows the growth of the movement<sup>1</sup> :—

| Year.   |     |     | No. of<br>Classes. | No. of<br>Students. |
|---------|-----|-----|--------------------|---------------------|
| 1907-8  | ... | ... | 2                  | 78                  |
| 1908-9  | ... | ... | 8                  | 237                 |
| 1909-10 | ... | ... | 39                 | 1,117               |
| 1910-11 | ... | ... | 72                 | 1,829               |
| 1911-12 | ... | ... | 102                | 2,485               |
| 1912-13 | ... | ... | 117                | 3,176               |
| 1913-14 | ... | ... | 145                | 3,234               |
| 1914-15 | ... | ... | 155                | 3,110               |
| 1915-16 | ... | ... | 121                | 2,414               |
| 1916-17 | ... | ... | 99                 | 1,996               |
| 1917-18 | ... | ... | 121                | 2,860               |
| 1918-19 | ... | ... | 153                | 3,300 (estimated).  |

The following shows the number of men and women respectively, enrolled in the classes during the six years prior to 1918-19 :—

| —              | Men.  | Women. | Total. |
|----------------|-------|--------|--------|
| 1912-13 ... .. | 2,626 | 550    | 3,176  |
| 1913-14 ... .. | 2,488 | 746    | 3,234  |
| 1914-15 ... .. | 2,338 | 772    | 3,110  |
| 1915-16 ... .. | 1,506 | 908    | 2,414  |
| 1916-17 ... .. | 1,133 | 863    | 1,996  |
| 1917-18 ... .. | 1,681 | 1,179  | 2,860  |

The rapid rise of the proportion of women to men in the classes after 1913-14 is, of course, due to the war.

<sup>1</sup> This table includes the classes in Ireland conducted by the Queen's University of Belfast, viz. :—2 Classes in 1910-11, 2 in 1911-12, 3 in 1912-13, 3 in 1913-14, 1 in 1914-15, 1 in 1915-16, 2 in 1916-17, 3 in 1917-18, and 3 in 1918-19.

In 1913-14, the last normal year before the war, tutorial classes were conducted by every university in England and Wales and by the University Colleges of Nottingham and Reading. The number of classes conducted by each university or university college each year since the beginning, is shown in the following table :—

| University.        | Number of Classes. |         |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |         |
|--------------------|--------------------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|---------|
|                    | 1907-8.            | 1908-9. | 1909-10. | 1910-11. | 1911-12. | 1912-13. | 1913-14. | 1914-15. | 1915-16. | 1916-17. | 1917-18. | 1918-19 |
| Birmingham         | —                  | —       | 1        | 7        | 7        | 7        | 5        | 6        | 6        | 5        | 6        | 6       |
| Bristol            | —                  | —       | —        | —        | —        | 1        | 5        | 5        | 4        | —        | —        | —       |
| Cambridge          | —                  | —       | 3        | 3        | 3        | 4        | 5        | 5        | 2        | 2        | 2        | 2       |
| Durham             | —                  | —       | —        | 2        | 8        | 9        | 12       | 9        | 7        | 4        | 5        | 9       |
| Leeds              | —                  | —       | 5        | 5        | 6        | 6        | 10       | 13       | 14       | 14       | 17       | 20      |
| Liverpool          | —                  | —       | 4        | 5        | 8        | 10       | 16       | 19       | 14       | 11       | 14       | 18      |
| London             | —                  | —       | 5        | 16       | 22       | 26       | 30       | 26       | 21       | 22       | 19       | 24      |
| Manchester         | —                  | —       | 9        | 13       | 14       | 15       | 17       | 17       | 13       | 8        | 12       | 11      |
| Nottingham, U. C.  | —                  | —       | —        | 1        | 3        | 5        | 5        | 6        | 6        | 2        | 2        | 4       |
| Oxford             | 2                  | 8       | 12       | 14       | 17       | 17       | 18       | 16       | 11       | 10       | 11       | 12      |
| Queen's, Belfast   | —                  | —       | —        | 2        | 2        | 3        | 3        | 1        | 1        | 2        | 3        | 3       |
| Reading, U. C.     | —                  | —       | —        | 1        | 1        | 2        | 2        | 2        | 2        | 2        | 2        | 2       |
| Sheffield          | —                  | —       | —        | 3        | 5        | 5        | 6        | 10       | 11       | 13       | 15       | 17      |
| Southampton, U. C. | —                  | —       | —        | —        | —        | —        | —        | —        | —        | —        | —        | 1       |
| Aberdeen           | —                  | —       | —        | —        | —        | —        | —        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 2        | 1       |
| Edinburgh          | —                  | —       | —        | —        | —        | —        | —        | —        | 4        | 3        | 3        | 5       |
| Aberystwyth        | —                  | —       | —        | —        | 2        | 2        | 6        | 10       | —        | —        | 1        | 8       |
| Bangor             | —                  | —       | —        | —        | 4        | 5        | 4        | 4        | 4        | —        | —        | 1       |
| Cardiff            | —                  | —       | —        | —        | —        | —        | 1        | 5        | —        | —        | 7        | 9       |
| Totals             | 2                  | 8       | 39       | 72       | 102      | 117      | 145      | 155      | 121      | 99       | 121      | 153     |

In England the classes are almost entirely confined to the industrial towns. In the case of the newer universities the classes are located in the area which the university may roughly be said to serve. In the case of Oxford and Cambridge, the classes are more wide-flung and have been established to a considerable extent in districts not served by any other University. In 1913-14 classes under Cambridge were held at Ipswich, Norwich, Nuneaton, Portsmouth and Waltham Cross; and under Oxford at Bournemouth, Chatham, Chesterfield, Gloucester, Halifax, Heywood, Huddersfield, Kettering, Leeds, Lincoln, Luton, Rochdale, Swindon, and Stoke-on-Trent.

It was not until the year 1914 that the Tutorial Class Movement made a serious beginning in Scotland. In this year the first class was started under the auspices of the University of Aberdeen. In 1915 four provisional classes were held at Edinburgh. In 1917-18 five classes were held, two in Aberdeen and three in Edinburgh. The reason for this slow development in Scotland as compared with England and Wales has been ascribed to the difference between their educational systems and traditions, which has made it more difficult to obtain State aid for the classes in Scotland than has been the case in England and Wales. In Scotland, State grants-in-aid can only be made for tutorial classes if the classes are under the control of a School Board. Thus, before a class can be started, the School Board of the area has to accept financial responsibility. This fact has undoubtedly militated against the development of the movement North of the Tweed.

The University College of Bangor was the pioneer of tutorial classes in Wales (with the exception of one held at Wrexham under the Oxford Committee), the part usually played by the W.E.A. being taken by the North Wales Quarrymen's Union. The union made a grant of £50 (afterwards increased to £60) a year towards the cost of the classes. The history of these classes is the most conspicuous illustration of the value of an enthusiastic and strongly organised demand; their records in attendance and essay writing have been notable. The first class was established at Blaenau Festiniog in 1910, and in the session 1915-16 (since which year they unfortunately have had to be suspended owing to the war) classes were being held at Cardiff, Blaenau Festiniog, Llanberis, Penygroes, Bethesda. A fifth class started in 1912-13 at Llandurog, but did not reach its third year.

In 1911-12 two pioneer classes were started at Aberystwyth, organised by the Local Education Authority, and in their third year they were taken over by the University College, Aberystwyth. In 1913-14 four new classes were established and a lecturer appointed to give his whole time to tutorial class work during the Michaelmas and Lent terms. These new classes were at Barmouth, Towyn, Aberllefenni, and Abergynolwyn, all within a radius of 40 miles from Aberystwyth. In 1914-15 six new classes were started at Ammanford, Carmarthen, Llanelli I., Llanelli II., Aberdovey and Talybont. Unfortunately, owing to obstacles arising out of the war, all these classes had to be suspended at the end of the session 1914-15, but we are informed that there is every intention of resuming them again now that the war is over. Indeed, there were signs of a revival during 1917-18, and in 1918-19 eight tutorial classes were held.

In South Wales the position differs from that in the North in that the W.E.A. Welsh District, which operates so far entirely in South Wales, was first in the field and stimulated a demand for classes, which

was first met by the Local Education Authorities of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire. During 1911-12 ten classes of a pioneer character were held (seven in economics, two in industrial history, and one in logic), and in that year a Joint Committee was formed by the College, but for financial and other reasons it did not become responsible for any classes until the session 1913-14, when it undertook one fully recognised tutorial class in Cardiff, to which the Cardiff Co-operative Society made a grant of £10. At the same time, ten classes were being conducted by the Glamorgan and four by the Monmouth County education authority. These, we gather, were conducted on tutorial class lines by properly qualified tutors, who were, however, not paid on a tutorial class scale. In 1914-15 the Joint Committee took over four more classes (making five in all), and five others were conducted as "pioneer" classes, also under the control of the Joint Committee. The tutorial classes were held at Cardiff, Barry, Bridgend, Caerau, and Mountain Ash; and the "pioneer" classes at Aberdare, Blaengarw, Briton Ferry, Ll. Major and Port Talbot. During the next two sessions, owing to difficulties arising out of the war, no classes were held under the Joint Committee, but we are informed that some were continued on a voluntary basis. In the summer of 1917, however, an educational demand of so insistent a nature manifested itself in this district that as a result seven full tutorial classes and one preliminary class were established in the following autumn at Barry, Bridgend, Cymmer (Port Talbot), Fforest Fach, Neath, Port Talbot, Swansea, and a very successful session's work was accomplished.

The subjects studied in the tutorial classes are chiefly in the field of social studies, industrial and political history and economics taking the chief place, as it is naturally in these that the immediate interests of working people lie. Other subjects, however, have come to claim an ever-growing place, such as literature, philosophy, political science, and psychology. Attention has been called to the fact that natural science occupies a negligible place in the tutorial class curriculum. We believe that this is due to the fact that the students naturally wish to study first the subjects in which they already have a deep interest and which seem to bear upon their own peculiar problems; and also to the fact that science classes often need elaborate equipment in the way of laboratories, apparatus, &c., and are therefore more difficult to arrange for than, say, a history class. Further, it has been suggested to us that it is far more difficult to obtain the right kind of teacher for a tutorial class in science than in other subjects. It is, however, encouraging to note that the few classes in science that have hitherto been held (*e.g.*, the Biology class at Halifax) have been remarkably successful, and we hope and believe that this and other science subjects will occupy a growing place in the studies of tutorial classes. We think that the effect of the day continuation schools about to be established under the Education Act, 1918, will be to arouse a new interest in natural science. New ground was broken by the formation in Newcastle-on-Tyne of a class in music, which completed its three years' course in 1918, and during the session of 1918-19 four classes were studying music. This is a difficult subject to arrange for, as instruments and other equipment are required, but the experience which has now been gained will, it is expected, lead to further classes being formed. Since the war many classes have been attracted to the study of modern European history, and to other subjects to which the war has given rise, such as "Problems of Reconstruction," "The History of Western Civilisation," &c.

The following table shows the numbers of classes in the various subjects studied, for each year of the movement's history:—

| Subject.                        | Number of Classes. |         |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
|                                 | 1907-8.            | 1908-9. | 1909-10. | 1910-11. | 1911-12. | 1912-13. | 1913-14. | 1914-15. | 1915-16. | 1916-17. | 1917-18. | 1918-19. |
| Economic History and Economics. | 2                  | 8       | 32       | 59       | 78       | 68       | 74       | 79       | 57       | 50       | 57       | 54       |
| Local Government ...            | —                  | —       | 2        | —        | 5        | 1        | —        | 3        | 1        | —        | —        | 1        |
| Psychology and Philosophy       | —                  | —       | —        | 2        | 2        | 3        | 8        | 10       | 15       | 15       | 18       | 20       |
| Literature ...                  | —                  | —       | 1        | 2        | 5        | 11       | 17       | 15       | 17       | 10       | 15       | 27       |
| Ancient History ...             | —                  | —       | —        | —        | —        | —        | —        | —        | —        | —        | —        | 1        |
| Modern History ...              | —                  | —       | 1        | 3        | 4        | 9        | 22       | 32       | 12       | 11       | 9        | 15       |
| Biology and Natural History.    | —                  | —       | 1        | 1        | 1        | 2        | 2        | 4        | 4        | 5        | 6        | 5        |
| Music ...                       | —                  | —       | —        | —        | —        | —        | —        | —        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 4        |
| Political Science ...           | —                  | —       | —        | 4        | 3        | 13       | 10       | 7        | 7        | 5        | 7        | 2        |
| Studies in Social Science ...   | —                  | —       | 1        | —        | —        | 7        | 7        | 2        | 2        | —        | —        | 12       |
| Sociology ...                   | —                  | —       | 1        | 1        | 4        | 3        | 4        | 3        | 5        | 1        | 3        | 3        |
| Economic Geography ...          | —                  | —       | —        | —        | —        | —        | 1        | —        | —        | 1        | —        | 1        |
| Problems of Reconstruction      | —                  | —       | —        | —        | —        | —        | —        | —        | —        | —        | 5        | 8        |
| Totals ...                      | 2                  | 8       | 39       | 72       | 102      | 117      | 145      | 155      | 121      | 99       | 121      | 153      |

The attendance at the classes is surprisingly regular considering the obstacles presented by industrial conditions,<sup>1</sup> especially by the shift system and overtime, and it is evident that there is very little slackness indeed in this respect. In the year 1913-14 the percentages of effective students<sup>2</sup> were:—

| 90 per cent. and over in 39 Classes. |   |   |   |     |
|--------------------------------------|---|---|---|-----|
| 89-85                                | ” | ” | ” | 51  |
| 84-80                                | ” | ” | ” | 28  |
| 79-75                                | ” | ” | ” | 9   |
| 74-70                                | ” | ” | ” | 7   |
| Under 70                             | ” | ” | ” | 3   |
| No returns                           | ” | ” | ” | 8   |
|                                      |   |   |   | 145 |

The tutorial classes are open to all persons of either sex who desire to study in them, and who will comply with their conditions. The kind of education offered in them, however, naturally attracts some types more than others. Thus, since they are useless for technical or professional advancement, they do not attract the type of man or woman whose main interest is to “get on.” The students, as our tables in Chapter II.<sup>3</sup> show, are drawn from those who have taken an active interest in industrial and other public affairs.

The sacrifices made by tutorial class students to attend the classes and to do the necessary reading and essay work are another illustration of their quality. Long hours and exhausting work, overtime and unemployment, the pressure of voluntary public work, and even the shift-system do not prevent the great mass of members from fulfilling the onerous conditions of membership; the proportion of attendances made to attendances possible is usually 75 per cent. or over. The classes have acquired a new social importance from the “missionary” or “extension” work undertaken by them. One student has given as many as 77 lectures in one winter, taking complete responsibility for four classes and submitting his notes beforehand to his tutor for correction. The four classes in the Potteries have established an organisation which is maintaining some 25 daughter classes, all taken by voluntary teachers.<sup>4</sup> Similar work is being done elsewhere, either by the direct method of establishing daughter classes or by permeating existing organisations—literary societies, co-operative educational activities, adult schools, trades councils, &c.—and raising the standard of voluntary education generally. It is worth noting that the officials and members of the Executive Committee of the W.E.A. District which organises most tutorial classes (more than one-third of the whole) are or have been either tutors or students of tutorial classes.

The tutors of the classes are appointed by the University Joint Committees. They are usually men and women of good academic qualifications, who, in addition, have some experience of working class conditions and have proved their fitness by preliminary work in this particular field. They consist (a) of those who are engaged mainly in the internal work of a university, such as professors, lecturers, or

<sup>1</sup> See the Committee's Interim Report on “Industrial and Social Conditions in relation to Adult Education.” Cd. 9107.

<sup>2</sup> By “effective students” is meant those who have satisfied the conditions of the Board of Education Regulations.

<sup>3</sup> Pages 58-9.

<sup>4</sup> See a later section of this Appendix, “Adult Education in North Staffordshire,” pp. 296 *et seq.*



college tutors, and who are able to take one or two extra-mural classes; (b) persons (usually of university education) engaged in other occupations, who are able to take one or two classes in their leisure time; (c) persons giving their whole time to the conduct of tutorial classes; that is, taking four or five classes weekly throughout the session. The total number of tutors employed during 1913-14 in the classes as a whole was 71, of whom 63 were men and 8 women.

In England and Wales the financial cost of tutorial classes, except expenses which are purely local in their incidence, is borne by the University Joint Committees. The chief items of expenditure are tutors' salaries and travelling expenses, cost of books for class libraries, and the cost of administration. This expenditure is met from three main sources: (1) contributions from universities and colleges; (2) grants from the Board of Education; (3) grants from Local Education Authorities. The contributions from university and college sources differ from one university to another. The grant made by the Board of Education was in 1917 increased from £30 to £45 per annum per class, or three quarters of the tutor's salary (exclusive of travelling expenses) whichever may be the less. The grant is contingent on compliance with the Board's Regulations and, in particular, on the condition that "the number of original students who attend not less than 66 per cent. of the meetings of the class during the year, and do such written work as may be required by the tutor, reaches not less than two-thirds of the total number of original students, or 12 in all (whichever is the higher) for a class in its first year, half the number of original students, or 9 in all, for a class in its second year, and one-third of the number of original students, or 6 in all, for a class in its third year or any later year."

The grants paid by Local Authorities vary from one area to another. In a few cases the L.E.A. has undertaken full financial responsibility, and in others grants ranging from £5 to £25 per class are made. In addition, it should be stated that the Gilchrist Education Trust has rendered valuable financial aid to the movement by making grants to certain classes for a number of years past. The total sums obtained from the various sources during the years 1908 to 1913, inclusive, are set out in the following table:—

|                               |     |     |     |     |         |
|-------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------|
|                               |     |     |     |     | £       |
| From Universities             | ... | ... | ... | ... | 17,440  |
| „ Board of Education          | ... | ... | ... | ... | 12,000  |
| „ Local Education Authorities | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6,100   |
| „ Sundry sources              | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2,000   |
|                               |     |     |     |     | <hr/>   |
|                               |     |     |     |     | £37,540 |
|                               |     |     |     |     | <hr/>   |

The salaries of the tutors are the heaviest item of expenditure, and these salaries vary in the different Joint Committees, the lowest salary paid in England and Wales being £60 and the highest £80 per annum per class. The fees charged to students are only nominal, the average being about 2s. 6d. for the session.

The purely local expenditure of centres, such as hire of room, lighting and heating, class secretary's expenses, &c., is borne by the students or by their voluntary organisations which are locally responsible for the class. These voluntary bodies usually also bear the cost of the preliminary organisation of the tutorial class.

In Scotland the cost of the classes is met by the School Boards as the bodies financially responsible. Their chief source of income is the State grant which is small in amount. At both Aberdeen and Edinburgh the

University provides a class room, with heating and lighting, free, and at Aberdeen contributes £5 a year to each class for the purchasing of books. The tutor's fee for the Aberdeen classes was fixed at £40 for the session of 24 meetings, and for Edinburgh classes at the surprisingly low sum of £20.

The local management of each class is in the hands of the students themselves or of their organisations; the central administration of the tutorial classes conducted by each university is in the hands of a Joint Committee acting as the supervising body under the Board of Education Regulations for Tutorial Classes. The constitution of these committees is democratic in character and follows the lines laid down in the Report on "Oxford and Working-Class Education" issued in 1908,<sup>1</sup> which made the following suggestion:—

"That the Committee consist of not less than five, nor more than seven, representatives of the University . . . and an equal number of representatives of working-class institutions and organisations, appointed through the Workers' Educational Association."

This has now become the normal composition of Joint Committees in England and Wales, the two exceptions being Leeds and Sheffield. Each Committee has two Joint Honorary Secretaries, one to represent the university and the other the labour side, the latter being, as a general rule, the W.E.A. District Secretary. In two cases, London and Oxford, an Organising Secretary has been appointed to devote himself entirely to the management of the classes. In the case of Leeds there are five representatives of the University, seven of the W.E.A. and seven of the West Riding County Council. The Sheffield Joint Committee is formed as follows:—Seven representatives of the W.E.A. Branch, four representatives of the Yorkshire District of the W.E.A., five representatives of the West Riding Council, six representatives of the University Council, and five representatives of the University Senate. The University College of North Wales, Bangor, has not yet formed a Joint Committee on constitutional lines, but is proposing to do so in the near future.

In Scotland the position differs from that in England and Wales owing to the fact that the Scottish Education Department can make grants to tutorial classes only through the School Boards, which, therefore, have to take financial responsibility for the classes and are in consequence entitled to control them. At Aberdeen an arrangement has been come to whereby the control of the classes is vested in a Joint Committee of representatives of the three bodies interested—the University, the School Board, and the W.E.A. In Edinburgh there is an Advisory Committee appointed by the local W.E.A. Branch on which representatives of the University sit. The functions of this committee are to visit the classes and to report on their progress and, generally, to make recommendations to the School Board, in whose hands, it would appear, remains the ultimate control of the classes. The position in Scotland as to the control of, and educational responsibility for, the classes seems to us to be undefined and unsatisfactory. In England and Wales tutorial classes are regarded as definitely coming within the educational province of the university, and their educational control and supervision is rightly vested in a University Committee, on which labour has equal representation. In Scotland, owing to the difference in the education laws, this educational responsibility rests ultimately with the School Boards.

<sup>1</sup> *A Report on Oxford and Working-Class Education*, 1908, published by the Clarendon Press, 1s.

Thus, there is a danger that the tutorial classes may tend to be regarded as of the same standard as evening continuation classes. (Indeed, the assumption that they are so regarded in Edinburgh might account for the absurdly inadequate fee of £20 paid to tutors in that city for a full session's work.) Then there is the further danger that representatives of the students may not have that effective voice in the control and supervision of the classes which in England and Wales has proved so instrumental to their success.

The following table, based upon the latest information available, will give some idea of the organisations represented on Joint Committees:—

|                        | Local and National<br>W.E.A. | Co-operative Union<br>and Societies. | Trades and Labour<br>Councils. | Adult Schools, &c. | Miners' Associa-<br>tions. | N. U. R. | Clerks. | Chambers'<br>Union. | Boot and Shoe<br>Operatives. | Printers' Associa-<br>tions. | Teachers. | Party Ctte of Trade<br>Union Congress. | Workers' Union. | Friendly Societies. | Miscellaneous. | Total. |
|------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|----------|---------|---------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------|--|-----------------|---------------------|----------------|--------|
| Birmingham             | 2                            | 2                                    | 1                              | 1                  | —                          | —        | —       | 1                   | —                            | —                            | —         | —                                      | —               | —                   | —              | 7      |
| Bristol ...            | 2                            | 1                                    | —                              | —                  | 1                          | —        | —       | —                   | 1                            | —                            | —         | —                                      | —               | —                   | 1              | 6      |
| Cambridge ...          | 3                            | —                                    | —                              | —                  | —                          | —        | —       | —                   | —                            | 1                            | —         | —                                      | —               | —                   | 1              | 5*     |
| Durham Colls.          | 1                            | 2                                    | —                              | —                  | 1                          | —        | —       | —                   | —                            | —                            | 1         | —                                      | —               | —                   | 1              | 6      |
| Newcastle ...          | 1                            | 1                                    | 2                              | 1                  | 2                          | —        | —       | —                   | —                            | —                            | —         | —                                      | —               | —                   | —              | 7      |
| Leeds ...              | 2                            | 1                                    | 2                              | 2                  | —                          | —        | —       | —                   | —                            | —                            | —         | —                                      | —               | —                   | —              | 7      |
| Liverpool ...          | 4                            | 1                                    | 2                              | —                  | —                          | —        | —       | —                   | —                            | —                            | —         | —                                      | —               | —                   | —              | 7      |
| London ...             | 2                            | 1                                    | —                              | —                  | —                          | 1        | 1       | —                   | —                            | —                            | —         | —                                      | 1               | —                   | 1              | 7      |
| Manchester ...         | 2                            | 2                                    | 2                              | —                  | —                          | 1        | —       | —                   | —                            | —                            | —         | —                                      | —               | —                   | —              | 7      |
| Nottingham U.<br>Coll. | —                            | 2                                    | 1                              | 2                  | 1                          | —        | 1       | —                   | —                            | —                            | —         | —                                      | —               | —                   | —              | 7      |
| Oxford... ...          | 2                            | 1                                    | —                              | —                  | —                          | —        | —       | —                   | —                            | —                            | —         | 1                                      | —               | —                   | 2              | 7      |
| Sheffield ...          | 9                            | —                                    | 1                              | 1                  | —                          | —        | —       | —                   | —                            | —                            | —         | —                                      | —               | —                   | —              | 11     |
| Southampton            | 6                            | —                                    | —                              | —                  | —                          | —        | —       | —                   | —                            | —                            | —         | —                                      | —               | —                   | —              | 6      |
| Aberystwyth            | 2                            | —                                    | —                              | —                  | —                          | —        | —       | —                   | —                            | —                            | —         | —                                      | —               | —                   | 3              | 5      |
| Cardiff . ...          | 2                            | —                                    | —                              | —                  | 1                          | —        | —       | —                   | —                            | —                            | —         | —                                      | —               | —                   | 4              | 7      |
|                        | 40                           | 14                                   | 11                             | 7                  | 6                          | 2        | 2       | 1                   | 1                            | 1                            | 1         | 1                                      | 1               | 1                   | 13             | 102    |

\* Proposing to make number up to 7.

It is believed that the principle of placing different departments of university work in the hands of committees containing members who know from their own experience the needs and difficulties of the students is one which is important for the future development of adult education, and which is capable of wide application. It has certainly greatly assisted the growth of the tutorial class movement.

The Central Joint Advisory Committee on Tutorial Classes is, as its name indicates, an advisory body. Each University and University College in England and Wales has representation upon it, together with the Workers' Educational Association and the Joint Committees (including their labour sides) of the following Universities:—Birmingham, Bristol, Cambridge, Durham, Leeds, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Oxford, Sheffield and the University Colleges of Nottingham, Reading, Southampton and Wales (Aberystwyth, Bangor and Cardiff). In its Seventh Annual Report for 1915-16 the Committee describes itself as existing "to further the interests of the tutorial class movement in every possible way and to afford opportunities to the Universities of Great Britain to meet on one Committee to discuss any problems which may arise. . . . The Committee in its advisory capacity is able to con-

sider all questions that concern the general interests of the classes, such as their finances, their relation with the Board of Education, the Gilchrist Trustees, the summer schools arranged for the students, and any emergency that may arise."

This committee is noteworthy as being, as far as we are aware, the first body on which representatives of the whole of the Universities and University Colleges of England and Wales met together for a common purpose. The Board of Education has from the beginning evinced a keen interest in the tutorial class movement, and its encouragement and sympathetic treatment have been powerful influences in the furtherance of the work. The inspection of the classes on the Board's behalf is carried out by two Inspectors specially appointed for the purpose.

Since the first experimental school was held at Oxford in 1910, the university summer schools conducted by several of the tutorial classes committees, have become one of the most valuable and popular adjuncts to the classes. The object of these schools is to bring students into actual contact with the university, to supplement the work done in the classes by the teaching of scholars and specialists in the subjects studied, and to give students from all parts the opportunity of meeting together for the exchange of ideas in the fellowship of common study. The residential schools which take place during July and August at certain of the university centres have grown rapidly in popularity and provide a most valuable addition to the educational facilities for tutorial class students. The schools are open to members of tutorial classes, both men and women, upon recommendation by the class tutor. They offer a course of serious study in university surroundings, with opportunities in some cases of college residence for a limited number of men students. Certain Colleges in Oxford and Cambridge and the University College of Bangor have for some years past given invaluable assistance to the summer schools by placing college accommodation at their disposal, and in 1914 the authorities of Eton College extended the like facilities to the school organised by the London Joint Committee.

The programme of study is intensive in character, and stress is laid upon meeting the needs of each individual student, the chief educational method being that of individual tuition. A few weeks before his visit to the school the student is put into communication with a tutor, usually the one responsible for his work at the school, who will advise him as to reading in the subject he has chosen to study, and set the subject of an essay to be written and brought to the school. At the school the student will spend part of his time in class, but his chief work will be tuition, either alone or in a very small group with his tutor. He will also be expected to read and to write at least one essay each week. In this way a student, in addition to time spent on reading and written work, will on the average be occupied about 20 hours each week, of which half may be spent in class and half in tuition. At Bangor, in 1917, the average time spent in class and under tuition by each student each week was 23 hours, and at Oxford 20 hours. As the great majority of students are manual workers, their stay at the school can only be brief, as a rule not longer than two weeks. Prior to the war an effort was being made with some success to enable students to stay for longer periods; for instance, in 1914 at Oxford 24 students, and at Bangor 8 students, stayed for one month or longer. The Oxford School has now been held in ten successive years and been attended by 1,102 students, of whom 77 have stayed for at least a month. The Bangor School has been held in seven successive years, and has been attended by 676 students, of whom about 35 have

stayed for at least four weeks. In 1914, five residential schools were held, and attended by a total of 372 students, as follows:—

|                          |             |       |           |
|--------------------------|-------------|-------|-----------|
| Bangor, lasting 7 weeks, | attended by | 123   | students. |
| Cambridge „              | 2 „ „       | 22 „  |           |
| Durham „                 | 4 „ „       | 64 „  |           |
| London „                 | 2 „ „       | 22 „  |           |
| Oxford „                 | 8 „ „       | 141 „ |           |

The war naturally placed a check on the development of the schools and of the residential schools, Bangor and Oxford alone have continued without a break. The figures given above of numbers in attendance should not be taken to indicate the full demand, as several schools have been obliged to limit the number of entrants, while, of course, many students have been debarred from attending by the impossibility of meeting expenses.

The Bangor Summer School was organised by a Committee representing the Joint Committees of Belfast, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Nottingham, Sheffield, and Wales, and was held at the University College of North Wales, Bangor; the other schools were organised by the Joint Committees responsible for them. As a rule, the schools are not confined to the students of the Joint Committees responsible for them, but are open to tutorial class students of other universities. The subjects studied at the schools are similar to those taken in the tutorial classes, but cover perhaps a slightly wider field. One of the advantages of the school is that it not only supplements the student's knowledge of the subject he has been studying in his class, but brings him into contact with other branches of knowledge, with the result that his interests are often very much widened. It may be thought that very little educational advance can be made during a student's stay of a week or a fortnight. In one sense this is undoubtedly true, although it must be remembered that in some cases students are continuing their class studies at the school and hearing them elucidated from new points of view by new teachers. Then in the case of those who are able to stay for a month or longer, as special attention is given to the work of these long-period students, very real progress can be made. The educational value of the schools, however, consists not merely in the formal studies but in the opportunity given to students to meet experts in their subjects and university teachers engaged in purely intra-mural work, and for members of classes drawn from all parts of the country, men and women of varied occupations and experience, to meet together to exchange views and to discuss matters of common interest. In these annual gatherings of students and teachers met together in the pursuit of knowledge, there grows up a comradeship and a corporate life which is one of the best products of the summer schools. It is not only that the students learn from the teachers and from each other, but the teachers in turn learn from the students. Teachers engaged entirely in the internal work of a university are brought into close touch with working men and women with first-hand experience of industrial and social problems, who bring new points of view and new ideas to bear upon old subjects. No small part of the educational value of the summer school to the students is the entire change of environment. To come straight from the factory and the mine, from the drab and sordid surroundings of an industrial town to the green lawns and cloistered peace of one of the old universities or to the school held at the University College of Bangor, set between the mountains and the sea, is to step into a new world and to have the receptive powers intensified and the imagination quickened.

Such is the view of the educational value of the change of environment which has been expressed again and again by students themselves, who have declared that it was the first time they had known what it was to have, if only for a short period, adequate facilities for quiet study and reflection. Nothing perhaps so fills one with hope for the possibilities of adult education as a visit to a residential summer school, to meet a gathering of working men and women of all ages whose desire for education has led them to spend in a course of study the only holiday they get in the whole year, and this in most cases a holiday without pay. In addition to the residential schools, gatherings of students in the summer months for educational purposes have been organised from time to time by some of the Joint Committees. For example, for the past five or six years the London Joint Committee have held gatherings of students in the summer on four consecutive Saturday afternoons and evenings, attended by several hundreds of students. A programme of lectures and classes is arranged, and the meetings are open to all attending the classes in the London area, thus providing opportunities not only for students to come into contact with new teachers and lecturers but for bringing together the members of the various London classes, who otherwise would have few, if any, opportunities of meeting.

The Yorkshire District of the Workers' Educational Association in 1919 approached the Joint Committee of the Universities of Leeds and Sheffield with a view to the inauguration of a summer school under the auspices of the Yorkshire Universities. The proposal was favourably received by them and the University of Durham also agreed to co-operate. The school was held in a large boarding school at Saltburn-by-the-Sea in north Yorkshire and proved to be a conspicuous success. It provided ample proof of the need for more summer schools. During the six weeks the Saltburn school was open 138 university tutorial class students or ex-students attended, the majority of whom would, in all probability, not have attended a summer school elsewhere. The average number of students in residence each week was 39·4, the membership of the school being limited to about 40 per week.

The summer schools referred to above are financed from three main sources: (1) The funds of Universities and Colleges, (2) Board of Education grants, (3) Contributions from voluntary bodies and private individuals, *e.g.*, the Gilchrist Educational Trust, the University Women's Scholarship Fund. No charge is made to the students for educational facilities, a payment of a registration fee of 2s. 6d. being the only contribution asked for. Students pay their own expenses incurred in attending the school, such as railway fare, board and lodging, &c., except that some Joint Committees have small funds available for scholarships to make grants in aid to certain students who, without them, would not be able to attend. These grants are used more particularly to enable students to stay for long periods, for, as the average working man and woman receive no wages when on holiday, it is an impossibility for them without some assistance to remain at the school three or four weeks or longer. The contributions made by the Gilchrist Educational Trust have gone to provide scholarships to enable students to spend at least a month at the schools, and have been most helpful in increasing the number of long-period students.

Reference may here be made to an experiment which was made in the summer of 1919. The schools mentioned above, though closely associated with the W.E.A., are conducted under university auspices. During the second fortnight in August, 1919, the London and South-Eastern Districts of the W.E.A. held a school at Canterbury under

W.E.A. auspices. The students, about 25 in number, each week were drawn from classes in the south-eastern counties. The Canterbury school was less elaborate in its organisation and less formal in character than the schools dealt with above. It seems probable that schools of this type will multiply in the near future.

After the tutorial classes had been established a few years, the need arose for some provision for continued study for those students who had passed through a three years' course and who, while not able or willing to undertake another three years of study, wished to spend a year in more advanced study. To meet this need the Board of Education in 1915 introduced into their Regulations clauses which enable grants to be made to Advanced Courses, which must extend over at least 24 weeks. Admission to these courses is limited to those who have passed satisfactorily through an ordinary three years' course and are qualified to enter upon work of a distinctly more advanced standard. The number of students admitted to an advanced course must not be less than 9 nor more than 24. Not less than 12 hours of instruction must be given by the tutor to the class as a whole, and if there are less than 48 hours of such instruction, the maximum grant payable (£45 or three quarters of the tutor's fee, whichever may be the less) will be proportionately reduced. Up to the present 12 Advanced Courses have been recognised by the Board. The number is not large, but the conditions prevailing in war time have been unfavourable to the formation of such classes.

In the summer of 1918 a very interesting and valuable experiment was made by the Leeds University Tutorial Classes Committee in arranging a special class to help tutorial class students to prepare themselves to conduct preparatory classes and study circles. The class was open to students in the university tutorial classes in the Yorkshire district. It was laid down as a general rule that students must have attended a three years' course in order to be eligible to join the class, exceptions being made in the cases of a few very capable students who had not been able to fulfil this condition. Seventeen students (10 men and 7 women) joined the class, and with one exception, went through the course. Three groups of subjects were offered for study:—(1) Industrial history and problems (2) Political theory and problems, and (3) Social psychology, and the teaching was done by four tutors, each a specialist in the particular subject taken with the class. Students were divided into three groups, according to the subject they wished to study. The members of each group were allowed to specialize on particular aspects of the subject to meet their individual needs. The course was spread over a period of 16 weeks. For the first three weeks, the students met together as a whole to consider topics common to all groups, and during this time, each student drafted the scheme which individually he wished to follow. There was then a break of a month to allow for reading and private study. Each group then met separately with its own tutor for four meetings, after which came a break of two weeks for further reading and private study. At the end of this period the class as a whole took a brief course (comprising three meetings) in pedagogy, with special reference to the needs of adults. Another break of two weeks followed to allow time for assimilation, after which the groups again met separately for a final three weeks for the purposes of revision. The experiment was highly successful, and both tutors and students are agreed that the course served its purpose admirably. The class was recognised by the Board of Education as a university tutorial class, and it is hoped that the Board may issue special regulations for classes of this description. This is a development which may have an

important bearing on the provision of teachers for non-vocational adult education.

(C) OTHER FORMS OF NON-VOCATIONAL ADULT EDUCATION CARRIED ON BY UNIVERSITIES.

In addition to the ordinary extension courses conducted by the universities, public lectures have been delivered in all the universities, which have been open to, and have been attended almost entirely by, adults. Some of these were single lectures, others were short courses, and were arranged from time to time according to the needs or opportunities of the moment. The war, for example, naturally evoked many such lectures elucidating the causes and issues of the struggle, the history of the belligerent countries, etc. They were not associated with any class work or scheme of study, but their value lay rather in stimulating interest in subjects of common concern. They may be regarded in varying degrees as directly educational. The following particulars, chosen haphazard, will illustrate what is being done by the various universities in this field. At Manchester large audiences were attracted in 1916-17 by a special course of lectures divided into three groups on "Problems of the War and of the Settlement." The course dealt with the "Problems of International Relations," the "Problems of the British Empire" and the "Problems of Nationality." The audience was drawn from all classes of society. A similar course was arranged for 1917-18, on the subject of "The Countries of the Allies." This course was arranged in conjunction with the "Fight for Right" Movement, the Royal Colonial Institute, and the Council for the Study of International Relations. The University of Edinburgh in 1917-18 conducted a course of four lectures on "Imperial Reconstruction," and a course on "Economic Conditions in Russia," delivered in the University. At Sheffield in 1914, 13 popular lectures were given in the University on Saturday nights, at which the average attendance per lecture was 269. During 1916-17 the University College of Southampton arranged courses of lectures, open to the general public, in the following subjects:—"Molière" (attendance 120); "The Chief Areas of the War" (attendance 400); "The History of Modern Philosophy from Descartes to Kant" (attendance 60). To these must be added lectures given in the town before the literary and philosophical and other societies, to wounded soldiers and many other occasional lectures. At Durham lectures are given at adult schools, brotherhoods, literary societies, and in the pit villages. At Leeds many public lectures (single lectures and courses) are held in the University. In many of the universities special lectures have been given by professors and lecturers to audiences outside the universities; and in this connection the lectures organised by the Y.M.C.A. have recently played an important part—not only those organised in France, but those organised mainly in industrial centres in England.

All the universities are now developing their facilities for post-graduate and research work, but as far as we have been able to ascertain, these have little or no application to non-vocational adult education. Several universities, *e.g.*, Liverpool, London, Manchester, have, we understand, granted certain facilities for advanced study in the University in the evening to students who have passed through tutorial class courses. This is a practice which we hope will be extended and developed in the future. In all the universities provision has recently



been made for special courses of instruction in social science, and in particular in training for welfare work. For the most part this provision will be made use of, no doubt, by persons who intend to fit themselves for positions as welfare workers and similar posts. At the same time, there will probably be a few persons here and there, keenly interested in social welfare and devoting their leisure time to some branch of it, who will be able to take advantage of these schemes of study in social science. There is a large number of men and women throughout the country engaged in various occupations who have a keen interest in and who devote their spare time to social service, and it will be all to the good if the schemes of study now in operation at the universities are open to, and draw into them, some of these voluntary social workers, for whom the future promises many new avenues of usefulness.

## (II.) LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES.

By far the greater bulk of the work of Local Education Authorities in Great Britain is concerned with the children in the Elementary Schools. There is a relatively small number of pupils in Day Technical and Art Schools, and a much larger number in Evening Continuation and Technical Schools, a considerable proportion being boys and girls who have recently left the Elementary Schools.<sup>1</sup> The predominant aim of evening school work is vocational, though the classes in languages, etc., are attended by students for non-vocational reasons. Such non-technical classes as are held are eligible for Board of Education grants under the same regulations as technical classes. In practice it is not possible to separate the technical students from others attending the same classes. Almost all local education authorities conducting evening classes have classes in English, French and other languages, art, music, science and physical training. But those who

<sup>1</sup> Number of pupils in England and Wales during 1912-13 attending :—

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| <i>Public Elementary Schools</i> ... .. | 6,057,417 |
| <i>Secondary Schools</i> ... ..         | 187,647   |
| <i>Technical Institution Courses—</i>   |           |
| Under 18 years of age ... ..            | 687       |
| 18 years and under 21 ... ..            | 623       |
| 21 years and over ... ..                | 185       |
|   | <hr/>     |
|   | 1,495     |
| <i>Day Technical Classes—</i>           |           |
| Under 18 years of age ... ..            | 9,389     |
| 18 years and under 21 ... ..            | 1,067     |
| 21 years and over ... ..                | 2,745     |
|   | <hr/>     |
|   | 13,201    |
| <i>Schools of Art—</i>                  |           |
| Under 18 years of age ... ..            | 16,214    |
| 18 years and under 21 ... ..            | 7,561     |
| 21 years and over ... ..                | 17,112    |
|   | <hr/>     |
|   | 40,887    |
| <i>Art Classes—</i>                     |           |
| Under 18 years of age ... ..            | 1,139     |
| 18 years and under 21 ... ..            | 505       |
| 21 years and over ... ..                | 1,440     |
|   | <hr/>     |
|   | 3,084     |
| <i>Evening Classes—</i>                 |           |
| Under 18 years of age ... ..            | 402,434   |
| 18 years and under 21 ... ..            | 122,965   |
| 21 years and over ... ..                | 273,482   |
|   | <hr/>     |
|   | 798,881   |

attend these classes are often preparing for examinations and taking them as part of a course of technical training. It is not, of course, suggested that these or other more purely technical classes are without considerable educational value. What we are concerned with, however, is the preponderant influence of technical ends in the evening classes provided by Local Authorities. It is true that these classes are open to all who are able to benefit by them, and that Local Education Authorities are generally willing to arrange for a class in any subject in which a prescribed number of students present themselves.

From the point of view of our terms of reference probably the most important phase of education carried on by local authorities is the work of the municipal schools of art. These institutions are primarily concerned with studies directly connected with the occupations of the students. Nevertheless, the training which is provided, whatever its vocational object may be, is inevitably humanistic in character, and has a high cultural value. The proportion of students who attend schools of art because of their interest in the subject itself and in order to satisfy their personal needs is considerable and probably in excess of the number of students attending classes in commercial and industrial subjects for other than vocational purposes.

In England and Wales by far the greater proportion of the provision made by Local Authorities for further education is primarily vocational in character. In Scotland, we are assured that the dominant motive is utilitarian; in the urban areas of South Wales, we are told that the evening classes have almost all a vocational bias. Non-vocational students, though free to attend, have not done so, speaking generally, in any large numbers.

The reasons are various. In the first place, the fact that Local Education Authorities are concerned almost entirely with children and adolescents and, in a less degree, with older students seeking vocational instruction, has determined the spirit of their administration and given rise to a tradition unsuitable to the development of non-vocational education. In the case of children, who are not free agents, courses of study are naturally determined for them by others, whilst in the case of vocational education, the choice of subject and method of treatment are determined by the immediate end in view, whether it be a qualifying examination or direct economic advancement. But adult non-vocational education, as is shown in our Report, requires a freedom and initiative on the part of the students which is foreign to the highly centralised administration of the Local Authority. The Local Authority labours under other handicaps. Schools do not make attractive meeting places for adults. The equipment and seating accommodation are planned for younger people. There is, moreover, a certain shamefacedness about "going to school."

It is to be feared that there is still a number of education committees who are unable to understand a desire for education of no direct utilitarian value, unless it be for purposes of personal accomplishment, and who suspect dark motives in the minds of those who desire such education. More especially is this so where the demand is for the study of problems which are controversial. It is within our knowledge that there are even to-day town councillors to whom the term "economics" is synonymous with "socialism." The majority of those who most desire to study do so probably because of the interest they have already taken in industrial or other public affairs. They include, for example,

a large number of active trade unionists and local trade union officials. This is presumably the basis for the charge sometimes made by Local Authorities, and suggested even by some members of universities, that the classes "encourage discontent and socialism." On the other hand, there is in the minds of at least a section of the organised workers a feeling of suspicion directed towards such facilities for classes as are offered by Local Authorities. This we have found to be the case in England, Wales and Scotland alike. It was the Committee of an English Local Authority who replied to a tutor who asked for the loan of a room in which the students could meet, "If we let you have a room, you will make the place a den of anarchists." One who is closely identified with adult education in South Wales informs us that "considerable suspicion exists between the municipal authorities and the organised workers. Classes on economics are regarded with horror by the conservative councillor, and education of the ordinary municipal type is discredited by the intelligent workman." A Scottish trade union official states that "there can be no doubt of the suspicious hostility with which a large and intelligent section of the working class views classes . . . run by School Boards." It may be, of course, that with a growing experience, these defects will gradually be eradicated. There are, indeed, numerous examples to be quoted showing the change which is already taking place.

The non-vocational institutes founded by the London County Council in 1913 mark a departure from the older traditions. In the year before the war the Education Committee of the London County Council decided, owing to the defective attendance at their evening schools, to reorganise their system of evening education, to make fuller provision for non-vocational subjects and to make every effort to infuse freshness and attractiveness into the continuation school system. The large body of work, partly domestic (cookery, laundry and housewifery), partly health (first aid, home nursing, infant care, &c.), and partly needlework (needlework, home dressmaking and home millinery) was grouped and organised in women's institutes, where non-vocational subjects were also provided. In addition to a number of "free institutes" in which a general education was given, it was also decided to establish institutes for students over eighteen years of age, in which instruction was limited to non-vocational subjects. A number of full-time responsible masters and mistresses were appointed and a further number were relieved from half their day school duties.

As an example of the character of some of the institutes, reference may be made to the Bath Street Women's Free Institute. In 1916-17, there were enrolled 1,036 students, of whom 638 were over eighteen years of age and 494 over twenty-one years of age. Amongst the students there were about fifty married women. The students were mainly machinists and factory hands, "warehouse runners," laundry girls, junior clerks, milliners, dressmakers and shop assistants. The work is carried on by means of classes at the Institute, by evening and afternoon classes at clubs, and at factories when opportunities offer. In addition to classes and practical work in cookery, laundry, housewifery, dress-making, millinery, and homecraft, and classes in English subjects, there were two circles, in connection with the library of the Institute, under the auspices of the National Home Reading Union. The senior students also formed a W.E.A. circle and obtained from the Association a lecturer on social history. There were various social activities, *e.g.*, concerts,

dancing and rambling clubs, outdoor games, etc. A committee of students assisted the staff on the social side of the work of the Institute.

In the session 1918-19, there were in London 57 women's institutes, offering instruction for girls and women in the subjects outlined above, and in English, social history, literature, vocal music, drawing and physical exercises. Many of these institutes contain a library as well as reading and social rooms, to which newspapers and periodicals are supplied. Students are also able to obtain light refreshments at moderate charges. The women's institutes are usually open two evenings a week. In 1918-19 there were 29 general institutes included in the list of institutions of the London County Council. These are situated mainly in the outlying districts of London and on account of their distance from a polytechnic, technical institute or commercial institute, the curricula are intended to satisfy the needs of a variety of students. The "free institutes" numbered 10, of which 8 were open to both men and women and two to men only. Of special interest are the two literary institutes which make provision for "instruction in subjects of a cultural character, including art, music, history, literature and science." During 1918-19, there were about 250 students enrolled in the two literary institutes. Although greatly hampered by war conditions the different forms of institute have met with considerable success and, by some measure of self-government on the part of the students and of more developed corporate life, have acquired an atmosphere which is distinctly more attractive to adult students than that of the ordinary evening school. The social activities connected with the institutes have undoubtedly been a strong influence.

The Ashton Gate Men's Evening Institute at Bristol is of a similar type. A class for men was opened in one of the evening schools in 1895. A few years later, the class having increased in size, the Men's Institute was opened and this class transferred to it. It has run continuously each winter for twelve years until 1915, when it was not re-opened owing to the war. The curriculum included English composition, literature, mathematics, the duties of citizenship and the science of common things. Lectures on local government were given by magistrates, city councillors, officials, etc., and papers were read by students with discussions following. During the seven years prior to the war the average number of entrants was 48 and the average number of hours' instruction for students 52. The majority of the students were men over 25 years of age and manual workers.

One of the most remarkable developments of recent years has been the rapidly increasing provision which has been made by Local Authorities for classes in domestic and allied subjects. This activity is not perhaps to be regarded as strictly vocational. It has certainly led to the study of subjects of considerable educational value, as for example, hygiene and public health, child study, &c.

In Scotland the position is much the same as in England and Wales. The School Boards provide evening schools, and for the most part the students attend for vocational instruction. A minority of the students attend the schools for the purpose of improving their general education and take up the study of history, geography, civics, &c. In Dundee special classes are arranged in some of the evening schools in non-vocational subjects for men over twenty years of age, and though several of these classes have been quite successful, the numbers attending are not large.

Perhaps the greatest service which Local Education Authorities have rendered to adult education is not so much through direct provision as by means of assistance to other agencies. They have given considerable financial support to university tutorial classes. For example, in the winter of 1913-14 the Local Authorities of England and Wales contributed over £2,000 to the cost of tutorial classes, and from the rise of these classes in 1908 to 1913 they provided over £6,000, or nearly one-sixth of the total expenditure on tutorial classes during these years. Certain Local Authorities assist university extension lecture courses held in their areas. Generally the assistance given takes the form of an annual grant usually of about £5 to £10; in some cases any deficit on the courses is met by the authority; in a few instances the whole financial burden is met by the Local Education Authority. At Bournemouth the extension courses are financed mainly by the Local Education Authority and form an integral part of the regular curriculum of the Municipal College.

Local Authorities also provide classes to meet the needs of groups of students organised by voluntary bodies. In some parts of the country classes have been arranged at the instance of the Workers' Educational Association; and most Local Authorities will willingly provide accommodation for a class arranged by and conducted under the auspices of a voluntary body.

Mention should be made of the voluntary activities arising out of the work of Local Education Authorities, such, for example, as old scholars' clubs. We may perhaps refer by way of illustration to the Old Scholars' Association Historical Society in connection with Deane Schools, Bolton. The Society was formed in 1907 by old scholars who were desirous of maintaining the interest in history which they had gained in their school days. Lectures on historical subjects followed by discussions are arranged regularly. Other activities include the reading of papers by members, and the preparation of book lists bearing on the lectures. The town librarian is also librarian of the Society. During the summer visits are paid to places of historical interest. There are about 90 members of the Society and the attendance at lectures varies between 65 and 80. The activities of old scholars' clubs run along various lines and in many instances their purpose is recreational and social rather than educational. These associations of old scholars of elementary, secondary, technical and evening schools, however, are of interest as outgrowths of the corporate spirit in the schools.

As an example of the assistance some Local Authorities give to non-vocational education we may refer to the Staffordshire Education Committee. For the past twenty years it has made grants to University extension lectures, and it has made a grant of £10 to each University Tutorial Class organised by the University of Birmingham in South Staffordshire. It also makes good any deficit on the classes of the North Staffordshire Miners' Higher Education Movement (which usually amounts to between £20 and £30 annually) and allows it free use of rooms belonging to the Authority. In conjunction with the county borough of Stoke-on-Trent it has recently made financial provision for a resident tutor appointed by the Oxford University Tutorial Classes Committee. The Stoke-on-Trent Authority has also now undertaken financial responsibility for five university tutorial classes. In Kent, where a voluntary educational movement has arisen during the war, the County Education Authority has agreed to make a

maximum grant of £25 to each university tutorial class, £10 to each one year class conducted by a qualified tutor and £5 to each study group. The Kent movement will be expected to present the County Authority annually with a rough estimate of the number of classes and groups likely to be conducted during the following session. Local Authorities are not all equally generous in their support of educational activities which they do not completely control, and the movement towards adult education has not become so widely established that all Local Authorities have come in direct contact with it. In many places, it is true to say, no demand has yet been made upon them.

### (III.) VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS.

The most important agencies for the promotion of adult non-vocational education are to be found amongst voluntary organisations. The university tutorial class movement sprang from such activities and it is probably true to say that the greater part of the specifically non-vocational education which is being successfully carried on by Local Authorities is due to the stimulus of voluntary bodies. These organisations have been the mainspring of the growing demand amongst adults for humane education and they have done much by the provision they have made to satisfy the need which they have developed.

The character and standard of their educational provision varies; as also does the scope of their work, the extent of their operations and the strength of their influence. The sum total of their activities before the war was considerable, though incalculable. They formed not so much a series of independent bodies as a closely related movement, with many sides and different methods but with common purpose. Each drew strength from the others, even where their methods were apparently conflicting. There were many "liaison officers" knitting one organisation with another. Members of the education committees of Co-operative Societies were to be found as active workers in adult schools, whose members in turn were often met in the local branch of the Workers' Educational Association, which perhaps held a class or a series of lectures in a Working Men's Club or a Trades Hall. A member of the W.E.A. might become a member of a class held under the auspices of the Labour College or vice versa. The association of these movements with institutions such as Ruskin College, Fircroft and the non-residential "Settlements" was very close. There were many points of contact between the primarily educational organisations and political and propagandist bodies and religious organisations. The accumulated experience of the latter has to a considerable degree influenced the programme and policies of the former and educational movements drew most of their keenest supporters from the ranks of other organisations.

On the other hand these gains have been repaid by the assistance which the educational agencies have been to other than purely educational bodies. Political clubs and organisations, trade unions, women's co-operative guilds, suffrage societies, and a host of similar bodies have attracted into membership both men and women for political, industrial or propaganda purposes. We have no doubt of the considerable extent to which an interest in education has been aroused by connection with one or other of these organisations. Some indeed, perhaps in an informal way, have provided educational facilities on their own account. They are, however, now being increasingly helped by voluntary educational organisations. The literary, debating, dramatic, and similar

societies which often form an integral part of the organised activities of the churches have, with varying degrees of success, greatly furthered educational work. The interests aroused, here and there, led men and women to more serious study under the auspices of one or other of the educational organisations and institutions, whilst these societies themselves are often indebted to the services of active members of educational bodies for lectures or courses of lectures.

Though all these varied activities pursue their own interests and maintain their independence, there was before the war a common leaven at work and increasing co-operation. There was an educational revival, diffused in its influence, though by no means fully conscious of the road, it should follow.

We may now refer briefly to the various voluntary organisations and institutions to whose efforts the large volume of educational work carried on before and even during the war is in the main due.

#### (A) THE ADULT SCHOOL MOVEMENT.

The purpose of the Adult School is defined as being "to intensify the social spirit by associating men together for the free study of the deeper problems of life, viewed in relation to the ideal of manhood set before them in the Gospels." The adult schools are undenominational, and their members include adherents of almost every religious persuasion. There are schools which number amongst their attenders men who are avowed atheists and agnostics, yet the foundation of the work of the schools is systematic Bible study. As, however, the movement has striven against the recognition of any fundamental distinction between religious and secular questions, its interests have extended far beyond the Bible lesson. A large number, though by no means all the Schools, arrange during what is called "the first half-hour" lectures on a variety of subjects. There is now a tendency to systematise these lectures into connected courses and thereby to increase their educational value. The Report of the National Adult School Union for the year 1914 states that "the two outstanding features of this period were (1) the increased interest in the study of social conditions and problems, and (2) the efforts to train and equip men and women to lead their fellows in this special work as well as in the equally important and general work of the schools. The method adopted by the Adult Schools is one of free discussion. This applies both to the Bible lesson and the first half-hour.

For purposes of organisation the country is divided up into Adult School Unions, affiliating practically all the schools. These Unions undertake extension work, and seek to strengthen existing Schools in all possible ways. They are federated into the National Adult School Union, which has taken the place of the Friends' First Day School Association as the sole federating body for the movement. The National Adult School Union is not empowered to exercise any constitutional control over the Federated Unions. Its function is to advance the adult school movement as a whole and to form through its Council a united executive body for the purpose of dealing with questions affecting the whole movement. The women members of the National Council constitute a committee for developing the movement amongst women.

Immediately prior to the outbreak of the war, there were in England, Scotland and Wales over 1,800 adult schools, with a total membership of over 80,000 men and women. The schools are somewhat unevenly distributed throughout the country, though they are to be found in both

urban and rural areas. The movement has never taken root in Scotland as it has done south of the Tweed. The following table gives a rough idea of the distribution of the adult schools in 1914:—

*Table showing Distribution of Adult Schools in Great Britain.*

| Unions.                  | No. of Schools. |        |        | Membership. |        | Average Attendance. |        |
|--------------------------|-----------------|--------|--------|-------------|--------|---------------------|--------|
|                          | Men.            | Women. | Mixed. | Men.        | Women. | Men.                | Women. |
| Bath and Wilts ...       | 16              | 8      | 3      | 367         | 236    | 192                 | 138    |
| Beds., Bucks and Herts   | 33              | 28     | 3      | 1,422       | 1,542  | 821                 | 794    |
| Berks and S. Oxon ...    | 13              | 12     | 3      | 539         | 543    | 350                 | 370    |
| Bristol ...              | 46              | 25     | —      | 2,038       | 908    | 1,240               | 570    |
| Cornwall ...             | 6               | 3      | —      | 555         | 128    | 260                 | 61     |
| Devon ...                | 8               | 6      | 1      | 254         | 167    | 134                 | 94     |
| Dorset and W. Hants      | 15              | 15     | —      | 393         | 648    | 268                 | 378    |
| Durham, South ...        | 11              | 6      | 4      | 533         | 218    | 312                 | 131    |
| Essex and Suffolk ...    | 16              | 12     | 1      | 429         | 448    | 301                 | 304    |
| Gloucester and S. Worcs. | 8               | 3      | 1      | 187         | 119    | 136                 | 67     |
| Hants... ..              | 8               | 9      | —      | 193         | 292    | 100                 | 159    |
| Hereford and Radnor      | 6               | 6      | 1      | 594         | 383    | 344                 | 214    |
| Kent ... ..              | 37              | 43     | 3      | 1,381       | 2,173  | 701                 | 1,195  |
| Lancs. and Cheshire...   | 51              | 31     | 5      | 1,204       | 940    | 649                 | 489    |
| Leicestershire ...       | 86              | 52     | —      | 4,627       | 2,372  | 2,972               | 1,537  |
| Lincolnshire ...         | 14              | 11     | —      | 683         | 747    | 357                 | 351    |
| London ... ..            | 95              | 66     | 7      | 2,732       | 2,848  | 1,710               | 1,674  |
| Midland ... ..           | 195             | 81     | —      | 11,391      | 4,476  | 7,068               | 2,899  |
| Norfolk ... ..           | 52              | 33     | 6      | 2,581       | 1,648  | 1,810               | 1,100  |
| Northants ... ..         | 30              | 32     | 3      | 1,269       | 1,704  | 749                 | 999    |
| Notts ... ..             | 26              | 17     | 1      | 1,417       | 1,088  | 943                 | 652    |
| Scottish ... ..          | 5               | 3      | 2      | 290         | 259    | 159                 | 140    |
| Somerset ... ..          | 25              | 17     | 1      | 766         | 730    | 452                 | 425    |
| Surrey ... ..            | 33              | 24     | —      | 1,572       | 1,222  | 914                 | 589    |
| Sussex ... ..            | 6               | 7      | —      | 93          | 268    | 62                  | 145    |
| Tees-side ... ..         | 6               | 5      | 3      | 227         | 292    | 109                 | 148    |
| Tyne and Wearside ...    | 22              | 16     | —      | 818         | 980    | 453                 | 527    |
| Wales, S. and Mon. ...   | 10              | 3      | —      | 175         | 50     | 100                 | 30     |
| Yorkshire ... ..         | 170             | 136    | 8      | 7,697       | 5,897  | 3,900               | 3,084  |
| Overseas Schools ...     | 27              | 4      | 9      | 680         | 175    | 445                 | 114    |
| Unaffiliated Schools...  | 9               | 7      | 2      | 419         | 358    | 248                 | 235    |
| Total ... ..             | 1,085           | 721    | 67     | 47,526      | 33,859 | 28,259              | 19,718 |

In the following year (December 31st, 1915) there were 1,006 men's schools, 711 women's schools, and 66 mixed schools. The total membership was 41,222 men and 30,514 women, with an average attendance of 23,604 men and 17,734 women. Statistics are not available for the succeeding years.

The schools vary considerably in size, some of the larger possessing as many as 500 members.<sup>1</sup> Except in the case of some women's schools which meet on weekdays, the meetings are held on Sundays. The men's schools usually meet at 8 or 9 a.m.—in some cases even earlier—until 10 or 10.30 a.m. The women generally hold their gatherings in the afternoon. Many schools possess their own buildings, and this enables them the more easily to extend their activities into the

<sup>1</sup> Large schools are organised in divisions, and these again into small groups.



rest of the week. Debating societies, classes and study-circles are then held. Many of the study-circles, however, meet in the homes of members.

Prior to the war the number of week-end lecture schools was considerable. In 1912 nearly 100 were held, and in 1917 the number approached 200. The week-end lecture schools, which are often jointly arranged by two or more schools or by an Adult School Union, usually begin with tea on Saturday and there is a programme of lectures and discussions, perhaps concluding with a "fellowship meeting" on Sunday evening. Generally the lectures are given by a single person. A week-end lecture school may be designed to promote the further study of the Bible or it may be devoted to literature, or social problems. The movement retains the services of two full-time lecturers, who often conduct week-end lecture schools.

Summer schools have become a prominent feature of adult school activities. In 1917-18, twenty-one such schools were held at Woodbrooke, Bournemouth, Lambourne End, Capel, Airton and Bricket Wood, the total number in attendance being, roughly, 340. The Woodbrooke summer school was first held in 1915 and was arranged under the joint auspices of the National Adult School Union and the Woodbrooke Extension Committee. The United Summer School at Swanwick, held under the auspices of the Inter-Denominational Conference of Social Service Unions, is attended by adult school members. The residential schools for women at Penscot and York are referred to in the section of this Survey dealing with "Women and Adult Education."<sup>1</sup>

The Adult School Guest Houses and Holiday Homes—Friedensthal (Scalby), Uffculme (Birmingham), Penscot (Shipham, Somerset), Heys Farm (Clitheroe), Old Hall (Barming, Kent), Barnard Castle, Brideshill (Allendale), High Flatts (Denby Dale), the Holiday Camp at Dronfield Woodhouse, Severn Street Camp (Lickey Hills), and the Women's Bungalow at Finstall—whilst primarily intended as holiday homes, are used for lecture schools and conferences. During the year 1916 there were 454 visitors at Friedensthal and 36 students attended a nature study lecture school there at Easter. The number of guests accommodated in 1917 was 417, whilst in 1918 there were over 500 visitors to the guest house. In 1916 there were 375 visitors at Penscot. There were ten week-end gatherings, of which six were lecture schools; whilst a successful summer school for women, extending over two weeks, was held at Penscot. In the following year there were 418 guests, and the activities of the guest house included two week-end conferences of trade unionists and employers for the discussion of some problems of industrial reconstruction. During 1918 the number of visitors to Penscot was over 600. The guests accommodated at Heys Farm in 1916 and 1917 numbered 500 and 626 respectively. At Barming there were 178 visitors in 1916 and 283 in 1917. In 1919 the London Adult School Union acquired a guest house at the Old Rectory, Stoke, near Guildford. We refer elsewhere to Fircroft and the non-residential settlements which are closely connected with the adult school movement.<sup>2</sup>

The adult school movement has done much to assist the studies of its members by its lesson handbooks and by numerous aids to study. Some of its publications are devoted to Bible study, others to "secular" subjects such as the Health of the State, and the History and Problems of the War.

Mention must be made of the social work, which in many adult schools form so important a part of their activities. The National

<sup>1</sup> See p. 260.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 224-5 and pp. 233-5.

Adult School Union publishes a "Social Service Handbook," and there is a Social Service Committee of the National Council. The activities of the adult schools are varied. They include Borstal work, probation work, attendance at police courts, work amongst the blind, maternity centres, &c. In 1917 a system of correspondence tuition was established of which about 600 students took advantage, 150 students being enrolled in 1918.

The new educational developments in the movement have not, as some of its members feared, weakened its religious purpose. Its social work is, indeed, an application of the religious teaching in the Schools. Dr. Sadler has said that "no one can visit an early Sunday morning adult school without being deeply impressed by the depth of its religious earnestness and the vigour of its social and educational life. The distinctive marks of the movement are the brotherly spirit which unites the members, and the simplicity, reality, commonsense and mutual helpfulness that characterise its work."<sup>1</sup>

Partly as a result of normal growth within the Adult Schools and partly owing to the influence of other movements,<sup>2</sup> there has been in recent years, and more particularly since the beginning of the war, a steady trend in the direction of more systematic study. We may, therefore, expect to see the extension of classes and study-circles in the Schools.

#### (B) THE WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

The Workers' Educational Association is an organisation consisting of working-class and educational bodies and individual members. Its object is to stimulate an interest among the workers in education and to create machinery by which the demand for adult education can be expressed and satisfied. It endeavours to arrange for the provision of such classes and lectures, or other educational work, as the individuals or societies who comprise its branches may desire. This it does in two ways. In the first place, it focusses the demand and organises groups of students for which universities or Local Education Authorities provide educational facilities. In the second place, the Association itself, through its constituent bodies, organises and provides courses of lectures and classes.

The unit of organisation is the branch, which is composed of affiliated societies (*e.g.*, trade union branches, adult schools, co-operative bodies, working men's clubs, and educational organisations) and individuals. The control of the branch is in the hands of a council representative of each affiliated society and a number of persons appointed to represent individual members. The country is divided into a number of districts (of which there are now nine in England, Wales and Scotland each forming a separate District.) The District is governed by a Council consisting of representatives of the branches within its area, societies affiliated to the District, and individual members of the District. The governing body of the Association is the Central Council, which is composed of representatives of the Districts and representatives of national bodies. The national organisations affiliated with the Workers' Educational Association include a number of Trade Unions, the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, the Co-operative Union, the Education Committee of the National Adult

<sup>1</sup> *Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere*, by M. E. Sadler.

<sup>2</sup> In 1913-14 no less than 341 Adult Schools were affiliated to the Workers' Educational Association. Early in 1919 the Education Committee of the National Adult School Union affiliated to the Central Council of the Association.

School Union, the Working Men's Club and Institute Union, the Y.M.C.A., universities, and various other educational bodies.

The growth of the Association, from 1906 up to date, is shown in the following table:—

| —           | Branches. | Affiliated Societies. | Individual Members. |
|-------------|-----------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| 1906 ... .. | 13        | 283                   | 2,612               |
| 1909 ... .. | 54        | 1,124                 | 5,484               |
| 1910 ... .. | 71        | 1,389                 | 5,801               |
| 1911 ... .. | 86        | 1,541                 | 5,345               |
| 1912 ... .. | 110       | 1,879                 | 7,011               |
| 1913 ... .. | 158       | 2,164                 | 8,723               |
| 1914 ... .. | 179       | 2,555                 | 11,430              |
| 1915 ... .. | 173       | 2,409                 | 11,083              |
| 1916 ... .. | 191       | 2,336                 | 10,750              |
| 1917 ... .. | 208       | 2,709                 | 14,697              |
| 1918 ... .. | 219       | 2,525                 | 17,136              |

The nature of the organisations affiliated to the Association may be gathered from the figures given below, from which it will be seen that working-class organisations of various kinds predominate. The statistics relate to the year 1914:—

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Trade Unions, Trade Councils and Trade Union Branches ... ..  | 953 |
| Co-operative Bodies (Co-operative Societies, Co-operative Educational Committees, Co-operative Men's Guilds and Co-operative Women's Guilds) ... .. | 388 |
| Adult Schools and Brotherhoods ... ..   | 341 |
| Working Men's Clubs and Institutes ... ..   | 175 |
| Educational and Literary Societies ... ..   | 151 |
| Teachers' Associations ... ..   | 65  |
| University Bodies ... ..  | 15  |
| Local Education Authorities ... ..  | 16  |
| Various ... ..  | 451 |

The Association (a) co-operates with the University Joint Committees in arranging tutorial classes and generally undertakes the organising work in connection with the formation of such classes, (b) organises and conducts one-year classes, study-circles and courses of lectures and arranges conferences, and (c) undertakes educational propaganda. The university tutorial class movement has already been dealt with, but we may here refer to the close relations which exist between the Workers' Educational Association and the tutorial class movement; for example, the General Secretary of the Association is one of the honorary secretaries of the Oxford University Tutorial Classes Committee, the Secretary of the Midland District of the Workers' Educational Association is one of the secretaries of the Birmingham University Joint Committee, and the Yorkshire District Secretary is joint secretary of the Joint Committees of the Universities of Leeds and Sheffield.

The activities of the Association are varied. In addition to the part which it plays in the organisation of tutorial classes, it undertakes the organisation of classes running for a single winter under the auspices of Local Education Authorities. Most Local Authorities offer to provide classes in response to a demand from a prescribed number of potential students; but they rarely, if ever, take steps to bring students together. The Workers' Educational Association in many parts of the country does this preliminary organising work. It brings together students, ascertains their needs and desires, and then arranges with the Local Education Authority for the provision of a class to meet these expressed needs. In

this case the Authority provides the teacher and the classroom. It occasionally happens, however, that the Workers' Educational Association besides focussing a demand, also satisfies it by the provision of a class under its own auspices. Sometimes the tutor is paid, sometimes unpaid. Some classes are in receipt of Board of Education grants, others are conducted without public financial assistance. One-year classes, whether provided by Local Authorities or the Workers' Educational Association, frequently form the nucleus of a future university tutorial class, and they are often designed deliberately as a preparatory stage in the organisation subsequently of a tutorial class. In this direction, therefore, the bearing of the work of the Workers' Educational Association upon the tutorial class movement is important.

It is by no means easy to draw a distinction between some study circles and some one-year classes with voluntary teachers not working under the regulations of the Board of Education. But in general it may be said that study circles often consist of a smaller number of students, the number of meetings is indeterminate, there is, as a rule, little formal instruction and little paper work done by the members, and the arrangements are on the whole less systematic. Frequently study circles meet in the house of one of the members, and their place of meeting is often changed from time to time. The Workers' Educational Association, in common with other movements, has developed the study circle system and most branches of the Association establish study circles in subjects and on questions for which there is a local demand. It is also common for branches to provide lecturers and teachers and other assistance for affiliated societies and other organisations.

Courses of public lectures are a common feature of Workers' Educational Association activity, and most branches provide speakers for single lectures or courses of lectures for other organisations, or in co-operation with other bodies. Of a somewhat different character are the conferences on questions of public interest which the Workers' Educational Association at times convenes and to which representatives of affiliated bodies and other working-class and educational organisations are invited. Many branches organise visits to places of interest, *e.g.*, municipal institutions, art galleries, places of historical interest, &c.

The classes, study circles, lectures and conferences arranged by the Workers' Educational Association touch a wide range of subjects. History, economics, literature and philosophy are popular subjects, but here and there classes or courses of lectures are held in botany, music, French, hygiene, &c. Many branches arrange classes on questions in which women are peculiarly interested.

It may be observed that the facilities for study offered or arranged by the Workers' Educational Association respond rapidly to the needs and demands of the time. Whereas prior to the war the main demand was for economics and social studies, interest shifted for the time with the outbreak of hostilities. Then modern history, geography, international politics became of supreme interest, and many hundreds of lectures and scores of classes and study circles were arranged to meet the new demand. The result of this work has been that a very large number of men and women have studied the problems involved in and arising out of the war, and this has given an added stimulus and a wider scope to the study of political science, economics and history. As time passed the attention of thoughtful people was turned to the problems of the future, and the change is reflected in the province of politics by the study of post-war problems and questions of reconstruction. The Association has lately organised classes and study circles, courses, lectures and confer-

ences for the consideration of "the problems of reconstruction," "industry after the war," "women in industry after the war," "the League of Nations," and similar topics.

It will be seen from the foregoing description of the activities of the Workers' Educational Association that it is in close relation with the universities and many Local Educational Authorities; it also carries on educational work of a very varied character under its own auspices, and at the same time endeavours to assist other voluntary organisations in the provision of educational facilities.

The Workers' Educational Association is a voluntary organisation, and, except so far as public bodies are affiliated to it, it is financed from voluntary sources. In the case of the branches there is generally a minimum individual membership subscription of 1s. per annum, and a minimum annual subscription of 2s. 6d. for affiliated societies. Sometimes receipts from public lectures form a source of income, and the sale of literature may produce a small surplus towards the funds of the branch.

The Districts of the Association are supported by affiliation fees from societies affiliated to the District, the minimum annual subscription being a guinea, by the affiliation fees of the branches of the Association within the District, and by subscriptions of individual members of the District, the minimum being 2s. 6d. per year. The National Association receives its income from the annual subscriptions (minimum £2 2s.) of affiliated bodies, from the affiliation fees of Districts of the Association and from donations from individuals. Formerly individual membership of the National Association was allowed and individual members had representation on the Central Council. Now, however, though individuals may make donations to the national funds, they are not represented on the Central Council. The branches are autonomous bodies and raise their own funds, which are usually small. The Districts are autonomous and are expected to be self-supporting. Certain Districts, however, are subsidised by the Central Organisation.

The finance of classes organised or conducted by the Workers' Educational Association must be considered separately from the general finances of the Association. In the case of some University Tutorial Classes, where a local contribution is required, a W.E.A. branch may become responsible for it. In other instances where a class receives less than the maximum grant it may undertake to make good the deficit. Where the Workers' Educational Association organises one-year classes, conducted by Local Education Authorities, it does not become involved in any financial responsibility, and the Board of Education grant, if any, is received by the Local Authority. Where the W.E.A. itself conducts classes, the receipts from class fees and Board of Education grants are devoted to meeting the expenses, *e.g.*, tutor's fee, cost of room, &c. The Board of Education does not give grants in aid of the general work of the Association. Its grants are for specific classes, and are used as contributions towards the cost of the classes.

### (C) COLLEGES FOR WORKING PEOPLE.

There is a number of institutions founded at different times and under different kinds of influence, which aim primarily or solely at the provision of education for working people. These institutions include the London Working Men's College (founded 1854), the Vaughan Memorial College, Leicester (founded 1862), the London College for Working Women (founded 1874), Morley College, London (founded 1885), Ruskin College, Oxford (founded 1899), the Labour College,

London (founded 1909), Fircroft, Bournville (founded 1909). The outlook and methods of these various plans of education vary very considerably as will be seen from the brief description of their activities given below.

(1) *London Working-Men's College*.—The London Working-Men's College was established to provide a thorough and systematic education for working men, without taking them from their occupations.

The Council of the College consists primarily of teachers and students. Its composition is as follows:—

- I. The Principal, Vice-Principal, and Bursar ex-officio.
- II. Members of the original council as revised in 1873 (only one survivor of this revised council now remains).
- III. (1) 18 elected members (of whom one-third shall retire each year, but shall be eligible for re-election) to be elected by and from members of the College who are either (a) Teachers, Fellows, Associates or Senior Students, or (b) Students who shall have been members of the College throughout the College year immediately preceding the election, or (c) old members, *i.e.*, those who have attended classes for four years or who have obtained at least two certificates, and have paid the old student's fee.
- (2) 18 co-opted members to be co-opted by the Council, and to be selected as nearly as possible half from the Directors of Studies and half from the voluntary teachers. One-third of each half to retire each year, but to be eligible for re-appointment.
- (3) Nine other co-opted members (one-third of whom shall retire each year but shall be eligible for re-appointment) to be co-opted from among past or present teachers or students, or other persons whose assistance may seem desirable.
- (4) Nine nominated members being nominees for one year.

The number of students in attendance in 1912-13 was 1,436, of which number 37·1 per cent. were engaged in manual occupations and 56·7 per cent. in clerical occupations, whilst 6·2 per cent. of the students did not state the nature of their employment.

The courses of study are as follows:—

- (1) The Lower Division, in which students enter for arithmetic, English grammar, the outlines of English history and geography.
- (2) The Higher Division, which consists of six sections, (1) Mental science, English and classics, (2) Modern languages, (3) Mathematics, (4) Natural and applied science, (5) Art, and (6) Vocal music, violin and orchestral practice, and elocution.
- (3) The Special Division for vocational subjects and ambulance work and gymnastics.

The College has a scheme of examinations and certificates which qualify students to become senior students, associates and Fellows. There is a director of studies for the Lower Division and one for each section of the other Divisions. Some of the teachers are paid; others give their services voluntarily, the latter including ex-students of the College.

The London Working-Men's College has endeavoured to form a corporate spirit amongst those associated with it. It has been described as "a fellowship of friends associated in the common work of teaching

and learning, and bound together by ties of common interests and pursuits." "In the common room," says an account of the College, "the coffee room and the club room, which are under the control of a committee of students, this spirit of good fellowship is at its highest. New members, as soon as they enter, are given a hearty welcome, and form life-long friendships; excellent meals are provided at cost price; debates on topics of current interest are held each week; from time to time there are meetings of students and teachers, smoking concerts, and Sunday evening Shakespeare readings, while newspapers, chess, draughts, &c., are provided. Round the walls hang portraits of the great men of the past—Frederick Denison Maurice, Tom Hughes, R. H. Marks, Dr. Furnivall and many others. These are the men to whom was first due the College spirit which is handed down in ever increasing force by each generation to its successors."

The Maurice Hall in the College holds an audience of 450, where Chamber concerts, performances of the College choir and orchestra, smoking concerts of the College clubs (of which there are sixteen in all), public lectures and College dances are held.

For the year ending March 31st, 1913, the income of the College was £2,580 10s., of which £464 6s. 9d. was derived from fees, and £1,388 9s. 7d. from grants. The latter sum includes £366 13s. 4d. from City Parochial Charities, a sum of £668 11s. 3d. from the Education Committee of the London County Council and £353 5s. being Evening Schools grant from the Board of Education. The remaining sources of income include rents, subscriptions and donations and interest on investments. Establishment and administration expenses amount to £1,746 1s. 11d., and teaching expenses to £824 15s. 8d. Teachers' salaries account for £467 0s. 9d. of the latter sum, the remainder consisting of expenditure upon scientific apparatus, &c. (£217 2s. 11d.), the Library (£62 14s. 5d.), the Museum (£12), &c.

(2) *The Vaughan Memorial College, Leicester.*—The College at Leicester differs in many respects from the London Working Men's College. It more nearly resembles an evening school. The government of the College is vested in 15 Governors. There is a Management Committee elected annually, which consists mainly of teachers and students. Of the latter, there are three men and three women, elected by the students themselves.

During 1913-14 there were 1,880 students enrolled. They numbered 787 men and 1,093 women. Sunday classes are held in Bible study, &c. In 1913-14 there were Sunday classes dealing with "The Early Church," "The True Gospel," "The Life of David," &c. The curriculum of the weeknight classes included English language and literature, French, German, English history, drawing, music, botany, economics, and ambulance work, besides technical subjects. There were special classes for women in the Bible, music, English, French, wood carving, dress-making, needlework and millinery, domestic science, home nursing and ambulance work, and cookery and laundry work. There are many social activities connected with the College; there is a literary and debating society, provident and sick benefit societies; a Christmas club, a book and magazine club. Concerts are held from time to time and there are outdoor activities in the shape of games and country outings.

During the year ending March 31st, 1914, a sum of £231 7s. 4d. was received in students' fees. Board of Education grant amounted to £396 6s. 6d. The remaining important source of income was a sum of £118 0s. 4d. obtained in the form of subscriptions and donations. The chief item of expenditure was teachers' salaries, which totalled

£744 0s. 5d. This, however, includes payments in respect of salaries for the spring term of 1913, as well as for the year ending March 31st, 1914. The total expenditure for the year was £1,190 1s. 8d.

(3) *The London College for Working Women*.—The College for Working Women in Fitzroy Street, London, is the oldest college for women workers at present existent. The aim of the College is “by means of systematic teaching, given in evening classes, to supply to women occupied during the day a higher education than has generally been within their reach,” and further, “to promote mutual help and fellowship between teachers, students, and all members of the College.”

During the year 1916-17 there were 223 students in attendance. The occupations of these students are summarised below :—

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| Book-keepers, Clerks, &c. ... ..                       | 92         |
| Dressmakers, Milliners, Upholsterers, Embroiderers ... | 51         |
| Domestic Servants, Housekeepers, Nurses, &c. ...       | 27         |
| Shop Assistants, &c. ... ..                            | 25         |
| Fancy Trades, &c. ... ..                               | 22         |
| Teachers ... ..  | 5          |
| No occupation * ... ..                                 | 1          |
| <b>Total ... ..</b>                                    | <b>223</b> |

The fees are low and there are in addition a number of scholarships. The holders of scholarships numbered 44 in 1916-17. Scholars are expected to sit for examinations. For example, in the year under review, 45 students sat for examinations in first-aid and home nursing. The curriculum includes English, French, musical drill, ambulance work and astronomy. The majority of the teachers are unpaid. The social side of the College is regarded as extremely important. There are refreshment rooms and reading rooms open every night from 6.30 to 9 p.m. An old-established feature of the College is the holiday guild. By small weekly payments, and also by loans, students are enabled to enjoy a summer holiday.

(4) *Morley College, London*.—The objects of Morley College are :—

- (i) to promote the advanced study of working men and women of subjects of knowledge not directly connected with or applied to any handicraft, trade or business;
- (ii) to assist those whose age prevents them from making use of the ordinary means of instruction, to acquire the requisite elementary knowledge, and
- (iii) to promote social intercourse among those following the above-mentioned pursuits.

The Council and Governing Body includes 10 representatives of the students and 10 representatives of the teaching staff; two of the L.C.C. and three of the City Parochial Charities, and two of the Royal Victoria Hall, together with four co-opted members. There is also an Advisory Committee, composed of six students and three teachers, which is a link between the Governing Body of the College and a medium for organising the social functions of the College.

During the year ending July, 1914, there were 1,125 students on the roll. It is an indication of the serious character of the work of the College that grant was claimed for the year 1913-14 on 708 students, whose total attendances amounted to 28,948 hours.

Morley College offers a very wide scope of subjects. Among the subjects taught in 1913-14 were arithmetic, English, psychology and social philosophy, philosophy, sociology, languages, economics, science, cookery, dressmaking, home nursing, gymnastics, sight-singing, harmony



and counterpoint. The length of these courses varies very considerably. Some are short courses of a few months while others extend over three years. The following table shows the length of the courses offered in 1913-14:—

|  |   |   |   |                                   |           |
|--|---|---|---|-----------------------------------|-----------|
| 2 courses were for a period of over 100 hours. |   |   |   |                                   |           |
| 3  | " | " | " | varying between 70 and 100 hours. |           |
| 14   | " | " | " | "                                 | 50 " 70 " |
| 10   | " | " | " | "                                 | 40 " 50 " |
| 15   | " | " | " | "                                 | 30 " 40 " |
| and 5  | " | " | " | of under 30 hours.                |           |

Social intercourse is fostered by means of the common room, the various clubs, cricket, cycling, French and German, rambling and tennis clubs, the literary and discussion circle, and more purely social functions.

The income of the College for the year ending July 31st, 1914, was £1,738 16s. 3d. Of this sum, £500 was received from the City Parochial Charities, £500 from the London County Council, and £357 1s. from the Board of Education. Students' fees totalled £289 3s. 6d., and there were small receipts from other sources. Administrative expenses were £920 14s. 9d.; salaries of teachers amounted to £575 8s. 8d.

(5) *Ruskin College*.—The object of the education given at Ruskin College is "to equip the students in such a way as to increase their usefulness to the Labour Movement in general, and to the Societies who sent them to the College in particular."

The constitution of Ruskin College is of particular interest since (apart from the Labour College) it is the only college for working people governed directly by working-class organisations. Any trade union, trades and labour council, co-operative society, or other working-class organisation, which at its own expense maintains a student or students at the College, is entitled to have one representative on the Governing Council, elected annually from among its own members. In addition, the Council contains two representatives from national bodies, such as the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, the General Federation of Trade Unions, the Co-operative Union and the Working Men's Club and Institute Union; and there are three consultative members of academic standing, who have no voting powers.

At present the national bodies and trade unions represented are the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, the General Federation of Trade Unions, the Co-operative Union, the Working Men's Club and Institute Union, the Weavers' Amalgamation, the Northumberland Miners' Association, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers and the Workers' Union.

Proposals are on foot, which will take effect in the near future, for altering the constitution so as to allow of one representative on the Council from any working-class organisation or group of organisations which gives an annual subscription or donation to the College funds of £25 and upwards.

In 1913-14 there were 46 students in the College, of whom 12 were foreign students. The remaining 34 were manual workers, except for two clerks, a journalist, a Customs officer, a shop assistant, a grocer and the secretary of a co-operative society.

The College considers that a student requires "in the first place, a good knowledge of the political, constitutional and industrial history of his own country, and some acquaintance with the history of other countries. Secondly, he should understand the working of political institutions—national and local. Thirdly, he must have a clear grasp of economic science. Fourthly, he must possess special knowledge of the history, methods and objects of working-class organisations, such as the trade union and the co-operative movements. Fifthly, he

must learn the art of self-expression, both on paper and in speech, so that he may be able to state his point of view clearly and forcibly as occasion arises. Finally, he must have not merely an intelligent understanding of the society in which he lives, but a clear vision of the better world-wide society, for the realisation of which he is hoping to work."

The curriculum of the College follows these broad lines. It includes social and industrial history, economics, political theory and institutions, and English language and literature. There are alternative courses in the history and practice of co-operation and co-operative book-keeping, or the history and practice of trade unionism and trade union law. There are also optional courses in the history and theory of socialism, current social and political questions, French, German, &c.

The normal course covers two years, and in addition to the foregoing courses of lectures given in the College, private tuition is also given by the tutors. Students attend lectures given in the University. The College also conducts correspondence classes in the subjects of the College curriculum.<sup>1</sup> The staff of the College includes a number of resident tutors and visiting lecturers for particular subjects. Many of the students present themselves for the University of Oxford Diploma in Economics and Political Science; *e.g.*, in 1914, twelve students passed this examination, four with distinction.

Ruskin College is a residential institution. The students take their meals in common, and they arrange among themselves the details of the domestic duties which have to be undertaken. The afternoons are devoted to recreation—football, running, rowing, &c. The College has a choral and musical society and a dramatic society. There is a strong corporate spirit in the College, which non-residential institutions can hardly expect to attain.

During the war Ruskin College has been used for military purposes and the activities of the College were confined mainly to provincial conferences, to which reference is made in the section of the Survey dealing with war-time developments.<sup>2</sup> In the summer of 1918 a summer school was held by the College at St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, and in 1919 a summer school was held in the buildings of the College, and attended by about a hundred students. Students will again go into residence in October, 1919, and a women's hostel is being opened so that women students may be admitted to the College. Another new feature is the arrangement of short residential courses lasting one, two or three months, to meet the needs of those unable to come to the College for a longer period.

The statement of accounts for the year ending July 31st, 1914, shows a total expenditure of £3,760 3s. 5d., and an income of £2,659 14s. 11d. The main sources of income were donations for scholarships (£1,488 13s. 6d.), other donations and subscriptions (£413 4s.), maintenance fund subscription (£331 11s. 6d.), residential fees (£159 4s. 7d.), and correspondence class fees (£134 8s. 6d.). The largest single item of expenditure was £972 3s. 1½d. for provisions. Salaries accounted for £884 7s. 8d., and wages for £365 1s. 2½d. The other heavy items of expenditure were in respect of printing and stationery, travelling and propaganda, utensils and renewals, rates and taxes, &c.

(6) *The Labour College, London.*—The objects of the Central Labour College, as it was originally called, are "to educate and train trade unionists in social science and to take part in the political and industrial life of the labour movement." The College is frankly partisan in its outlook. In the words of its Sub-Warden, "it teaches the workmen to look for the

<sup>1</sup> More than 10,000 students, men and women, have taken one or more of these courses.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 333-4.

causes of social evils and the problems arising therefrom in the material foundation of society; that these causes are in the last analysis economic; that their elimination involves in the first place economic changes of such a character as to lead to the eradication of capitalist economy.

... For this reason, the Labour College lays no claim to being non-partisan or non-political. As it exists for a partisan movement it must be opposed to all those in opposition to that movement. But its partisanship is a consequence of the actual facts which it scientifically unfolds."

The Labour College is established at 13, Penywern Road, Earl's Court. The supreme control of the College is vested in the Board, membership of which is limited to labour organisations, which are eligible for affiliation to the Labour Party, establishing scholarships at the College. In 1914 the Board consisted of four representatives of the South Wales Miners' Federation and two from the National Union of Railwaymen. The Board meets quarterly, and between Board meetings the College is administered by the Staff Committee, which comprises the officers and lecturers appointed by the Board. The students in residence do part of the housework of the College, and this part of the work is usually controlled by them through what is known as the House Meeting.

During the session ending July, 1914, there were twelve students in residence, and in addition two non-residential women students. The South Wales Miners' Federation sent six students, the National Union of Railwaymen two students, and the Notts Miners' Association one student. The Women's League of the Labour College sent the two women students, who were both cotton operatives. Four students were sent by private scholarships, and one attending paid part of the expense himself.

The courses of lectures given at the College throughout the year comprised political economy, industrial history, general history, the history of social movements, English, formal logic, the theory of knowledge, literature, elocution and sociology.

Correspondence tuition is an integral part of the work of the College. During the year 1913-14, the subjects of study and the number of correspondence students taking the courses were as follows:—

|                    |     |     |     |     |    |           |
|--------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|-----------|
| English Grammar    | ... | ... | ... | ... | 47 | Students. |
| Economics          | ... | ... | ... | ... | 27 | "         |
| Logic              | ... | ... | ... | ... | 19 | "         |
| Industrial History | ... | ... | ... | ... | 17 | "         |
| English Literature | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6  | "         |
| Evolution          | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3  | "         |

The College inaugurated a system of "lectures by post." "Only one course," according to Annual Report for 1914, "is so far operative, viz., Industrial History." Classes of this character have been formed at Wolverhampton N.U.R., Shrewsbury N.U.R., Wellington N.U.R., Carlisle N.U.R., Long Eaton Trades Council and a few other places.

The College also conducts "local lecture classes." These classes are organised in some cases as independent Labour College classes by members of the Plebs League with the support of trade union bodies; and in others, jointly with branches of the Independent Labour Party, the British Socialist Party or the Socialist Labour Party. This work was carried on during the year 1913-14 in the North-East Lancashire District, the Rochdale District, the Rhondda Valley, Barry, Bradford, Halifax, Birmingham and Edinburgh. It is said that the provincial classes had "an aggregate membership approximating 1,000."<sup>1</sup>

With the Labour College is closely associated the Plebs League, which is an association of ex-students and supporters of the College. Its object is "to further the interests of independent working-class education as a

<sup>1</sup> The Plebs Magazine, September, 1914.

partisan effort, to improve the position of labour in the present, and to assist ultimately in the abolition of wage-slavery." The League exists to propagate the educational principles and policy for which the College was provided. The practical activities of the Plebs League include the formation of local classes wherever possible under the auspices of trade unions, trades councils, &c. These classes have already been referred to above. Further, the League publishes text-books, study courses and pamphlets, and issues a monthly magazine, "The Plebs."

The Women's League of the Labour College has two main objects—to help forward the educational work of the College by collecting funds for scholarships for men and women, and to develop the social side of the College. The League has taken an active part in promoting the interests of the College.

The College is supported by annual contributions from the National Union of Railwaymen and the South Wales Miners' Federation, from labour organisations, supporters of the labour movement and from the fees paid by students. During the year ending June 30th, 1914, the total expenditure was £3,363 5s. 1d., which was met from the income (which amounted to £1,043 9s. 8d.) and a bank overdraft of £2,363 11s. 8d. The income of the College was obtained mainly from scholarship fees (£423 9s. 4d.), subscriptions to the general fund (£206 4s. 11d.) and from the sale of "benefit tickets," from which £316 7s. 2d. was obtained. The heaviest item of expenditure was catering (£389 5s. 4d.); payments in respect of salaries amounted to £149 10s. 10d.

Some time after the declaration of war a proposal was made to inaugurate a Labour College in Scotland, but no action was possible at the time, though steps are now being taken to establish a College. During the winter of 1917-18 the Provisional Committee started 17 Sunday and Evening Classes in economic and political subjects. The average attendance was over 75 per cent. of the 1,500 students enrolled. The classes were held in various towns in Lanarkshire, Dumbartonshire, Renfrewshire and Fifeshire.

(7) *Fircroft, Birmingham.*—This College, situated at Bournville, Birmingham, was founded in January, 1909. Its foundation was inspired by the visit of a group of people to Denmark four years previously, for the purpose of discovering what that country had to teach in regard to social and educational questions. Inspired in particular by the Danish High Schools, the visitors returned with the idea of founding a similar institution in this country, and later this led to the establishment of Fircroft.

The objects of the College are broadly those of the Danish High School. Its founders, after studying the existing educational facilities, were impressed with the necessity of attempting to lessen the disabilities under which working people in quest of education laboured. It was felt, among other things, that the work of the adult schools and kindred educational bodies needed supplementing in a particular way; that larger opportunities were required of systematic study, combined with a common life and fellowship through which might be developed a clearer discernment of the things of abiding value. Broadly, the aim of the College is to make better citizens.

The College is managed by a Committee of eight members, including representatives of the Adult School Movement and the Workers' Educational Association.

The scheme of study is designed on a broad scale, so that divergencies in need and taste can be met. A point is made of giving individual and direct attention to each student so as to enable him to reap the highest possible advantage from his studies. The subjects include Bible

study, political and social history, economics, English literature, natural science, arithmetic, local government and social problems. Instruction is given in personal hygiene and physical training, and records are kept of the height, weight, and other bodily measurements of students.

The year is divided into three terms, each of twelve weeks' duration. The course of study in each term is complete in itself to meet the needs of those who can stay only for a short period; but students who can stay for longer periods are encouraged to do so. An important feature of the College is the effort it has made to attract a few foreign students. Students from Denmark, and one or two from Norway and Holland have been in residence. Though the College has drawn its students chiefly from the towns, it has been successful in attracting a certain number from rural districts, some of whom on returning home have taken the lead in agricultural co-operation.

The fees, including board, lodging and tuition, were fixed at £10 a term, or, for lesser periods, £1 per week. There are a few bursaries available, and the fees of several students have been provided by Adult School Unions, private individuals, etc. The College has accommodation for 20 residential students.

Arising out of a demand made by adult schools, a scheme of correspondence classes was instituted in the subjects covered by the College curriculum, and proved very successful. The fee charged was 2s. 6d. per term. In addition to the regular work of the term, arrangements are made for holiday settlements and week-end schools.

Early in the war, the College was required for other purposes, and its activities were consequently suspended. It will, however, re-open in the autumn of 1919 with its full complement of 20 students.

(8) *Chorley W.E.A. College*.—The W.E.A. College at Chorley, Lancs., was opened in 1911. It is a non-residential institution and owed its origin to Mr. E. McKnight, the Public Librarian in Chorley. On his death the local branch of the Workers' Educational Association proceeded with the scheme and the College was founded as the Edward McKnight Memorial College. The building is a roomy old house, and there are large grounds attached. The College, which is under the control of the Council of the W.E.A. Branch, is the headquarters of W.E.A. activities in the district. Tutorial and other classes, and courses of lectures are held there. There are also rooms for private study.

Rent, rates, taxes, fuel and lighting are practically the only items of expenditure. During the year ending March 31st, 1919, the total expenditure was £70 15s. 10d. The main sources of income were the rent charged to classes, etc., and voluntary subscriptions.

(9) *Woodbrooke Settlement, Birmingham*.—We include this institution in this section, for though called a "settlement" it more closely resembles a residential college, and, whilst not intended primarily for working people, as are the institutions described above, this seems the most appropriate place to give some account of its work. Woodbrooke, founded in 1903, owes its inspiration largely to the Adult School Movement and the Society of Friends. Its aim is "to be a centre for the diffusion of religious knowledge, a training place for social service, a house of study with university men for those who could otherwise hope for no such advantage." In the original programme the emphasis fell on Bible study, and on the study of Church history, with economics as a subsidiary subject, but lately the study of social questions has taken a more important place. The management of the Settlement is in the hands of a Committee consisting of members of the Society of Friends.

In addition to the opportunities for religious study offered at Woodbrooke, the following courses and lectures are provided:—

- (i) In connection with the Birmingham University, a strong social course has been instituted. The University offers a Social Study Diploma to those who fulfil the conditions of this course.
- (ii) A special course of training for teachers.
- (iii) Local lectures either in Birmingham or other towns are given by members of the extension staff when required.
- (iv) Summer Schools for the study of particular subjects are held from time to time. Three especially successful ones were held in conjunction with the National Adult School Union in the summers of 1915, 1916, and 1919. The subjects studied were "The History of Western Civilisation," "Human Progress in its expression in History" and "The Development of European Thought."

Woodbrooke can accommodate between forty and fifty students. Preference is given to those who intend to pursue a whole year's study, but those who can only come for a few weeks or a term are also welcomed. The fees are £20 per term of eleven weeks. For shorter periods £2 a week is charged.

Woodbrooke has been recognised as a training centre by the Teachers' Training Syndicate of Cambridge University, and it undertakes to prepare eligible candidates for the Cambridge University Teachers' Diploma. The Settlement Committee have under consideration a course in citizenship, and also the institution of a definite course for the study of international relations. Woodbrooke already possesses close and effective links, through former students, with many other countries, especially Holland, Norway and the United States. There is a good library of over 4,000 volumes.

The income in the year 1916 was £3,203, of which £2,391 was received in payments from students and visitors.

#### (D) THE EDUCATIONAL WORK OF SETTLEMENTS.

In this section we propose to review briefly the educational work of Settlements. It is impossible in the space available to deal with the whole of the 45 existing institutions which come under this head, and we have therefore made—more or less at random—a selection which we hope will give some idea of the amount and variety of the work conducted by this class of institution on the educational side. The educational motive played a large part in the founding of the pioneer settlement of Toynbee Hall, and with few if any exceptions those that followed included education among their aims, although their purpose was primarily religious, philanthropic and social. In most cases the settlers found themselves among a poverty and ignorance so supreme that constructive educational work was almost impossible. Serious education could make no appeal until the social and economic conditions of the population among whom they worked were ameliorated, and the greater part of their energies had to be thrown into the paramount task of relieving the poverty and distress around them. In the face of these obstacles, the settlements have made a valuable contribution to adult education among the poorer quarters of our towns and cities. Especially noteworthy is the large part played by the provision of high-class music and drama, in which connection we would refer particularly to the success achieved in this field by Oxford House, at Bethnal Green, in its efforts to popularise Shakespeare.

While, no doubt for the reasons stated above, there has not been up to the present a steady development towards systematic study, it is a

hopeful sign that most of the reports received speak of the desire to advance in this direction in the future, and that there appears to be a growing co-operation between the settlements and the voluntary bodies concerned with adult education. Probably their most useful sphere of activity will lie in developing and systematising their preparatory educational work among the poor and depressed classes, and in making available the specialised knowledge which they possess of the social conditions among which their lot is cast.

Special interest attaches to the new type of non-residential settlements which have sprung up in various places within the last few years. They are as yet experimental, the natural outgrowth of existing educational activities. Their origin is too recent for their possibilities to be fully realised. But of their value even now there can be no doubt. In their case the term "settlement" is somewhat misleading; they tend to be, rather, colleges of a new type, under whose roof a variety of educational work is gathered to form an institution with a corporate life. Swarthmore (Leeds), St. Mary's (York), the Settlement at Lemington-on-Tyne, and the Homestead at Wakefield—all of these founded in the few years immediately preceding the war—were the inspiration of the adults schools or the Society of Friends. Beechcroft (Birkenhead), founded in 1914, is less definitely connected with either. We propose to deal with these newer institutions in this section, as being more easy of reference, and to treat the subject under the two heads—(1) Residential Settlements, (2) Non-residential Settlements.

### (1) *Residential Settlements.*

*Toynbee Hall.*—Toynbee Hall was founded in 1884 in Whitechapel. The objects are defined in a memorandum, from which the following is an extract:—"To provide education and the means of recreation and "enjoyment for the people of the poorer districts of London and other "great cities; to enquire into the conditions of the poor and to consider "and advance plans calculated to promote their welfare."

Education is one of the main features of Toynbee Hall. In 1913-14 the teaching of vocational subjects was abandoned, and since that date the programme has been given up entirely to humanistic studies, a step fully justified by results. The educational scheme generally includes a university extension course, a university tutorial and W.E.A. classes. The scope of the scheme is shown by the programme for 1913-14 which follows:—

"Life of the Nineteenth Century as Represented in English Literature" (University Extension lectures).

Industrial History (2nd year tutorial class).

Economic History (W.E.A. class for women).

Economic Theories.

International Polity.

Geology.

Hygiene, First Aid, and Home Nursing.

French.

German.

Esperanto.

Schools of Painting as illustrated in London Art Galleries.

Drawing and Sketching class.

Gymnastics.

Singing.

Weekly Debates.

Saturday evening popular lantern lectures, interspersed with dramatic performances, including one of Euripides' "Trojan Women."

In addition to the above a dramatic class was started which proved very successful and gave excellent performances. The total number of

students in attendance at lectures and classes during 1913-14 was 480. Besides the activities enumerated above Toynbee Hall has done a remarkable educational work in its series of clubs and societies, which have played a large part in creating a strong corporate life in the settlement. A list of these, together with their average attendances at meetings, is set out below:—

|                         |     |     |     | <i>Autumn.</i> | <i>Winter.</i> | <i>Spring.</i> |
|-------------------------|-----|-----|-----|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Natural History Society | ... | ... | ... | 26             | 26             | 26             |
| Travellers' Club        | ... | ... | ... | 36             | 36             | 39             |
| Shakespeare Society     | ... | ... | ... | 18             | 15             | 12             |
| Antiquarian Society     | ... | ... | ... | 30             | 30             | 30             |
| Travelling Club         | ... | ... | ... | 20             | 19             | 20             |
| Art Club                | ... | ... | ... | 35             | 40             | 38             |

The accounts of the Toynbee Hall Education Committee for 1913-14 show payments amounting to £518 11s. 10d., of which £91 2s. 6d. was for fees of teachers and lecturers; and receipts (including a credit balance at the beginning of the year of £27 18s. 10d.) amounting to £566 7s. 4d. Of this sum £41 9s. 6d. was from students' fees, £92 7s. 6d. grants from Board of Education, and £334 18s. 0d. grant from London County Council.

*Passmore Edwards Settlement.*—This Settlement in Tavistock Place, London, was opened in 1897. One of the main objects of the foundation was educational, as the following extract from a statement of the aims of the original settlement shows:—" . . . with the same sympathies but different experience of life, we meet to exchange ideas and "to discuss social questions in the hope that as we learn to know one another better a feeling of fellowship may arise among us. To these ends we have a library, clubs, lectures, classes, entertainments, &c., and we endeavour to make the Settlement a centre where we may unite our several resources in a social and intellectual home."

Conducted as a men's residential settlement until 1915 it was then converted into a women's residential settlement. A considerable amount of valuable educational work among adults has been accomplished. In 1913-14, excluding the extension lecture course, there was an average weekly attendance of 184 students. The following classes and lectures were held: University extension course, readings from great writers, newspaper class, elocution, Shakespeare reading, French, choral class sight singing, orchestra, appreciation of music, talks on science, gymnasium, art, needlework, dressmaking. A branch of the W.E.A. was formed at the Settlement in 1914, and a class held in modern European history. The Choral Society took part in 1914 in the great Choral Festival at the Crystal Palace. An interesting class is that in appreciation of music. A good many evenings were devoted to an exhaustive study of the works of Chopin, each different group of compositions being examined in turn. The settlement has also a library which issues about 3,500 books in the course of a year. Fiction represents 70 per cent. of the borrowing, but there is a steady demand for poetry, essays, biology and history. The settlement is fortunate in having a beautiful room for its library, and the Library Committee wish to make it a centre of much of the social activity of the settlement. They encourage Associates to come together and discuss the books they read and share ideas with one another.

A dramatic class for girls was held during the winter of 1913-14, and at the end of the course the students performed "The Merchant of Venice." Saturday entertainments were organised, including performances by several London Dramatic and Operatic Societies. Sunday concerts of high-class music were also a feature of the Settlement's activities.



The annual income was a little over £3,000, the main sources being subscriptions and donations and payments by residents. Board of Education grants amounted to £60, and class fees to £15. Of the expenditure, fees to teachers and lecturers accounted for £147.

*Oxford House.*—Oxford House, in Bethnal Green, was founded in 1884. It was established "in order that Oxford men may take part in the social and religious work of the Church in East London: that they may learn something of the life of the poor; may try to better the conditions of the working classes as regards health and recreation, mental culture and spiritual teaching."

Prior to the war courses of lectures were arranged in men's clubs, but these had to be abandoned on the outbreak of hostilities. There is an active Musical and Dramatic Association whose object is to provide the East End with good entertainments. The Settlement has done valuable educational work in relation to music and drama. For 17 years Mr. Charles Fry and his company provided a high standard of entertainment at the Excelsior Hall, and were the pioneers in the movement to popularise Shakespeare. In 1915, however, they were obliged to discontinue, but arrangements have been made with another company to carry on the performance of Shakespeare's plays.

The Oxford House Choral Society gave during the year 1915-16 performances of "Elijah" and Stanford's "Revenge"; also of various operas including "Faust," "Il Trovatore," and "Cavalleria Rusticana" conjointly with the Oxford House Opera Company.

The income of the Settlement is derived mainly from donations, bequests and fees.

*Canning Town Women's Settlement.*—The Canning Town Settlement was founded in 1892 for religious objects. Educational work among women is part of the Settlement's activities.

An active group of the Women's Co-operative Guild holds a class each term. In 1916-17, literature, first aid, and food values were studied, and in the following year the social history of England in the 18th and 19th centuries, and local government. An adult school, with a membership of about 30, meets once a week at the Settlement.

The income for the year 1916 was £2,154. Half of this was received in subscriptions and donations, the other half was made up of payments by residents, and the interest on invested funds.

*Bermondsey Settlement.*—There is an Educational Institute in connection with this Settlement at which both vocational and non-vocational subjects are studied. The educational activity on the humane side is considerable, and includes an annual course of university extension lectures, and classes in history, language and literature, natural science, art, and music. In 1912-13, 600 students were enrolled at the Institute.

The Choral Society give occasional performances of the music they have been studying. In 1911-12 they produced "Judas Maccabæus," Bach's "Passion," "Hear My Prayer"; in 1912-13, "Elijah," "The Messiah," "Merrie England"; and in 1916-17, "Ancient Mariner," "May Queen," etc. There is also a Historical Society which meets monthly, when lectures are given on local or general history. Saturday evening lectures, concerts and social gatherings are a regular feature of the settlement.

The income of the Educational Institute for 1912-13 was £998, including £350 in grants from the London County Council, £58 from the Board of Education, and £15 for Extension Lectures from the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching. Class fees amounted to £107,

and the balance of £467 was provided by the Settlement. Of the payments, teachers' salaries amounted to £308, and the cost of University Extension Lectures to £77. The remainder of the expenditure was concerned chiefly with administration and establishment charges.

*Mansfield House.*—Interesting work among adults is being done in the Education Section of Mansfield House activities. The central purpose of this work is the "interpretation of class to class." For this purpose the Settlement is holding:—

(1) Short social study schools. These consist of about 10 to 20 people, sometimes theological students, sometimes technical students and sometimes other members of the middle class. The syllabus includes talks on social questions from local workers of various types, *e.g.*; directors, teachers, members of boards of guardians, trade unionists, etc.; and visits of observation of an original type are made. These are intended to give the students a vivid impression of the district. "We get them up at 5 in the morning and let them see the boys and girls going to work in the district. We take them to cinema and music halls. We go over schools. We get them into some of the houses."

(2) Spreading among employers the newer ideas as to the humanising of industry. Every works manager in the district has received a carefully prepared digest of the information on health, fatigue and output contained in the Health of Munition Workers' Memorandum and in Goldmarks' book, "Fatigue and Efficiency."

(3) Sending rank and file working people (other than trade union leaders or recognised speakers) to address middle-class audiences.

(4) Acting as amanuensis to working men and women.

Here the object is to put into coherent form the views of working people much as Stephen Reynolds did in "Seems so." A pamphlet on the drink question produced in this way was published by the Settlement some years ago.

(5) Bringing groups of working people into contact with groups of middle-class people and getting them to discuss their points of view. Some of the material so obtained was published as a chapter headed "Class Bitterness" in "The Other War," published by Bell and Sons.

*The Browning Settlement.*—This was opened at the beginning of 1895, in Browning Hall, Walworth. It was founded as a Social, not a University, Settlement, whose object was that those who possess education, wealth, leisure should live amongst those who are less fortunate, in the hope of alleviating and enriching the life of the neighbourhood. It was an attempt to modify the residential separation of the classes. The educational work done is of a varied and somewhat undefined character. From time to time university extension lectures have been tried, but latterly these have not been successful. Other courses, occasionally of a year's duration but more frequently for a term, are held, and a number of reading circles study seriously. Public lectures are very frequent, and where they are supplemented by lantern slides are especially popular. The greater part of the work is done through the P.S.A.'s and Adult Schools, the range of subjects dealt with including philosophy, science, economics, history, biography, music, poetry, art and romance. For women the subjects are mainly home hygiene, cookery, civics, foreign travel, literature.

A good collection of literature on the various subjects studied is available for students in the Dale Library. Another branch of work undertaken by the Settlement should be noticed, for though semi-religious in its aim, it is an educational force. This is the work of the Public Questions Committee, consisting of representatives of Adult Schools, etc., whose aim should be "to advise the Settlement, the neighbourhood

"and the public generally, what in their judgment is the Will of Christ concerning the public questions which from time to time come into special prominence, carefully avoiding any pronouncement that is partisan, sectarian, one-sided and not broadly Christian." Other forms of activity are Saturday Evening Concerts, at which from time to time high-class music is rendered and explained with critical skill. The education gained from visiting foreign countries has been made possible at a very low charge by means of the Travel Club. Such places as Dusseldorf, Lille, and Duisberg have been visited.

*Birmingham Women's Settlement.*—This Settlement is near to the University, and it is possible for the more well-to-do people of the neighbourhood to go there for their education. The remaining and far larger element of the population are unskilled labourers and casual workers, and it is with educational work among these that the Settlement is chiefly concerned, and its efforts are mainly directed to awaken in them an interest in public affairs and so lead to a more active citizenship. The nature of the neighbourhood makes continuous educational effort a matter of extreme difficulty.

Lectures for women were started in 1914 by the Workers' Educational Association. Courses of lectures in First Aid and Home Nursing were held during two successive sessions, attended by about 40 students. A series of women's meetings were organised during the winter months. The members, whose ages varied from 18 to 80, belonged some to the shop-keeping classes and some to the very poorest. The activities took the form of folk songs (among these, an English translation of a work set to music by Brahms was a favourite) and talks lasting for 20-30 minutes on some topic of the day, including explanations of Parliamentary measures. Health talks and travel talks were also given and proved particularly popular. The desire of members for information on public matters was evident, as shown one evening by the request: "Aren't you going to explain the Budget to-night? . . . We want to understand it."

The Settlement tries to educate public opinion by imparting its first-hand knowledge of social conditions by securing speakers on social subjects to address working-class organisations in other districts, including Adult Schools, W.E.A. Branches, Brotherhoods and P.S.A.'s, etc.; while short courses of six lectures are arranged from time to time for social workers, district nurses, and other interested persons. Occasional lectures are also given in schools and colleges in neighbouring towns.

Perhaps the most interesting piece of work is the Vacation School of Social Study, held, as a rule, each year during three days of the Easter vacation. Groups varying from 20 to 80 women students have attended in different years. A main subject of study was chosen for each school. About five lectures were given, illustrated by visits to places of interest. The programmes included: Infant Care (with visits to homes and institutions), Industrial Conditions (with visits to factories), Punishment (with visits to remand homes, reformatories, etc.), Child Labour, Relief of Distress, etc.

The Settlement is closely allied with the Social Study Course of the University of Birmingham.

*University Settlement, Bristol.*—The educational work of this Settlement is of considerable interest and possesses some original features. Its work may be summarised as follows:—

(i) Lectures.

- (a) Fortnightly lectures held by arrangement with members of the Workers' Educational Association who live in the district.  
Average attendance, 35.

(b) Lectures on industrial welfare work arranged by the local Association of Welfare Workers. Average attendance, 20.

(ii) Classes.

(a) University Tutorial Classes.

(b) One-year Classes. The teachers of the one-year classes have been largely provided by the Settlement. They have all taken honours degrees.

(c) Girls' Club Classes in drill, singing, English, country dancing, cooking, home nursing, dressmaking. These are organised by the W.E.A.

(d) Classes in hygiene and dressmaking at the Schools for Mothers.

(iii) Individual teaching, given to young men and women "either in preparation for the University or in answer to a desire on the part of the pupil."

(iv) Discussions.

(a) In Girls' Clubs.

(b) In Schools for Mothers.

(v) Classical Concerts. These are given through the winter by a string quartette, and descriptions are given of the music played.

(vi) Provision of Books. There is a library at the Settlement belonging to the W.E.A. and the Settlement, consisting of about 1,000 volumes. Temporary class libraries are also formed. The Settlement is also interested in a scheme for the formation of small local libraries, with a constant change of books and affording a meeting place for discussion and reading. One such has been formed at Radstock, Somerset.

An important feature of the educational work of the Settlement is the provision made in the constitution for Associates. Associates pay a subscription of not less than 1s.; they have the right to use the common room and library and power to elect two of their number to represent them on the Council. In this way the Settlement links itself up with keen working-class students.

*Victoria Settlement, Liverpool.*—This is a women's Settlement. It includes among its activities some educational work aiming chiefly at the development of a civic spirit. Connected with it is a Women's Citizens' Association, an active body whose objects are:—

(1) To foster the sense of citizenship in women.

(2) To encourage self-education in civic and political questions.

(3) To secure the return of women members to the City Council and Boards of Guardians.

There is also a working women's branch of the Parents' National Educational Union, which arranges classes. For the last two years courses in nursing have been conducted at the request of the women themselves. During the war a club for soldiers' and sailors' wives was held weekly. At first the meetings were purely recreative. Then ten informal lectures on "Our Allies" and kindred subjects were given, followed by simple lectures on art and poetry and painting. These last were so successful that a course has been planned on music. It is hoped that these activities will give rise to a class for systematic study.

Occasional courses on cooking and first aid, and similar subjects, are also arranged at the Settlement.

The members of the Women's Citizens' Association and the Parents' National Education Union are mostly of the better-to-do artisan class. Each group numbers from 30 to 50 members.

The Settlement is anxious to extend its educational work, for which teachers would be available from the University, but suffers from lack of accommodation, which it is unable to extend owing to financial stringency.

*Sheffield Neighbour Guild Settlement.*—The Neighbour Guild Settlement at Sheffield, together with Rutland Hall and Neighbour Hall, conducts educational work for adults. The Settlement "is intended "for working people of all ages and both sexes, and for educated people "who wish to meet them in a simple and natural way." Before the war there were courses of lectures at Rutland Hall, the subjects including natural science, political and social studies, and first aid. Occasional lectures in various subjects were arranged in connection with the women's meetings.

There were no classes for men, but a few joined a women's French class. The classes for women and girls were as follows:—

Dressmaking—19 members. Teacher supplied by Education Committee.

Embroidery—52 members. Teacher supplied by the School of Arts and Crafts.

Singing Class—19 members. Teacher, L.R.A.M.

Bible Class—18 members. Taught by the Warden.

Two Elocution Classes—15 members.

Piano and French were also taught.

Needlework—27 members. Teacher supplied by Education Committee.

Singing—15 members.

Social-study Circles for men and women were held monthly at Rutland Hall, and "fireside talks" at Neighbour Hall, attended by women students from the University.

## (2) *Non-Residential Settlements.*

*Swarthmore, Leeds.*—Swarthmore is described as a "settlement for evening study designed for the equipment of men and women desiring to engage in religious and social work."

It is governed by a Council representing the Leeds Preparative Meeting and the 1905 Committee of the Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting of the Society of Friends and the Friends' Meetings and Adult Schools in Leeds and neighbourhood. The educational year is divided into three terms, and a considerable amount of work is carried on during the summer. For the year 1913-14 the approximate number of regular students was 320, with an average attendance of 209. In 1916-17 the numbers were 340 and 189 respectively. As will be seen by the subjects in the curriculum given below, religious studies form a large part of the Swarthmore programme. An Oxford University Tutorial class is held at the Settlement, and other classes are planned on the basis of a three years' course.

The curriculum for the year 1913-14 included the following among other subjects:—Religious History and Philosophy (three years' course), New Testament Studies, The Book of Revelation and the Gospel according to John, Sunday School Teachers' Preparation Class, "Social conditions in the United States," Industrial History and Political Economy (University Tutorial Class), International Policy, German, the Plays of Euripides, the Rise and Development of the British People, Nature Study.

The income of the Settlement is derived mainly from donations and to a considerably less extent from students' fees and grants from the Board of Education. Its income for 1916-17 was £841 16s. 4d., of which £601 was received from donations, £75 from the "Woodland Trust" and £76 15s. 10d. from students' fees.

*St. Mary's, York.*—St. Mary's Settlement at York owes its origin to members of the Society of Friends. It is governed by an Executive Committee consisting of the officers of the York

and District Adult School Union and the Warden and Sub-Warden of the Settlement. The Settlement is described as "an educational institution for seekers after knowledge of truth." It welcomes men and women of all classes and of every opinion who are anxious for light upon the problems of to-day. Definitely religious work is not so marked a feature as at Swarthmore. In 1913-14 the average weekly attendance was 230, and 144 in 1916-17. A Leeds University tutorial class meets at St. Mary's, and there are other classes, *e.g.*, French continuing throughout the whole session. In addition, courses of eight or ten lectures are arranged during each of the three terms of the year, and, as at Swarthmore, work is continued during the summer. For example, during the summer term of 1918, the activities of St. Mary's included a course of lectures for women on "The Woman who Works: her Voice and Vote," two French classes, a speakers' class, a class in social psychology and a course of ten lectures on Russia. Prior to the war, St. Mary's was used for week-end lecture schools arranged by adult schools, and those attending were accommodated in the Settlement. Since 1914, however, little has been found possible in this direction. As in the case of Swarthmore, the Settlement is supported chiefly by private donations, while a smaller portion of its income is derived from Board of Education grants earned by certain of its classes and from students' fees.

*The Homestead, Wakefield.*—"The Homestead," Wakefield, is not so much a settlement as a vigorous adult school managed by a small council of its members and strongly developed along educational lines, with certain social activities, which it has developed to a rather remarkable extent, but which are outside the scope of this report. The educational work of this Settlement has taken the form of study circles, the usual method adopted being to take a book dealing with a topic of current interest, *e.g.*, "The War and Democracy," "Problems of Reconstruction," and study it chapter by chapter. The attendance at the circles was small, the average being seven. Several courses of lectures on gardening were given by members of the Leeds University staff and others; and the Settlement has a very prosperous Allotment Association with 200 members. In the winter of 1918, a course of lectures on the League of Nations was given by various members of the Swarthmore Settlement, under the direction of the Warden.

*Lemington-on-Tyne Settlement.*—The Settlement at Lemington-on-Tyne is a development of the local adult school. Here all the work, including cleaning and general management, is done voluntarily. The basis of the Settlement is religious, but its activities are by no means confined to religious studies, and very promising work is being done in general non-vocational studies. There is a strong social spirit at Lemington, and this has given rise to a most interesting piece of work undertaken by the settlement members, in the shape of a regional survey, which apparently was started without any knowledge of similar experiments. This survey has aroused great interest among the members. A university lecturer, who recently visited the Settlement, says that "the men are most keen and enthusiastic, and thoroughly enjoy hunting up the old parish records, looking up all the histories of the county and archæological records, and bringing the large ordnance maps up to date."

*"Beechcroft" Settlement, Birkenhead.*—In many ways the most remarkable of this group of institutions is the most recently established—"Beechcroft" Settlement at Birkenhead. This points the way to what may be a fruitful new development in adult

education by associating together under one roof all the working-class educational activities of a non-vocational kind to be found in a given town, and thus giving them a local habitation and a name, and informing them with a common spirit. Established just prior to the war, it was originally administered by the Warden, but is now managed by a Committee consisting of representatives of Adult Schools, Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies, the University of Liverpool, and the School of Social Science, together with a few private persons. Though an Adult School is held at "Beechcroft," the Settlement is connected with no religious body, which may account in some degree for the fact that it has been able to attract a more representative body of working people than any other settlement. The following is a summary of the work done in 1917-18 at the Settlement by the respective bodies associated with it :—

*Beechcroft Settlement, Session 1917-18.*

| Class.                          | Subject.                              | No. of Meetings. | Total Attendances. | Average Attendances. |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| <i>W.E.A.</i>                   |                                       |                  |                    |                      |
| Tutorial Class ... ..           | Ethics ... ..                         | 24               | 539                | 22                   |
| Do. ... ..                      | English Literature ... ..             | 24               | 395                | 16                   |
| Do. ... ..                      | Industrial History ... ..             | 24               | 535                | 22                   |
| Lecture Course ... ..           | Politics after the War ... ..         | 6                | 212                | 35                   |
| Lecture School ... ..           | Various ... ..                        | 3                | 73                 | 24                   |
| Lantern Lectures ... ..         | Various ... ..                        | 16               | 828                | 52                   |
| French (evg.) ... ..            | Elementary ... ..                     | —                | —                  | —                    |
| <i>Adult Schools.</i>           |                                       |                  |                    |                      |
| Singing Class ... ..            | Theory and Practice ... ..            | 15               | 245                | 16                   |
| Lecture Course ... ..           | Modern Interpreters of [Christianity. | 4                | 252                | 63                   |
| Week-end Schools ... ..         | —                                     | 4                | 199                | 50                   |
| Preparation Class ... ..        | Adult School Lesson ... ..            | 3                | 21                 | 7                    |
| Leaders' Meeting ... ..         | —                                     | 2                | 38                 | 19                   |
| Social Workers' Conference.     | —                                     | 1                | 40                 | 40                   |
| <i>Trade Unions.</i>            |                                       |                  |                    |                      |
| A.S.L.E. & F. Class ... ..      | Political Ideals ... ..               | 21               | 257                | 12                   |
| Trades' Council Class ... ..    | Central Government ... ..             | 18               | 210                | 12                   |
| N.U. Railwaymen's Class ... ..  | Various ... ..                        | 7                | 79                 | 11                   |
| Trades' Council Lecture School. | Various ... ..                        | 6                | 487                | 81                   |
| <i>Women's Work.</i>            |                                       |                  |                    |                      |
| Study Circles (eight) ... ..    | ... ..                                | 32               | 777                | 24                   |
| French (afternoon class) ... .. | Elementary ... ..                     | 18               | 93                 | 5                    |
| Visits to Institution ... ..    | Art Gallery ... ..                    | 1                | 23                 | 23                   |
| <i>General.</i>                 |                                       |                  |                    |                      |
| "A.D." Club ... ..              | Various ... ..                        | 22               | 619                | 28                   |
| Browning ... ..                 | Longer Poems ... ..                   | 17               | 73                 | 6                    |
| Sunday Morning Group...         | Various ... ..                        | 15               | 233                | 17                   |
|                                 |                                       | 279              | 6,228              | —                    |

The accounts for 1916-17 show that the total expenditure at Beechcroft amounted to £77. There is no charge made for rent in these accounts, nor for cleaning. The Warden was unpaid, and the teaching work for which the Settlement was itself responsible was done voluntarily. The cost of the University Tutorial Class and University Extension Lectures was met through other channels.

## (E) EDUCATION IN THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.

The provision of education for its members has been a feature of the Co-operative Movement since its inception, and a large number of the local societies set apart a certain percentage of dividends for educational purposes. While the chief aim of the provision made is to educate members in the principles and practice of co-operation, a not inconsiderable part of this educational activity is concerned with more general subjects, both vocational and non-vocational, and in recent years there has been a tendency towards an increasing range of interests. The educational aims of the movement were summarised at the Swansea Congress of 1917 as follows:—

- “(1) The training of experts, whether they be managers or assistants, in the principles and methods of the movement.
- “(2) The provision of a liberal education for adult members in a co-operative atmosphere.
- “(3) The development of the Co-operative spirit (this last being the most important).”

The central authority for co-operative education is the Central Education Committee of the Co-operative Union—a federation of Co-operative Societies whose functions are “propaganda, legal assistance, co-operative education and defence.” The Central Education Committee is a body formed of representatives of the different geographical sections of the movement, together with a representative from the Women’s Co-operative Guild. Its function is to stimulate the general educational activity of the movement, to co-ordinate the educational work of local societies, and to act as adviser.

It draws up yearly for the guidance of local committees a programme of studies, with syllabuses of instruction for classes in co-operation, Economics, Industrial History, Citizenship, Book-keeping, Management, &c., and itself organises classes in these subjects at Holyoake House or other convenient centres, and arranges training classes for teachers and grants certificates to successful members, so that societies may have the services of trained and approved instructors. Examinations in co-operative subjects are also arranged for, to provide a uniform and independent test of progress made in local centres. The Committee has also established a system of instruction by correspondence to meet the needs of students in localities where facilities for study are not available. Further, it advises local Committees on request, organises educational conferences and summer schools, and endeavours to further the development of education throughout the movement generally.

In 1914 a Committee was appointed to make a survey of the educational work of the movement as a whole. This Committee, which has now issued its recommendations, considered that the Central Education Committee as now constituted is not sufficiently representative of the society as a whole. They are impressed with the importance of linking up all the various sections of the movement—the Co-operative Union, the Wholesale Societies, the Women’s and Men’s Guilds, &c. This they consider necessary in order to secure more effective co-ordination between the various educational agencies of the movement, and to represent more adequately the educational need of the various sections. They recommend, therefore, the formation of a thoroughly representative Advisory Council, which shall be a “microcosm, as it were, of the whole movement.”

The same principle is applied to the Local Committees where a close representative connection between education committees and Management Committee is suggested, and in the same way a model constitution for educational associations drawn up such as will make the educational



association of each section a comprehensive and co-ordinating educational authority, strong and authoritative because of its representative character. They also recommend that societies with a membership of 10,000 upwards should appoint a special whole time Educational Secretary, and smaller societies a Secretary for Educational and Propaganda work jointly. In 1915 the Central Education Committee took the important step of appointing an Adviser of Studies, and since that time have appointed two assistants. It has recently been decided to establish a Co-operative College.

Apart from the educational work which the movement itself organises an important feature of its work is its co-operation with other educational bodies. It has a representative on the Central Council of the W.E.A., and the Co-operative Union contributes to the funds of the Association £20 a year. The Central Education Committee is also represented on various University Tutorial Classes Committees, and a donation of £100 has recently been made to assist tutorial classes. Many local societies are also connected with the W.E.A., contributing to the funds and sharing in the management, and many W.E.A. students are co-operators.

The movement has also a fairly close connection with Ruskin College, Oxford. It is represented on the Executive Council of the College, and the Co-operative Union has from time to time subscribed to its funds. In 1914, £118 was also contributed by local societies to the funds of the College.

Since 1914 the movement has been represented on the governing body of the Working Men's College, London, which was founded largely owing to efforts of the early co-operators, and to the funds of which College it occasionally contributes.

There are no records to show the total number of adult students who in any given year participate in non-vocational education under the auspices of the Co-operative Movement, but we are informed that the number of classes under the supervision of the Central Education Committee in 1913-14 was 564, and that the total number of entries in these classes was 21,953. Of these entries, however, a large number refer to young students, and of the subjects studied some were definitely technical and vocational in character. While it does not seem possible to distinguish with accuracy between junior and adult students, the following table will give a fairly reliable indication of the number of entries of adult students in non-vocational subjects comprised in the above total of 21,953:—

|                                      |       |
|--------------------------------------|-------|
| Co-operation ... ..                  | 463   |
| Industrial History ... ..            | 211   |
| Citizenship ... ..                   | 87    |
| Economics ... ..                     | 16    |
| Economics of Co-operation ... ..     | 14    |
| Women's Classes ... ..               | 682   |
| Elocution and Public Speaking ... .. | 80    |
|                                      | <hr/> |
|                                      | 1,553 |

In addition to these, 55 students are recorded as in attendance at tutorial classes.

Besides the regular class work mentioned above, a considerable amount of educational work is done by means of popular lectures, which are a regular feature of the educational activities of most local societies. Out of the 17 towns, typical of various geographical areas, from which we obtained a return of their adult educational work, 16 possessed Co-operative Societies, and in all of these lectures were included in their programmes. Study circles and discussion classes of a more or less

informal kind also are a method commonly adopted in co-operative education. The educational work of the Women's Guilds, though often unsystematic in character, is worthy of special mention as appealing successfully to a large body of people, mostly working-class married women, who are not interested in knowledge in the abstract. To quote from a report on this subject, "in order to make the teaching living, "arrestive and provocative of action, we group the teaching of principles "around immediate practical reforms in co-operation and citizenship. "For example, in dealing with the re-organisation of the co-operative "movement, we take the principle of democratic control by the rank and "file, and deal with the intricate constitutional machinery applicable "to this principle, showing where and how the members should and could "increase their control. At the same time, the action to be taken to "secure the reform is pointed out and set in motion." The success of such methods in developing and training the average woman is shown by the fact that at least half of the speakers at the Guild Congress are rank and file members, and of the remainder the majority are members of District Committees.

An encouraging feature of co-operative education during the past few years has been a somewhat remarkable increase in the number of Summer Schools and week-end schools held in various parts of the country, which have been largely attended and are becoming increasingly popular. In 1918 residential summer schools were held at Bradley Court (Glos.), Scarborough, Maidenhead, Plymouth, Ayr (Scotland), Larne (Ireland). The main subjects of study were co-operation and political action, co-operation and after war problems, co-operative control of raw materials, industrial history, taxation, wages and wage problems, and the total number of students in attendance was 520.

The Central Committee is financed from the general funds of the Union, these general funds being obtained by subscription of 1½d. per member of each society belonging to the Co-operative Union. The expenditure of the Committee in 1914, exclusive of salaries of officials, was £1,978.

In 1913-14, 825 out of a total of 1,508 societies made grants for education, the total amount granted (excluding the expenditure of the Central Education Committee) being £105,516. These educational grants are spent in various ways, and not always on what may be considered directly educational work. Below is an analysis, taken from the Co-operative survey, of the income and expenditure of the education funds of 20 large Co-operative Societies during 1914-1915:—

| <i>Items.</i>   | <i>Receipts.</i> | <i>Payments.</i> |
|---|------------------|------------------|
|   | £                | £                |
| Grants ... ..   | 31,620           | —                |
| Rents, Upkeep of Halls, &c. ... ..  | 1,103            | 7,883            |
| Staff Salaries ... ..   | —                | 3,232            |
| Committee Fees and Delegations ... ..   | —                | 1,321            |
| Classes, Scholarships, &c. ... ..   | 265              | 2,319            |
| Evening Continuation Schools ... ..   | —                | 641              |
| Lectures, Kinematograph, Entertainments, Concerts,<br>Parties, Sunday Services ... .. | 918              | 3,044            |
| Choir, Orchestras, and Bands ... ..   | —                | —                |
| Libraries, Sick-room Appliances, &c. ... ..   | 221              | 1,602            |
| News Room, Recreation Room ... ..   | 295              | 3,936            |
| Records, Syllabuses, Literature ... ..  | 877              | 4,088            |
| Almanacs, Printing, Advertising, Propaganda and<br>Postage ... ..                     | —                | 1,659            |
| Galas, Trips and Excursions ... ..  | 74               | 612              |
| Billiards, Baths and Refreshments ... ..  | 1,180            | 362              |
| Grants to Guilds ... ..   | —                | 1,002            |
| Co-operative Union Subscriptions ... ..   | —                | 410              |
| Charitable and other Donations and Election Ex-<br>penses ... ..                      | —                | —                |

From an analysis made by the Co-operative Survey of the grants given by 191 of these societies who allocate a percentage of the profits to education, in accordance with the method of the Rochdale Pioneers, we find that two of the 191 societies allocated 10 per cent., four 5 per cent., two 3 per cent., sixty-nine  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and the remainder (114) below  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

#### (F.) THE GILCHRIST EDUCATIONAL TRUST.

“The Gilchrist Educational Trust has the administration of a fund amounting originally to £70,000. The Trustees have founded scholarships, made considerable grants of money from time to time to educational institutions, and expended in the forty-one years from 1868-1909 nearly £40,000 on lectures on scientific and other subjects to working men and women in the various towns of Great Britain and Ireland.”<sup>1</sup> Whilst the scholarships granted by the Trustees have been, in the main, for vocational purposes, and more especially for teaching, in connection with several of them there is nothing beyond an implication that the study of modern languages, geography, and other subjects will be used for vocational purposes. At the same time, such grants are practically always made in connection with university institutions, usually to graduates for purpose of further study.

The lectures of the Gilchrist Trustees are well known. They were first given in 1866. The average attendance from 1911-1913, the three years immediately preceding the war, was slightly over 600. The lectures are usually on popular scientific subjects, but lectures on historical subjects and upon art are included normally. Though the lectures were temporarily suspended owing to the local assistance upon which the Trustees usually rely being absorbed in war activity, in the session 1915-16, where they were organised, the attendances were strikingly large. It has always been the intention of the Trustees that the lectures should be followed by definite educational work, and favourable consideration was given to applications for lectures made by those who wished to start university extension lectures or tutorial classes. The fact that the lectures were in themselves so excellent and popular, however, was not without its effect in developing a demand for similar lectures rather than for courses of definite study.

The Trustees, since 1903, have granted £200 annually to the Extension Board of the University of London (or to the body preceding it). It has also approved a scheme by which university extension course tickets may be sold to working people at reduced prices. If the scheme were in full and complete work, the amount granted by the Trustees would be £300 per annum.

Since 1913 the Trustees have approved a maximum grant of £300 for the conduct of university tutorial classes. In addition, about £100 of the amount granted to the University of London has been used in like manner. The Gilchrist Trust has also made regular grants to enable students from the classes to attend summer schools. In the first place, the grant was for £100 to enable a working-man student to attend either a university or Ruskin College, but it was never utilised in that way. The grants have recently been decreased owing to the decline, during the war, in the number of summer schools.

The Trustees have made annual grants of £25 towards the funds of the Workers' Educational Association, commencing in 1906. This was increased in 1913 to £100.

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Committee on Popular Science Lectures to the British Association, Newcastle, 1916.*

It is not possible to report on the various grants made during the lifetime of the Trust, but the following are instances of grants, made during the last few years, which have come under our notice:—

|  | £   |
|--|-----|
| The Library of the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes, for books ... | 50  |
| The National Home Reading Union, between 1905-9 ... ..                     | 500 |
| Bethnal Green Free Library (not on rates) 1905 ... ..                      | 20  |
| " " " 1909 ... ..  | 20  |
| " " " 1913 ... ..  | 20  |
| " " " 1914 ... ..  | 20  |
| The Association for Teachers' Study of the Bible 1914 ... ..               | 20  |
| " " " " 1915 ... ..  | 20  |
| " " " " 1916 ... ..  | 20  |
| The University Extension Book Union, for books from 1902-15 ... ..         | 125 |
| Prisoners of War Book Fund ... ..  | 200 |
| Barnett House, Oxford, for Library ... ..                                  | 50  |

It has been the general policy of the Trust only to pioneer experiments, in the hope that their successful operation would draw financial support from other sources. In spite of this, as may be seen from the above figures, the Trustees have supported such efforts as the Workers' Educational Association, university extension lectures and tutorial classes for a period of years, and such help has so far not come to an end.

There can be no doubt that the fact that such a body as the Gilchrist Educational Trust has been at work has been of inestimable advantage to non-vocational adult education. In the fact that it operates nationally, it is unique among educational trusts which render assistance to adult education.

#### (G.) THE NATIONAL HOME-READING UNION.

This body was founded in 1889 to stimulate and direct the love of reading among all classes—"to make reading the familiar habit of the eye and mind, to inculcate the imperative necessity for thought in the use of reading, to assist and guide the reader towards the best use of his or her faculties and the best methods of reading the best books on any subject."

With this object in view the society

- (1) provides courses of reading with select lists of books;
- (2) sends out on loan illustrated portfolios of prints and photographs for use in connection with reading circles;
- (3) provides companionship in reading by the promotion of Reading Circles of not less than five members;
- (4) conducts correspondence classes;
- (5) issues from October to May a monthly magazine containing articles on books and their authors, questions on the books read, and information of interest to readers. (The articles are a clear and readable exposition of the subjects to be studied and form a valuable introduction to study);
- (6) arranges study circles.

The following figures show the membership of the various sections of the Union in 1913-14:—

|                                  |       |
|----------------------------------|-------|
| In Special Courses ... ..        | 702   |
| In General Courses ... ..        | 2,409 |
| In Young People's Courses ... .. | 2,058 |
| Honorary Members ... ..          | 372   |
| Annual Subscribers ... ..        | 87    |
|                                  | <hr/> |
|                                  | 5,628 |

Some of the subjects taken at Reading Circles have been Dante's "Purgatorio," with "Six Sermons on Dante," by P. H. Wicksteed as the text-book. At this circle members took it in turns to read aloud cantos, and several short papers were written, followed by discussion. Another book taken was Kinglake's "Eothen." In this circle each member wrote his views on the book after reading it. Another circle read the magazine in turn, discussing each paragraph. Discussion followed on the allotted reading for the month. To this discussion members brought points of difficulty, also comparisons and other points of interest discovered in the course of the reading. Another circle took Italian art, "with all the required books and several of the recommended ones," and each member was expected to prepare an answer to the questions at the end of the magazine article besides an extra question given by the leader. An interesting circle was one composed chiefly of domestic servants. Here the students interpreted the characters, did the actions described, and changed indirect into direct narrative.

Co-ordination between public libraries and the Union has been secured in many cases, and the Union hopes to be able greatly to extend this co-operation in the future, especially in the direction of the formation of reading circles at the libraries under the direction of the librarian, in the provision of a room for meetings on the library premises, and in the placing on the shelves of books which form the subject of the circles' activities. The Union has done valuable work among children in stimulating the love of reading and in developing a taste for good books which should bear fruit in later years in the field of adult education.

The development of the work of the Union is severely hindered by lack of funds.

#### (H.) MUSIC AND THE DRAMA.

In a survey of adult education in Great Britain a place must be given to music; for in practically every town and village in the country, whether through musical societies of one kind or another or through church and chapel choirs, there is a certain amount of continuous musical education. In Wales, the *Eisteddfod* and the *Cymanfa Ganu* are national festivals intimately woven with the life of the people. We need but mention them here, as they are described at length in the section of the survey specially devoted to adult education in Wales. In England there is a large number of spontaneous popular organisations of both instrumentalists and singers. It is no uncommon thing to find an excellent male voice choir in a colliery village, or a choral society or a band of some repute in connection with a Lancashire mill. Under the auspices of co-operative societies are to be found companies of glee singers and mixed choirs. Some years ago a choral society was formed as part of the Musical and Dramatic Association connected with the Oxford House Settlement. This choir, which is composed entirely of men and women drawn from the east end of London, has been extremely successful. Generally speaking, however, musical bodies are more numerous in the north and the midlands than in the south.

In most towns of any size there are musical societies of different kinds. These philharmonic, choral, symphony and other societies are sometimes popular in character and sometimes draw their members from the middle classes. Their value, considerable as it is to the members of the organisations, is by no means confined to them. The influence of such bodies extends to the large circle which attends the regular concerts usually arranged by the societies. It is very frequently the case that a town will possess several societies. The following account, which relates to Bristol,

illustrates the many-sided activities of some of the larger towns and indicates their limitations and difficulties:—

“Although Bristol has a reputation of being a musical city, it can hardly be said that music flourishes here: very few societies are carried on without financial anxiety; and, considering the small support given to musical ventures, there is too much overlapping of effort, in other words, a notable lack of co-ordination.

“In choral music several societies have done work of the first class:—

“The Bristol Choral Society,

“The Bristol Musical Society (formerly Bristol North Choral Society),

“The Bristol New Philharmonic (formerly Y.M.C.A.), and

“The Bristol West Choral Society (formerly Fry’s),

“are the most prominent, and their membership ranges from about 150 to 400: but this cannot be taken as a guide to numbers, as, especially in the male department, many singers are found assisting in several societies; and in some cases the numbers are specially augmented for public performances. The above are mixed choirs, women and men, with a large preponderance of the former.

“Amongst smaller societies, the Avonmouth Choral Society should be specially mentioned, because here the educational intent, and the real musical atmosphere are in strong evidence both in aim and achievement.

“Most chapel choirs afford opportunities for amateur vocal effort, though on a small scale. Church choirs are mostly composed of boy and men singers—and one society has the same combination of voices, viz., the Bristol Madrigal Society. This Society was formed in 1837, with the primary object of studying the music of the great madrigal era, the highest form of unaccompanied vocal music; and latterly, an attempt has been made to show that it has an educational, as well as an artistic and recreative, side.

“Of societies for male voice chorus-singing, the foremost is the Bristol Royal Orpheus Glee Society; and the Society of Bristol Gleemen and other societies have done good work, but wholly recreative, or for public performance.

“Several societies have been formed from time to time for the competitions of the Bristol Eisteddfod, and the adjudicators’ remarks have generally been of high educational value.

“With regard to instrumental music, the record is not so extensive:—The Bristol Society of Musicians and the Clifton Orchestral Society have afforded scope for latent talent. (The Bristol Symphony Orchestra cannot be considered ‘amateur.’)

“Chamber music is largely studied in small circles privately: and in this direction the Bristol Musical Club (for men) and the Ladies’ Musical Club have done really excellent work of high educational value: partly because they do not exist for the purpose of giving public performances. It almost invariably happens that, when public performance is in prospect, high aims do not prevail, because too low an estimate is made of public taste in musical matters. In this connection exception must be made of such concerts as those given at the Settlement when the chamber music of the great masters has been adequately given, with explanatory remarks. A similar attempt was made with a series of quartet concerts in Clifton for four winters.”

Besides musical societies with an independent existence, every church and chapel has its choir, and though the quality of these choirs and the seriousness of the training vary greatly, it remains true that such choirs are an important element in the musical education of to-day. Nor can we ignore the activities of Local Education Authorities and of schools of music, though the provision they make is, as a rule, primarily vocational in character. Many evening continuation schools, however, now include vocal music in their curriculum.

In rural districts, village choirs and musical societies often form the chief organised village groups. In Wales the local *Eisteddfod* and the *Cymanfa Ganu* and the *Ysgol Ganu*, which are described in a later section of this Survey,<sup>1</sup> combine to provide organised musical education and activities for the whole rural population. In rural England, there is less organisation, but the volume of musical training is considerable. Examples of successful experiments in rural areas are to be found in the section of this Survey entitled "Adult Education in Rural Districts."<sup>2</sup> Branches of the English Folk Dance Society are doing valuable work in interesting villagers in country songs and dances, whilst the Welsh Folk Song Society is doing much to revive the national songs and dances of Wales.

The small town of Dunfermline in Scotland is the centre of an interesting attempt to develop the musical taste of the community as a whole. Part of the sum made over by Mr. Andrew Carnegie to the Trustees of his native town has been applied to this purpose. The teaching of singing in the elementary schools has been taken over by the Trustees, and a School of Music has been formed, where about 400 students annually receive lessons in all branches of musical instruction, and where high class concerts are provided which are open to the general public on payment of a small charge.<sup>3</sup>

The development of appreciation of good music is more important than extending a knowledge of musical technique, and in this university tutorial classes in music may play an important part. These classes have for their object, not the acquirement of technical and professional knowledge, but the production of intelligent and appreciative people who will take the same interest in music as intelligent readers take in literature. The university tutorial class at Newcastle-upon-Tyne proved to be an undoubted success. It proceeded along the general lines of the proposals contained in Sir Henry Hadow's Memorandum to the Central Joint Advisory Committee on Tutorial Classes. This Memorandum is so valuable that it is set out below:—

"I am certainly of opinion that a three years' course in music might profitably be included in the scheme of the Workers' Educational Association. During the last few years musical education has advanced in England more widely than at any time since the Elizabethan Age, and there has grown with it a steadily and widely diffused appreciation of good music. The system of local competition festivals which is now spreading all over the country is an indication of this, and in it the Workers' Educational Association might find a valuable ally.

"For instance, if a course of music classes were held in a district where the local choirs were preparing for such a festival, the lecturer might well take some of his illustrations from the works

<sup>1</sup> See the Section on "Adult Education in Wales," pp. 276 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 272-4.

<sup>3</sup> See also the Section of the Survey on "Adult Education in Scotland," pp. 291-2.

"that are being practised. In this way he would render the practices more intelligent and at the same time bring more widely home to his hearers the points that he wished to make in lectures.

"The classes should not be technical or professional. Members who cared to do so, might, as a side-issue, practise pieces or write musical exercises; but the main object of the classes should be to teach the history, the general æsthetics, and, above all, the principles of appreciation of music.

"For the first year's course I should suggest 'appreciation' alone. This might begin, if necessary, with a lecture or two on the first elements of musical notation, but the main part of the work should start with the simplest national melodies, analysing them, showing in what respects they are superior to the trivial and ephemeral tunes of the music hall, and so proceeding to more elaborate works, until the class had mastered the rudimentary principles of style and structure. (I have found it possible to do this in public lectures without taking any technical knowledge of music for granted.) During this period the lecturer should specially invite questions, and the class should be encouraged as much as possible to express and discuss preferences. There should be no attempt at dogmatism or at the advocacy of any particular school, but the broad general principles should be stated, argued and illustrated in such a manner as to bring conviction.

"The second year's course should be historical, beginning probably with the XVIIth century, or, at most, containing one introductory lecture which should explain briefly and with little or no illustration what had gone before. The idiom of music most comprehensible to persons of little musical experience is that which came into prominence after the death of Orlando Gibbons. The severe polyphonic style which preceded it would baffle rather than help the students at this stage in their career.

"The third year's course should be a more advanced study of musical forms, both vocal and instrumental, and in this a survey of the XVIth century polyphonic music might certainly find a place and be illustrated by the motets, madrigals, etc., of our great Tudor composers and of their contemporaries in France and Italy. In addition, there should be a study of dramatic, lyric and symphonic forms, questions of 'programme music,' of changes in musical idiom, etc., or if the class preferred, one or two of these topics might be selected and worked out in fuller detail. There should be, as far as possible, an absence of technicalities, and the object of the whole class should be to produce intelligent and cultivated listeners who should take the same sort of interest in music as intelligent readers take in literature.

"It may be asked whether there would be a sufficient supply of competent lecturers. Music is a difficult subject to discuss without the use of technical terms and the appeal to technical rules, and these should, as far as possible, be avoided; but I do not believe this difficulty to be insuperable. The number of applications for such a class would at first be small, and, as it grew, the number of available lecturers would increase with it. At present I feel assured that enough lecturers could be found to make a start, and I am fully persuaded that the experiment is worth trying."

For some years there has been a successful music class at Birmingham which originated in the music section of the local branch of the W.E.A. This section, established in 1909, developed in 1911 into a class meeting



weekly under Board of Education Regulations. The University Joint Committee took financial responsibility for the class, which was not, however, a tutorial class. The class was not purely a "singing class;" from the first it included in its syllabus the study of musical theory and composition and appreciation. The Birmingham class has had a continuous existence since it was first established and it has never lacked members. Its membership has ranged from 60 or 70 in some years to 40 in others. About twenty of the students who attended during the session 1918-19 have been members since the inception of the class in 1911. The class meets for two hours on each occasion, half the time being devoted to instruction and the other half to practical work in the shape of singing, sight reading, &c. In addition to class work arrangements are made for the students to attend concerts and the opera. During the coming winter (1919-20) the class will be converted into a full university tutorial class. There are, of course, other music classes which are working on broad educational lines, not so much in order to produce efficient instrumentalists or vocalists as to develop interest in and appreciation of good music. In the village of Steep in Hampshire, there was before the war a class in sight reading and harmony which was recognised by the Board of Education as eligible for grant.

Music has in the past been a much more potent and widespread influence than drama. If the national taste for music has suffered from the rise of the music hall, the taste for the drama has also been degraded in the same way. Nevertheless, the Repertory Theatres, such as those of Glasgow, Manchester and Birmingham, and the Irish Players, have never lacked a public. In some places Playgoers' Clubs have been a means of educating their members on matters connected with the theatre, but only very occasionally have they exerted any influence upon the theatre-going public outside their ranks.

The Royal Victoria Hall in the Waterloo Road, London, better known as the "Old Vic." is perhaps the most important attempt which has been made to popularise good drama. So far as its present traditions are concerned, it was founded by the late Miss Emma Cons in 1880 as a theatre devoted to the drama (and more particularly the plays of Shakespeare), to the opera in English and to lantern lectures. Its aim was to interest the masses. In 1914 a stock company was formed and performances were given of thirteen of Shakespeare's plays. "In the next two seasons, despite war conditions, seven more of Shakespeare's plays, besides other works, were added to the list, which for the three seasons" is as follows:

"*Dickens* (adapted by Russell Thorndike)—'A Christmas Carol.'

"*Goldsmith*—'She Stoops to Conquer.'

"*Herz* (adapted)—'King René's Daughter.'

"*Lytton*—'The Lady of Lyons.'

"*Shakespeare*—'A Midsummer Night's Dream,' 'As You Like

"It,' 'Hamlet,' 'Julius Cæsar,' 'King Richard the Second,'

"'King Henry the Fifth' (staged in the Elizabethan manner on

"the five-hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Agincourt),

"'King Richard the Third,' 'King Henry the Eighth,' 'Macbeth,'

"'Much Ado About Nothing,' 'Othello,' 'Romeo and Juliet,' 'The

"'Comedy of Errors,' 'The Merchant of Venice,' 'The Merry Wives

"'of Windsor,' 'The Taming of the Shrew,' 'The Tempest,' 'The

"'Two Gentlemen of Verona,' 'The Winter's Tale,' 'Twelfth

"Night."

"*Sheridan*—'Saint Patrick's Day,' 'The Critic,' 'The Rivals,'

"'The School for Scandal.'

"*Russell Thorndike and Geoffrey Wilkinson—'A New-Cut Harlequinade.'*

"*Morality Plays—'Everyman,' 'The Star of Bethlehem.'*

"As one of the means of making the Shakespeare venture known, the management invited eminent actors and actresses to address the audiences on Saturday nights before the opera. Those who spoke were Miss Lena Ashwell, Sir Frank Benson, Miss Hutin Britton, Miss Constance Collier, Mrs. Edward Compton, Mr. Ben Greet, Mrs. Kendal, Mr. Matheson Lang, Miss Nancy Price, Sir Herbert Tree, and Miss May Whitty.

"The courageous experiment was justified by results; the audiences increased in size; wide public and professional attention followed the growth of the repertory; and the theatre became the focus of more interest than it had been for many years. Shakespeare's Birthday, 1915, was honoured by a special matinée at which a number of leading actors and actresses appeared, and in April, 1916, there was a grand Shakespeare Tercentenary performance that will always be memorable in the annals of the house for the fact that there then appeared upon its stage, each for the first time, Miss Ellen Terry and Miss Mary Anderson. A little later the Governors of the Shakespeare Memorial at Stratford-upon-Avon engaged the company to play throughout the four weeks' Tercentenary Summer Festival in Shakespeare's native town. Mr. Ben Greet has been stage director and has produced the plays almost from the beginning, when three plays were produced by Mr. and Mrs. Matheson Lang (Miss Hutin Britton); and it is Mr. Greet's work which has contributed in great measure to the success of what was, at first, avowedly an experiment. Three evening performances and two matinées a week are given, with the addition of certain extra matinées to meet the demand for seats for certain plays, especially from children attending the London County Council elementary schools, who are brought to the theatre in great numbers by their teachers; such attendance at a Shakespeare performance counting as an attendance at school." . . . .

"Performances were also given in 1915, 1916 and 1917 by the stock company at the Excelsior Hall, Bethnal Green, and at the North London Polytechnic, with very considerable success at both places."<sup>1</sup>

There is a large attendance of pupils from the schools of the London County Council at the matinées. Between October and December, 1916, no less than 27,000 children attended Shakespeare performances at the theatre, and during the whole season more than 90,000 children were present at school matinées.

The "Old Vic." has been faced by considerable financial difficulties. It is to some extent supported by legacies and subscriptions, but these are insufficient for its needs and for structural alterations which are essential. The charges for seats are very low, varying from 3*d.* in the gallery to 2*s.* 6*d.* in the stalls.

The "Old Vic." Shakespeare Society was founded "to develop the study and production of Shakespeare by amateurs" and works by means of Shakespeare Societies, at the meetings of which members read and act parts from the play which is being studied.

<sup>1</sup> *A Century of Theatrical History, 1816-1916: The "Old Vic."* by John Booth, 1917.

There is a considerable number of amateur dramatic and operatic societies in the country, but for the most their activities are confined to the production of comic operas. There are few more interesting experiments than that at Norwich, of which we have been provided with the following account:—

“For five or six years before the war there was in Norwich a society called The Norwich Players: they produced with great artistic success a number of Shakespearian comedies, other old English plays, translations of Molière and other old French comedies, and morality plays such as *Everyman* and *Job*. The mounting of the plays was very simple and unambitious, but the acting reached a high level: all the members of the society were local amateurs, persons of the middle class. The musical accompaniments were, as far as possible, contemporary with the plays and performed on the old-fashioned instruments (virginals, etc.). The programmes never gave any of the names of the performers, the reason for this reticence being a genuine desire to subordinate personal success to the pleasure of doing the thing well for its sake. Just before the war the society had secured an ideal place for its performances, a rafted room at the top of an old fourteenth century mansion, and it had an ambitious scheme of productions before it when the war came and its prime mover, Mr. Nugent Monk, joined the army. Its revival after the war is probably assured.”

Dramatic societies in towns do not afford the only means of providing opportunities for dramatic expression. The growth of folk songs and dancing among adults as well as among children has contributed to the growth of a desire for self expression through plays and masques. The reality of this desire has been proved in many rural areas. Village players in Dorsetshire have produced plays written by Mr. Hardy. In Westmorland, for many years there have been dialect plays acted by the country people. At West Hoathly in Sussex, Greek plays have been performed in the open air by the villagers, *e.g.*, the *Hippolytus* with 75 performers, including 25 men.<sup>1</sup> The village masques at Boxford, near Newbury, have attracted the notice of a public outside the immediate locality. The masques and music were specially written, and professional helpers gave much valuable assistance; dresses and properties were designed and made by the masquers. Both adults and children took part in the masques, and both the acting and dancing reached a high level. In the same district there sprang up at Newbury a series of Folk Festivals organised by the Citizens' Association. The programme consisted of folk songs, Morris and country dances, and drama. The competitors included children and adults, though chiefly the former. Instances such as the above could, of course, be multiplied. Some further illustrations are given later in this Appendix.<sup>2</sup> It is, perhaps, in the rural districts that the chief development has taken place, though in the towns there has in recent years been a revival of interest in the drama and in play acting. In Wales, the growth of interest in the drama during the last ten or fifteen years has been remarkable. Some account of this is given in the section of the Appendix devoted to Wales.<sup>3</sup>

During the war this interest has been deepened. Miss Lena Ashwell's work amongst the troops is referred to in the section of this Survey

<sup>1</sup> See the later Section of the Survey on “Adult Education in Rural Districts,” p. 272.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 273–4.

<sup>3</sup> See the Section of the Survey on “Adult Education in Wales,” pp. 288–9.

dealing with war-time developments. Another interesting experiment is the dramatic performances at Crayford, Kent. Beginning with a reading of "Fanny's First Play," the munition workers there then produced several one-act plays and "Lady Windermere's Fan." The Little Theatre Movement, of which the first outcome is the Everyman Theatre at Golders Green, has spread to this country from America and has already its own organ—"Theatre-craft," devoted to the exposition of "the new spirit in the theatre." The British Drama League is another manifestation of the realisation of the drama as a popular form of art, and was founded but recently for "the encouragement of the Art of the Theatre." Its objects, among others, are "to organise by lectures and other means the study and practice of the drama as a way of popular recreation and self expression," and "to establish relations with municipalities, universities, schools and colleges, village centres, trade unions, co-operative societies, friendly societies and other labour organisations with a view to promoting their encouragement of the drama as a means of intelligent recreation for all classes of the community." It proposes to create a central bureau to supply information and advice to local groups and societies and to raise a fund for their financial assistance. The British Drama League publishes a magazine, "Drama," to assist in the promotion of its objects. The Arts League of Service, another new organisation, has a wider aim than the Drama League, as it is interested in all forms of art. It includes "drama, dance, and music" within its scope, however, and one of its activities will be to arrange for tours through towns and villages. In conjunction with the East Sussex Labour Party, it arranged in the early summer of this year a tour of players through a number of Sussex villages. These developments of the war period indicate the possibility of a widespread renaissance of the theatre.

### (I) LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIETIES.

There are few towns of any size in Great Britain which do not possess literary or scientific societies and clubs, many of them of old standing. The Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, for example, was founded as long ago as 1781, whilst the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle-upon-Tyne came into existence about the same time. Some of the societies are extremely active and carry out each session a considerable programme of lectures, meetings and discussions. The syllabuses of literary and philosophical societies, so-called, usually cover many more subjects than the title of these bodies would imply. The scientific societies and clubs, on the other hand, are often more or less specialised and do not, as a rule, make so wide an appeal as the literary societies. Their membership is confined to enthusiasts and people who take a special interest in some branch or branches of natural science. Many of these societies have their practical side and some, indeed, would perhaps be more accurately described as field clubs. Most local societies of the kind we are considering are either general in scope, as in the case of most literary and philosophical societies, or scientific in character. Examples of specialised societies of a different kind from the naturalists' and similar clubs are the Tyneside Geographical Society and the Newcastle Economic Society. The former, which possesses its own building and library, holds weekly lectures during the winter on geographical subjects and encourages the study of geography. Before the war it gave prizes for geographical knowledge to pupils in the elementary and secondary schools of Newcastle and organised series of lectures for teachers on modern methods of teaching geography.

Some societies cover a wide range of activities. The Literary and Scientific Society of Hebden Bridge, Yorkshire, for example, we have been told, "is the most active educational body in the district. It has a membership of about 120. It arranges lectures monthly. These are attended by about 60 persons, about equal numbers of men and women. In addition, the various sections hold monthly meetings. Many good lecturers are secured, and here the Workers' Educational Association helps. The natural history section is the strongest; it has special recorders for thirteen different branches of natural history and much work of real scientific value has been accomplished. Its published records of birds and plants are used by teachers in the district. Recently astronomy has been taken up; a small group meets regularly for study, and observations are made on suitable evenings. In summer similar groups meet for rambles for specific objects; in April, say, spring flowers, or bird songs; in September, it may be fungi, or the study of moths. Besides these rambles of small groups for definite study, regular fortnightly rambles for the sections and of the society are held, attended by larger numbers. The literary section holds monthly meetings in winter, and in summer rambles to places of literary, historical and antiquarian interest. Local history and antiquities are included within the scope of this section and much good work has been done. The photographic section is very active; its services are of great help to the other sections, and it does much to foster an interest in the scenery and life of our district."

A number of societies have libraries, sometimes of a large size, for the use of members. The library of the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society contains 80,000 volumes, exclusive of current fiction, and in 1916 over £1,300 was spent in books. Few societies, however, have libraries on this scale. Local societies have in some cases done valuable research work. The Sheffield Hunter Archæological Society, for example, has been chiefly responsible for the excavations at Trumbleborough and for the collection of old charters now in the public library. Several naturalists' and archæological societies have by their local research assisted the progress of knowledge.

It is impossible to make any generalisation as to the educational influences which the various local societies exert. In many cases their activities are largely confined to popular lectures; in other cases the lectures are arranged in connected courses and often the members hold regular meetings in addition, for the reading of papers and discussions. A considerable proportion of the literary and similar societies are now linked with the educational life of their areas, often through affiliation with the local branch of the Workers' Educational Association, and this has here and there stimulated systematic educational work. Sometimes a local society has taken the initiative in establishing university extension lectures. To refer again to the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, we find that since 1886, the Society has held regularly two courses of Cambridge University extension lectures each year.

These various local societies differ considerably in the class of people they attract into membership. Some of the largest literary and philosophical societies draw their members almost entirely from the middle classes. Many of the naturalists' societies and clubs are predominantly working class bodies and in Yorkshire have provided the members for the university tutorial classes in biology conducted by the University of Leeds. On the other hand, one flourishing natural science society

of which we have heard and which is carrying on excellent educational work has practically no working people amongst its members. The fees for membership charged by local societies vary considerably, but even where they are low the societies often fail to attract members of the working classes.

Literary, debating, scientific and other societies are often to be found under the auspices of religious organisations, but they generally are smaller in membership and more local in character than independent literary and similar societies. They are naturally less able to obtain the services of first class lecturers and they rarely possess libraries and reading rooms such as are to be found in connection with independent societies with a larger membership. Nevertheless, these smaller societies have an advantage in the fact that the members are united in a community of which the societies form a part.

The following list sets out the literary, philosophical, scientific, musical and similar societies existing in thirteen towns of widely differing character. It is possible that the list is not in each case exhaustive and it gives no indication of the relative importance of the various bodies named. There are other similar societies in existence in these towns, but they are under the auspices of other organisations and they have therefore been excluded:—

*Blackpool :—*

Literary and Scientific Society.  
Microscopical Society.  
Glee and Madrigal Society.  
Orpheus Glee Society Male Voice Choir.  
South Shore Male Voice Choir and Vocal Union.  
Amateur Operatic Society.  
Lyric Operatic Society.  
Amateur Orchestral Society.  
Amateur String Orchestra.

*Bournemouth :—*

Natural Science Society.  
Historical and Literary Society.  
The Municipal Choir.  
Bournemouth Art Society.

*Bristol :—*

Sunday Research and Recreation Society.  
University of Bristol Botanical Club.  
Bristol Photographic Club.  
Bristol Society of Antiquaries.  
The David Thomas Literary and Debating Society.  
Cercle Française de Bristol.  
Bristol Microscopical Society.  
Bristol Naturalist Society.  
Bristol Eisteddfod.  
Bristol Choral Society.  
Bristol Musical Society.  
Bristol New Philharmonic Society.  
Bristol (West) Choral Society.  
Avonmouth Choral Society.  
Bristol Madrigal Society.  
Bristol Royal Orpheus Glee Society.  
Society of Bristol Glee Men.  
The Bristol Society of Musicians.  
The Clifton Orchestral Society.  
Bristol Musical Club.  
Ladies' Musical Club.

*Cheltenham :—*

Archæological Society.  
Cheltenham Musical Society.  
Philharmonic Society.  
Dramatic and Operatic Society.

*Glossop :—*

The Glossop Field Naturalists' Society.  
The Robin Hood Field Naturalists' Society.  
Orchestral Society.

*Hebden Bridge :—*

Literary and Scientific Society.  
Choral and Harmonic Society.  
Musical Circle.

*Kettering :—*

Kettering and District Naturalist Society and Field Club.  
Kettering Co-operative Clothing Harmonic Society.  
Kettering Gleemen.  
Kettering Ladies' Choir.

*Middlesbrough :—*

Cleveland Camera Club.  
Cleveland Sketching Club.  
Literary and Philosophical Society.  
Middlesbrough Musical Union.  
Cleveland Male Voice Choir.  
Apollo Male Voice Choir.

*Nelson :—*

Natural History Society.  
Co-operative Holiday Association Rambling Club.  
Two Camera Clubs.  
Glee Society.  
Orchestral Society.  
Amateur Operatic Society.

*Norwich :—*

Norfolk and Norwich Naturalists' Society.  
 Pre-Historic Society of East Anglia.  
 Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society.  
 Norwich Science Gossip Club.  
 Norwich and District Photographic Society.  
 The Woodpeckers.  
 Norwich Philharmonic Society.  
 Norwich Choral Society.  
 Norwich Madrigal Society.  
 The Norwich Players.  
 Norwich Art Circle.

*Oxford :—*

Architectural and Historical Society.  
 Art Society.  
 Camera Club.  
 Horticultural Society.  
 Chrysanthemum and Fruit Society.  
 Bach Choir.  
 Choral Society.  
 Musical and Dramatic Society.  
 Amateur Dramatic Society.

*Sheffield :—*

Fulwood Social Guild.  
 Sheffield and District Cambrian Society.  
 Sheffield Literary and Philosophical Society.  
 Sheffield Microscopical Society.

Hunter Archæological Society.  
 La Société Française de Sheffield.  
 Amateur Musical Society.  
 Clarion Vocal Union.  
 Philharmonic Orchestra.  
 Sheffield Musical Festival.  
 The Dickens Fellowship.  
 Sheffield Naturalists' Club.  
 The Heeley Art Club.  
 The Sheffield Art Crafts Guild.  
 Shakespeare Society.  
 Sharrow Literary Society.

*Wolverhampton :—*

Amateur Sketching Club.  
 The South Staffordshire Naturalists' Society.  
 Wolverhampton Archæological Society.  
 Wolverhampton Literary Club.  
 Wolverhampton Literary and Scientific Society.  
 Wolverhampton Arnold Club.  
 Wolverhampton Burns Club.  
 Wolverhampton Festival Choral Society.  
 Wolverhampton Archæological Society.  
 Wolverhampton Military Band.  
 Waterloo Amateur Musical Society.  
 Wolverhampton Apollo (Men's) Choir.  
 Wolverhampton Quaver Club.  
 Wolverhampton Musical Society.  
 Wolverhampton Amateur Comedy Operatic Society.  
 British Empire Shakespeare Society.

## (J.) RELIGIOUS ORGANISATIONS.

Educational work—even in the stricter sense of the term—is an integral part of the work of most religious bodies. Classes, lectures and study circles are often a normal part of their activities, and various organisations and societies within the churches are now engaged upon work of an educational character, though this work touches only a minority of the members of the churches. In many cases the subjects dealt with bear upon religion; but the study of social problems is becoming a marked feature of organised church life. The educational and quasi-educational activities of religious organisations suffered severely by the disorganisation caused by the war, but there are signs that the work is now being taken up again with renewed vigour. Statistics as to the extent of these educational activities are, generally speaking, not available, for in most cases no records appear to have been kept; nor as a rule, is there any clear evidence of the educational standards attained. But we have no doubt of the growing interest in education among religious organisations. It arises, we believe, from the same general causes which have given a powerful stimulus to adult education in other directions and through other channels. Some of the subjects of study may seem very restricted in scope, and on a narrow view even propagandist in aim, as for example, the study of foreign missions. We understand, however, that these studies are conducted along broad educational lines. For instance, the text-books published by the United Council for Missionary Education, for the use of its study circles, are based definitely on the principle of encouraging students to seek out their own information, and to arrive at their own conclusions. The books themselves devote a great part of their space to the geographical and historical aspects of the life of the peoples under review. The study of comparative religions

is a common subject in classes belonging to religious bodies, and here again wider questions are introduced. The result is that students will often develop an interest in other subjects and widen their outlook by further study.

The study circles of various missionary societies are to be found at work among all classes of church people, but no record is available of their number. Some of these societies publish text-books on Bible Study and on missionary subjects, and also special handbooks on various subjects of study, and all of these have an extensive sale among members of the study circles and others.

The Social Service Committee of the Congregational Union of England and Wales have started groups for study and service in many churches. Members are encouraged to take up the study of social questions and to assist civic organisations, guilds of help, &c. Facilities have been provided for attendance at lecture courses at theological colleges. Courses for group-leaders are a feature of the work. No definite statistics are available, but there has grown up a network of organisation around the Social Service Committee which exerts considerable educational influence especially in the direction of arousing a more active interest in citizenship. Study circle handbooks are published, dealing with such subjects as "Social Problems for Christian Citizens," "Housing," "Child Life and Labour," "The Living Wage," &c.

Lantern lectures on the poor law, housing, model factories, &c., have been organised by the Wesleyan Methodist Union for Social Service to stimulate interest in and study of social problems, and a number of study circles formed for a similar purpose. Two conferences have taken place at Oxford, and several summer schools for the study of social subjects held at Swanwick. Over 21,000 books on social questions have been sold by the Union. The Temperance and Social Welfare Committee of the Wesleyan Methodist Church are encouraging the study of social and economic problems in connection with a propaganda movement with regard to public health, industrial questions, temperance, &c. Books on economic subjects have been supplied to students. The Committee have held industrial conferences in the Rhondda Valley and in the Isle of Man.

The Union for Social Service of members of Unitarian, Free Christian and kindred Churches have organised classes and study circles throughout the churches on the subject of "The Churches and Social Problems"; and Social Problem Societies have been started in many towns and have carried through educational programmes. Literature dealing with such subjects as "General Christian Social Principles," "Unemployment," "Wages," "Housing," "Industrial Organisation," "Social Evils," &c., has been provided and several thousand copies of books on these subjects have been sold. A very active branch is in existence at Evesham. It has taken an energetic part in local government questions, such as Maternity and Infant Care, Public Health and Housing, Finance, Vigilance Work, Education, Organised Games and Children's Welfare, and has met with conspicuous success. A Social Problem Circle was started in October, 1917, and met weekly. The attendance averaged from 40 to 50. At each meeting a paper of 30 minutes' duration was given followed by a discussion, and work of distinct educational value has been accomplished by this means.

In connection with the Society of Friends, a Central Study Committee has been set up, and under its auspices 35 study groups, comprising about 520 students, have been formed. One of the keenest of these groups is composed entirely of miners. In these groups, as in those organised by other religious bodies, the chief subjects of study are concerned with



social and industrial problems. These study circles are supplemented by lecture schools, and to these both members and non-members of the circles are admitted. These schools in turn give rise to new study groups, of which members of the original groups act as leaders. The Committee on War and the Social Order is another body formed by the Society of Friends for the purpose of educating their members in modern social problems. Monthly meetings are held throughout the country, private conferences are organised from time to time, and all members are linked up through correspondence. Study groups are formed locally and suitable text-books issued to them. The Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting of the Society of Friends reports widespread educational activity in its districts. Series of lectures covering four, six or eight weeks are arranged. To all classes and courses boxes of books are supplied on loan. Week-end discussion conferences are held from time to time. Summer schools continuing for a week or longer have been very successful, and latterly the applicants for entrance have been too numerous for the accommodation. Several of the permanent Settlements of the Friends are used for week-end retreats for study purposes and more are shortly to be opened to meet the increasing demand. We are informed that evening class work organised in the villages has met with a remarkable response.

As in the case of the other religious bodies, it was the desire to foster social study and action, together with the wish to give expression to Catholic social principles, that led in 1909 to the formation of the Catholic Social Guild. In 1910 appeared the first "Catholic Social Year Book," and soon after its foundation the Guild began to edit penny pamphlets on social subjects, and published a series of booklets under the general title of "Catholic Studies in Social Reform." Over 8,000 copies of the "Primer of Social Science" have already been sold. A quarterly "Bulletin" is also issued.

Seventeen Study Clubs were formed in 1912, with an average membership of 10, for the purpose of studying social questions. In 1914 the number of clubs had increased to 100, and at present there are about 110, with a membership of about 1,000. These clubs usually meet one evening a week, when as a rule a suitable text-book is taken as a basis for study and a regular syllabus followed. There is also about the same number of clubs which, though not affiliated to the Guild, make use of its literature and study courses. In addition, Study Club Councils have been formed in which different clubs in the same neighbourhood co-operate with each other, each following the same course, and holding joint meetings once a month, when a paper may be read, followed by discussion. Occasionally, conferences are held.

One of the most important developments of the Guild is the "Study Scheme," which maps out courses of study for clubs or individuals, conducts examinations and awards passes, certificates and diplomas to successful students. Boxes containing from 25 to 50 books are supplied to clubs free of charge. A system of tuition by correspondence has been organised, and the Guild, besides being represented on public bodies, takes part in inter-denominational social study, *e.g.*, at Swanwick, and aims at getting more completely in touch with international social movements. Included in the subjects studied are Local Government, Economics, and the League of Nations.

An interesting experiment in adult education has recently been initiated in connection with the Church of England. As the result of their deliberations a Diocesan Committee of the Diocese of Southwark came to the conclusion that there was "a desire for a fuller and more exact knowledge of religious subjects which demanded and justified

the setting up of the necessary new machinery."<sup>1</sup> The idea in the mind of the Committee was that a system of classes for the intensive study of theology, Christian ethics and other religious subjects should be instituted on the model of the university tutorial classes to follow a three years' co-ordinated course under a qualified tutor, with the accompaniment of reading and written work. As the result of a public conference held at Lewisham in June, 1917, the first Church tutorial class was formed at Lee a few weeks later, to be followed by a second at Lewisham in the early autumn. The Lee class elected to study the Old Testament, and in the Lewisham class the subject chosen was Comparative Religions. The following are statistics of the classes up to February, 1919, when they were in the second year of their courses:—

| Name of Class. | Number of Students.              |        |                               |        |  |        | Average Attendance |               | No. of Essays written. |
|----------------|----------------------------------|--------|-------------------------------|--------|--|--------|--------------------|---------------|------------------------|
|                | Total Number enrolled Oct. 1917. |        | Effective Members, Feb. 1919. |        | Numbers who have left the neighbourhood. |        | To Feb. 1918.      | To Feb. 1919. |                        |
|                | Men.                             | Women. | Men.                          | Women. | Men.                                     | Women. |                    |               |                        |
| Lee ... ..     | 6                                | 18     | 3                             | 14     | 3  | 2      | 20                 | 17            | About 34.              |
| Lewisham ...   | 2                                | 25     | 0                             | 20     | 0  | 3      | 20                 | 14            | About 14.              |

The primary object of the Church tutorial class is "to offer the opportunity of religious education to all adults—whether Church people or others—who are prepared to devote themselves to the study of theology." The basis of the classes is democratic; each class chooses its subject and full and free discussion is a feature of the class meeting. The work is at present carried on by a provisional committee, but it is proposed that as soon as the movement is established in a diocese a Diocesan Committee shall be formed consisting of representatives elected by the classes, by the Diocesan Conference, and by theological institutions within the diocese. It was not found possible in wartime to develop the movement further, but we understand that steps are now being taken for its extension in the hope that it will become a permanent feature of Church activities.

The Student Christian Movement has been responsible for some years past for a considerable number of classes and study circles concerned with Bible study, missionary work and social subjects. Study schools are a regular feature of the movement's activities. Five were held in different parts of the country at Easter, 1919. The following statistics of the work of the Student Christian Movement have been supplied to us, relating to the years 1914-1918:—

|                               |       |                |        |
|-------------------------------|-------|----------------|--------|
| Number of Bible Study Circles | ...   | 2,411—Members, | 17,741 |
| " " Missionary Study Circles  | 1,072 | "              | 7,440  |
| " " Social Study Circles      | 933   | "              | 7,562  |

The Brotherhood Movement, the P.S.A.'s and similar organisations often include in their programme lectures and addresses on secular subjects, more particularly on what may be termed "modern problems," and these occasionally give rise to the formation of study groups in these subjects. Then organisations, such as the Church of England Men's Society, the Mothers' Union, the Girls' Friendly Society and similar associations connected with religious bodies, arrange lectures and give means of education for their members in some of the local centres from

<sup>1</sup> The Report of the Provisional Committee of the Church Tutorial Classes Movement, 1919, S.P.C.K 6d.

time to time as occasion offers. Mutual improvement societies and literary and debating societies are often found in connection with religious denominations; and though informal in character undoubtedly stimulate intellectual interests.

The above account of educational work conducted by religious bodies is far from being exhaustive, for it has been impossible to obtain anything like complete information of this particular phase of adult education, scattered throughout the country and for the most part unrecorded as its activities are. We are aware that in addition to the more regular and sustained activities, some of which we have dealt with above, there is a certain amount of educational activity of a more fugitive and sporadic kind in connection with almost every religious organisation, and that many of the regular classes having a definitely religious object, such as the Adult Bible Classes, which are a feature of most of the churches, are, in a broad sense, educational.

#### IV. SURVEY OF SPECIAL ASPECTS AND AREAS.

##### (A) WOMEN AND ADULT EDUCATION.

A survey of the field of non-vocational education reveals the fact that while a considerable number of women participate in its manifold activities—a number which has progressively increased of recent years—men form the great majority of the students in classes. For, as we pointed out in our First Interim Report, women have far less opportunities than men for continuing their education, owing to the unceasing round of household duties and the care of children. These same obstacles, which hinder her participation in sustained educational work in adult life, militate equally against her taking part in public affairs, and thus she misses, to a large extent, that stimulus to knowledge which so often comes as a consequence of public activities. Then tradition and prejudice still play their part, if in a diminishing degree, and there yet exists a feeling, even among the leisured classes, that it is absurd and affected for a woman to desire knowledge for its own sake; and there are many, both men and women, who feel little but amusement and impatience at the thought of a working woman with children of her own applying herself to serious study.

Thus, while women of all classes are to be found taking part in the various forms of adult education, and whilst the voluntary associations are drawing into them a growing number of women, some of whom are to be reckoned among the keenest of their members, it is true to say that hitherto, chiefly for the reasons we have mentioned, the demand has not been so widespread among women as among men. The events of the last few years have, however, brought about a new situation. The calls upon women, which met with so generous a response, to undertake new work, play unaccustomed parts, and generally to take a much greater share in the public life of the nation, have resulted in a broadened outlook, a greater independence of thought, and have proved a stimulus to intellectual activity. This, followed by the extension of the franchise to women over thirty years of age, has meant a great advance towards a fuller citizenship, and brings with it the need for increased educational facilities adapted to the peculiar difficulties and special circumstances of women. As we believe that it is of the utmost importance, both to the nation and to the individual, that women should advance abreast with men along the educational highway, we have made careful inquiries and consulted persons of special experience in this subject to discover the

extent of the existing provision for women of non-vocational education, and how far such provision is designed to overcome the difficulties peculiar to the lives of most women.

At present, while the existing educational facilities for adults are, as a rule, open to women as well as men, the specific provision made for the education of adult women is more or less haphazard. There is nothing approaching a scheme for providing adequate opportunities for all women, but merely a few experiments here and there, which are a valuable guide for the future, but which up to now have touched only the fringe of the problem. It is impossible to estimate the number of women brought into touch with any kind of educational opportunity, since statistics overlap and are unreliable, but in any case the total number reached is a minute fraction of the whole.

The extra-mural work of the universities, in particular the extension lecture courses and the tutorial classes, offer opportunities to women equally with men. The extension lecture system, designed partly as it was to provide means of higher education for women, attracts more women than men, the proportion of women attending the lectures being estimated as between half and three-quarters of the whole. The extension courses have for the past thirty or forty years played a large and important part in the education of women, mainly of the more leisured classes. They have often been the only means of humane education open to women. In this field the extension lecture courses have rendered valuable service to adult education. There have always been women students in university tutorial classes since their beginning, and in most classes a few women will always be found. Their number has gradually increased, and since the war has risen quickly in proportion to that of the men. In 1917-18, out of 2,586 students in tutorial classes in Great Britain, 1,014 were women. The percentage of women to men in these classes has risen from 16·5 per cent. in 1912-13 to 39 per cent. in 1917-18. The percentage was slowly rising before the war, and since it has rapidly increased, largely, of course, because of the enlistment of men students. The mixed class of men and women is the most usual, but in a few cases classes for women only have been formed. Two interesting examples may be quoted as showing the possibilities when the provision is adapted to meet the special needs of women. One was a tutorial class organised specially for women, many of them married, at Beechcroft Settlement, Birkenhead. The arrangements were carefully made after consultation with the students themselves to suit their special needs, and we are informed that the provision of a nursery for the children of mothers attending the class contributed greatly to its success. The other was a class in a Midland manufacturing town. The first suggestion was that the women should join in a mixed class. This, however, they would not do, feeling that "the men were so much more advanced." A class was then formed for women only. Of the 23 students who entered, 19 were definitely working women of an average age of about twenty-five years. None of them had had any education since leaving the elementary school at 13, and most of them were overcome at the mere thought of writing an essay. The results of the three years' course were surprisingly good. An average of 200 essays were written each year; the attendance was most regular, and of the original students, 17 remained in the class throughout the course. We are informed that the success of each of these classes was due to their careful organisation and the adaptation of arrangements and methods to the special requirements of the students.

The position as to facilities provided by local education authorities for non-vocational education does not differ in any marked degree from

that with regard to men. Most local authorities, however, provide classes specially for women in the domestic arts and related subjects, which, while to some extent vocational, can, we think, be regarded as having a wider scope. Of these, cookery, laundry work, dressmaking, needlework, and home nursing are amongst the most common and classes in these subjects are attended by a considerable number of women and girls. It is in these classes that is found the nearest approach to the corporate life which is a feature of other non-vocational work.

In the year before the war, the London County Council made a new departure by founding non-vocational women's institutes. Although greatly hampered by war conditions, these Institutes have met with considerable success, and by some measure of self-government on the part of the students, and of more developed corporate life, have acquired a social atmosphere which is distinctly more attractive to adult students than that of the ordinary evening school. Choirs, dancing clubs, country rambles and other indoor and outdoor social activities are being developed in connection with these Institutes. Certain defects have been pointed out to us by persons experienced in their management, which may militate against their complete success. They are held in ordinary day schools, where the equipment is unsuitable for adults; the pay of the teachers, who have many social duties at the Institutes outside actual teaching hours, compares unfavourably, we are informed, with the pay of teachers in the Commercial Institutes, and there are certain restrictions in choice of subjects which are felt to be unreasonable, *e.g.*, French may not be studied at a non-vocational Institute, because it is a "commercial" subject.

The Adult School Movement had, in 1914, 721 schools for women only (in addition to 67 mixed schools), with an approximate membership of 30,000 women. Included in these figures are three women's schools and two mixed schools in Scotland, with a membership of about 250 women. The educational work done is usually of a somewhat elementary nature, consisting of a "first half-hour talk" given before the weekly Bible lesson, but the work is most valuable in that it brings in women of little education, who would not in the first place be attracted to classes of a more advanced type, but who are led on to wider interests through the work of the school. The usual development is for a school to devote half its time to an educational subject as distinct from the Bible lesson (about one-third of the schools now do this), to pass from single "talks" to short courses, and from them to study circles, summer schools (as described later) and other educational activities.

The Workers' Educational Association has always admitted women into its classes on equal terms with men, but after a few years' experience it has been found necessary, alongside this practice, to make special provision for women as such, and to devote special attention to educational propaganda amongst them. Women, particularly since the outbreak of the war, have come to take a large part in the work of the Association, and form a considerable proportion of its students and officers, and some will now be found acting as teachers of classes and leaders of study circles. Many of the branches of the Association conduct special women's classes, have women's sections and committees, and supply teachers and lecturers to other bodies concerned with the education of women, such as the Y.W.C.A., girls' clubs, mothers' meetings, co-operative women's guilds, women's adult schools, &c.

The Co-operative Union has a considerable proportion of women in its classes on economics and kindred subjects, and also organises special classes for women in such subjects as co-operation and citizenship, and

issues syllabuses of instruction on the basis of which the education committees of local co-operative societies organise classes. In the session 1917-18 there were 34 such special women's classes, containing 1,022 students, and a few women also took advantage of the tuition by correspondence<sup>1</sup> offered by the Union.

In addition to these formal classes, much educational work is done in connection with the numerous branches of the Women's Co-operative Guild. This movement is undoubtedly one of the most important in the country so far as women are concerned. It has been the means of developing amongst women members of co-operative societies an active interest in the affairs of the co-operative movement, and it has provided opportunities for the discussion of public questions more particularly affecting women. Many women's co-operative guilds have carried on educational work of an organised kind by means of study circles and courses of lectures and by a very wide-spread system of week-end schools, and they are often associated with the Workers' Educational Association.

The women's settlements might be expected to form valuable centres for educational work among women, but, as far as we can gather from information we have received, their educational activities are, with one or two notable exceptions, very limited. In most cases the poverty, bad social conditions and floating population of the neighbourhoods in which the settlements are placed seem to have defeated any efforts made towards sustained educational effort.

Beechcroft (Birkenhead) has done more educational work than any other settlement of which we have received a report, but it differs from most in having been founded with a definite educational object, so that its work is really more akin to the various working people's colleges than to the usual type of settlement. From 150 to 200 women (mostly married women of the working class) attend its classes and lectures. Study circles in a large variety of subjects are held, as well as a university tutorial class for women which is steadily recruited from the members of study circles. A nursery for the children of mothers attending classes, which is a feature of the settlement, has been found to meet a very real need. It may be noted that Ruskin College proposes on re-opening after the war to make provision for women students and to establish a women's hostel.

Clubs were before the war provided for girls rather than women, though there was generally no strict age limit, and attachment to the club was often so strong that the average age in many clubs was probably over 18. A good deal of educational work is done in girls' clubs, particularly in those affiliated to the National Organisation of Girls' Clubs, a federation which in 1917 was composed of about 600 clubs and which in that year claimed to bring about 40,000 women and girls under some amount of educational influence. Most clubs find it essential to lead on to education through recreation, which is the supreme need of young girls after an exhausting day. The educational facilities provided are therefore generally more or less informal in character and are much hampered by inadequate premises (since a club usually has at most only two rooms, which are needed for the general work of the club and cannot be spared for a class for a few members), and by financial difficulties, the grant regulations of the Board of Education being difficult to fulfil under club conditions.

The club for middle-class women is still not a prominent feature of English social life, and does not exist outside a few great cities, but

<sup>1</sup> A small number of women also follow the correspondence courses organised by Ruskin College.

most existing clubs are centres of educational interest, and it seems quite probable that the women's club may gradually become as popular an institution in England as it is in America.

The Young Women's Christian Association does educational work on much the same lines as are followed in girls' clubs but its members are usually rather older. Its provision for education has not, in the past, been extensive, but the scope of the Association has developed and extended greatly during the war and plans have been made for very considerable activity along educational lines. The National Education Committee of the Y.W.C.A. proposes to open a residential college for working women, with accommodation in the first instance for twenty students.

Literary and debating and similar societies in connection with the churches are rarely provided solely for women, but women attend them largely and, in Scotland and Wales especially, they are an important factor in adult education.

Schools for Mothers and Infant Welfare Centres have developed very widely since the outbreak of war. Their educational work is in a sense vocational, but the teaching given with regard to hygiene and infant care has considerable value for the mental development of women who have usually come under no previous intellectual influence, and there is no reason why their widespread work should not develop on definitely educational lines in the future.

Mothers' meetings, sisterhoods, &c., make hardly any effort to do educational work, but they bring women out of their homes and may sometimes awaken interest that may lead to an effort after further education. Mothers' Unions, we are informed, have developed study circles amongst their members.

We have been struck in making our inquiries by the extent to which an interest in education, where it exists among working women, has usually been aroused by connection with some propagandist or political organisation. Such societies are very numerous and have a large membership among women, and are of great importance in relation to the problem of women's education. Few of them pursue purely educational ends, but their work is nevertheless of much educational value. Such societies as the women's co-operative guilds, already referred to, the Women's Labour League (which is now part of the organisation of the Labour Party), and the recently formed women's citizen associations attract working women in the first instance by their propaganda or political interest. The work of their branches dealing, as it does, with questions of national and local government and with every sort of social problem, and involving representation on a great many public bodies, provides an admirable training and mental development, and leads many women directly to more definite educational work. Exactly the same part has been played among women of another class by the very numerous suffrage societies and by such bodies as the National Union of Women Workers, and a wide future for further work among middle-class women lies open to the suffrage societies now that some part at least of their immediate end is won.

In addition to the weekly classes, lectures study circles, &c., so far described, a number of the organisations already named have adopted within the last few years the method of summer or week-end or two-day schools. The summer schools connected with the university extension and tutorial class movements and the Co-operative Union are largely attended by women and have been already dealt with in another part of this Survey, but residential schools for women only have also been provided by the Adult School Union and the Women's Co-operative

Guild and will probably become increasingly popular with women's organisations of all kinds. The Adult School Union held very successful summer schools for women at Fircroft in 1911, 1912 and 1913, many students staying for a full month. Schools for shorter periods are held in increasing numbers and during 1917 the Union held 8 schools for women only, which were attended by nearly 300 women. The Women's Co-operative Guild specialises in schools for shorter periods, and held during 1916-17 about 30 two-day schools which were attended by 1,700 women, coming from 300 branches.

In the winter of 1918, a residential school for women was held under adult school auspices at "Penscot," Shipham, Somerset, and was attended by twelve students. During the coming winter (1919-20) a similar school will be held at Ford Cottage, York. There will be twelve women in residence, including five factory workers, a farm worker, and a draper's assistant. The classes and lectures are to be open to day students from York Adult Schools. The curriculum which has been arranged includes Bible study, civics, literature and the drama. The school will be in session for about five and a half months. Several bursaries have been provided to assist suitable students who would otherwise not have been able to attend the school. There were more applications than could be accepted; and it is expected that the Adult School Movement will make further provision for schools of this type when the financial difficulties in the way can be overcome.

Many working women find great difficulty in leaving their homes even for the shortest time, but others declare that it is easier to be entirely away for a few days than to attend a class regularly once a week, and all agree that when absence from home is possible very great educational advantages are gained. Much greater mental concentration is possible, and the stimulus of meeting other women is valuable. There is also the great advantage of individual tuition and of easy access to all necessary books.

Much of what has been said above with regard to the provision made by voluntary agencies applies mainly to towns, but such bodies as the W.E.A. and the adult school movement have done a certain amount of successful work among women in villages. On the whole, however, the village woman, in England at least, is as yet little touched by any direct educational influences, and where any provision exists it often lacks the essential element of self-government, and depends entirely on the support and energy of some one individual, collapsing when that support is withdrawn. Where the essential element of self-government is present, educational opportunities are eagerly welcomed in the villages. Evidence of this is given by such statistics as those of the W.E.A. branch at Ascott-under-Wychwood which in 1915 had 120 members out of a total population of 362, at least half of them being women, of whom 25 attended a special women's class (held in the afternoon) which had been in existence for six years.

The rapid growth of the Women's Institute movement, which we have described in the rural section of the survey, may be the beginning of a new chapter in the education of women in rural districts. These institutes are democratic in constitution, and the exceptional circumstances caused by war conditions have given them a great opportunity of enabling women of all classes and creeds to work together in the villages. Should they prove permanently successful in maintaining their democratic character and in bringing in the poorer and less educated women on terms of equality, they should play a great part in the future development of village life, and prove a powerful stimulus to education generally among women in the countryside.



In regard to the general question of the provision of education for adult women, we set out below several considerations, which, as a result of our inquiries into the subject, we think are worthy of special notice:—

- (i) Classes for women which have not had a large measure of self-government and of freedom in the choice of teacher, subject, meeting-place, etc., have usually failed, and such freedom has been the secret of much of the success met with by other classes.
- (ii) The best students seem generally to be those who have previously been members of some propagandist or religious body, and who seek further education to satisfy a personal need, which may be felt for the sake of the individual, or the family, or the community. Many, especially among the younger women, come to education to satisfy their own immediate desire for self-development, and they are making everywhere a growing demand for the provision of teaching in humane rather than technical subjects. Another type of student has her interest aroused in education for the sake of her husband and children—because her husband is immersed in trade union and public affairs or educational matters of which she knows nothing; or because she longs to keep pace with her children, who are having fuller educational opportunities than she has had, and who daily ask her questions which she cannot answer. Yet another type desires knowledge because her concern for the solution of the social problems with which she is surrounded has been quickened by the work of some political or propagandist society to which she belongs, and in dealing with such problems she has come to feel more and more her own lack of intellectual equipment.

These facts lead us to believe that appeals to women to take advantage of educational provision will be more successfully made if addressed to them through the organisations to which they already belong, rather than to individual women.

- (iii) Educational provision for women must, in order to attain success, be made as attractive as possible. The social atmosphere must be congenial, the time and place of meeting convenient, the room comfortable, and provision made for the care of little children. But, above all, the subject must be so chosen and presented as to be easily related to the women's own lives and to proceed from things they already know. Success or failure may actually depend upon the choice of a title. Child study has been a popular subject in women's classes for several years, but would probably have found few adherents if it had been labelled "Child Psychology," while a course called "The History of the Home" has successfully *camouflaged* as much economic history as if it had been given that more forbidding title.
- (iv) The educational opportunities at present open to working women are, with the exception of such subjects as cookery and dress-making (the latter often conducted on strictly utilitarian and not particularly artistic lines), almost entirely confined to book subjects. The woman who has had her mind stirred and her horizon widened by contact, for instance, with some of the organisations we have mentioned often desires to make her home and surroundings more beautiful, but hardly

any means exist by which she can get any training in a sense of form and colour, or can learn to embody her vague aspirations in any concrete form. Yet no scheme of education can be complete which fails to give such training to the hand and eye, and for most women it would seem to come most easily in learning to design and to decorate their own and their children's clothes. Schools for mothers which already have classes on this subject should be encouraged to undertake more advanced work on these lines. The Educational Needlecraft Association and other educational movements have shown that the teaching of embroidery has a real attraction for working women, and if genuine artists and enthusiasts were available to teach, development along these lines might do much to bring colour and beauty into lives which so often lack both.

### (B) ADULT EDUCATION IN RURAL DISTRICTS.

Though the educational agencies to which we have referred above have reached their fullest development in the towns, they have, nevertheless, to some extent, carried their activities to the rural districts. The conditions of country life, however, have created a problem which differs from the problem of adult education in the larger centres of population, and it is desirable, therefore, to give some separate account of the work in the countryside. Deeply-rooted social traditions, which have long been overlaid by newer traditions in the towns, still exercise a potent influence upon the life, activities and outlook of the village. This social background has created conditions and circumstances which are not entirely favourable to the development of adult education, and which, indeed, in some respects, have been a positive barrier to the extension of education to the working population. The view that education is superfluous for hewers of wood and drawers of water has not yet been finally discredited even in the towns; in the country it still persists and manifests itself in an opposition to non-vocational education, which is regarded not merely as unnecessary, but as dangerous to the stability of rural society. On the other hand, the sub-conscious influence of class distinctions, the economic dependence of the agricultural labourer, and the social and economic conditions under which he lives (and which we dealt with in our First Interim Report<sup>1</sup>), have evolved that reserve which is so characteristic of the rural worker. He is more set in the old ways; he is less articulate or fluent; he is lacking in confidence and initiative; but it would be a great error to regard him as a "clodhopper," a being inferior to the town worker in intelligence, judgment and thoughtfulness. Lack of confidence and initiative in social affairs have, it is true, led the agricultural population to acquiesce in the *status quo*, to accept the present dispensation, to ignore the importance of organised activity, and to neglect opportunities for participating in public responsibilities through the parish and rural district councils. Where, however, circumstances are more favourable, as they have been latterly, the countryman has shown himself capable of taking advantage of them. The growth of trade unionism, for example, during the war has been astonishingly rapid, and it is clear that once the passivity of the rural worker is shaken, and a breach is made in the shell of social conventions which has cramped him, the rural worker exhibits the fundamental qualities of the race.

<sup>1</sup> Industrial and Social Conditions in relation to Adult Education. Cd. 9107, par. 16.

The development of a spirit of co-operation, the interchange of ideas and experience, the intimate social intercourse which stimulates the mind and imagination, are impeded by the fact that the population of the countryside is widely scattered. The village itself is a small community, but a considerable fraction of the rural population lives in parishes where even villages do not exist, but where the inhabitants live in isolated cottages or in tiny hamlets of perhaps three or four or half a dozen cottages. And though the advent of the cycle has reduced distances and enlarged the horizon of the village dweller, it still remains true that the absence of means of transport constitutes a great obstacle to the growth of a social consciousness and a wider outlook. Moreover, agricultural employment for the most part segregates the worker; as often as not he works alone, hour after hour, under conditions far different from that of the factory worker. The length and other conditions of the working day have in the past also minimised his opportunities of contact with his fellows.

The social background and traditions of the countryside have created special difficulties in the way of adult education. Rural life is defective in that organisation which is so marked a feature of town life. Adult education has, on the whole, been most successful in the past where it has been developed in association with existing organised activities. The existence of an organisation is proof of the recognition by its members of a common interest, and education will normally flourish best where a bond of sympathy exists amongst a body of people. Moreover, the machinery for providing education for adults is simplified where potential students are approached through the organisations of which they are members. In the absence of this means of approach, it becomes necessary to evolve an elaborate organisation, which is costly in both effort and money. Until very recently, except in the northern and eastern counties, spontaneous rural organisation was rare in any other form than that of the village friendly societies. The war gave a great impetus to trade unionism, to horticultural societies and clubs of various kinds, to pig and cow clubs, and similar activities. But before the war organised activity of a vigorous kind was not a prominent feature of rural life. In consequence, pioneers in the work of rural education had to rely almost entirely upon organisation of their own creation.

The difficulty is increased by the sparseness of the population. Scattered villages and straggling hamlets present a formidable obstacle to rapid progress. There are rural study groups and circles in being to-day in villages four miles or more from the nearest railway station—in the remote Yorkshire Dales, on the Berkshire Downs and in the Romney Marsh. The remoteness of these centres of educational activity creates a problem which has hitherto obstructed further development. We refer to the lack of tutors and lecturers. In so far as there is an educated class in rural areas, it has not in the past, apart from individual cases, given much encouragement to educational work amongst adults except, perhaps, in technical subjects. To draw teachers from a distance not only involves a considerable expenditure of the teacher's time, but a large item of expense for travelling. These difficulties have here and there been faced, but it is clear that the solution is to be found in the settlement of resident teachers in rural areas. The experience of Wensleydale and of the Buxton Memorial Lectures in East Sussex has shown the wisdom of this course.

It will be evident from what we have already said that the financial obstacles to the expansion of rural education are of a serious kind. The classes and study groups are necessarily small; the agricultural worker in the past has been ill-paid; the distance to be travelled to and from a

class, more especially in inclement weather, tends to make attendance somewhat irregular; the travelling expenses of teachers may be heavy; the cost of organising educational facilities in widely scattered centres is very much higher than similar work in urban areas. In consequence voluntary organisations interested in the spread of education have been unable to cope with the financial burdens of rural education, and their limited resources have been in the main directed to the realisation of their aims in the larger centres of population.

But the obstacles to which we have referred above do not exhaust the peculiar difficulties of adult education in country districts. In many villages suitable meeting places for classes do not exist, or if they do exist it is not always possible to obtain the use of them. We have, for example, been told of a village where there was a good parish room, but, unfortunately, its management was largely in the hands of "several very narrow-minded and unprogressive people." Through their influence a class was debarred from all further use of the room because a survey of village life from early times was given, and reference was made to the enclosures and the work of Joseph Arch. In consequence the class was driven to use the village school, in which the seating accommodation—as in all elementary schools—was unsuitable for adults. In a very large number of villages the elementary school is the only place where a class can meet, and it is by no means always available for use for this purpose.

A village class, also, is necessarily small. In certain instances, as has been the case at Midhurst and elsewhere, it may be possible to draw students from a number of neighbouring villages. This course, however, is not generally practicable. In any case it is essential that each village should possess its own centre of educational activity. It is probable that small classes are in some respects better than larger classes, as the diffidence and reserve of the rural worker will be more readily overcome in a smaller group and discussion developed. On the other hand, in the village there is but a small *clientèle* from which to draw members for a class. Disparity of age and variety of interests may, therefore, render the establishment of a successful class extraordinarily difficult. Again, long hours spent in the open air produce a weariness which the indoor atmosphere of the class-room may do nothing to dispel, and which it may, indeed, intensify; in these circumstances, class-work suffers more than in the towns, though here also educational work is hampered by coming at the end of the day's labour.

Another great drawback to the educational work carried on in the rural districts is the almost entire lack of libraries. In our Third Interim Report<sup>1</sup> we emphasised the absence of library provision in the countryside, and until there is a great development along the lines we there suggested, the growth of adult education will be severely handicapped, and must necessarily lag behind that of the towns, where much more general provision is made in this respect.

In view of the difficulties which face the pioneer in country districts, it is not surprising that advance has been slow and that the steps which have been taken have been experimental and tentative. Further progress will undoubtedly be along lines which will diverge in many respects from the traditions which are gradually being accepted in regard to adult education in urban areas, but which will be determined by the peculiar circumstances of rural life.

We cannot in this connection overlook the special advantages of the countryman. He is in close contact with Nature, with all her incentives

<sup>1</sup> 'Libraries and Museums.' Cd. 9237.

to observation and fine perception. He is intimately aware of the processes of Nature and the creation and development of animal and vegetable life. His daily work is often very varied; it is bounded neither by the four walls of a factory nor by the monotony of a single mechanical operation. His work is interwoven with the constantly changing aspects of Nature. If he has not fully utilised his opportunities, it is because he is without the power of self expression and because he has been reared amid assumptions and doctrines which have suppressed initiative and fostered a passivity which, however, new currents of thought and a new range of experience due to the war are gradually tending to overcome. We have thought it necessary to set forth these considerations in order that the achievements of those engaged in rural education may be regarded in their true perspective.

Facilities for adult education are provided directly and indirectly by both statutory and voluntary educational institutions and organisations operating in the countryside, *e.g.*, Local Education Authorities, Agricultural Colleges and organisations such as the Agricultural Organisation Society, the Women's Institutes, the National Land and Home League, by Universities through their extension work, and by such voluntary bodies as the Adult School Union and the Workers' Educational Association.

The Board of Agriculture and Fisheries has made a definite attempt to group the counties of England for the purposes of agricultural education around the established Agricultural Colleges and Universities, making each one a centre, with its own particular sphere of influence. The recommendation to co-ordinate the work by the appointment of agricultural organisers by the county authorities has been widely followed. These two institutions, the College and the organisers, are, of course, primarily vocational in their object, but they have a much wider application. The imparting of a scientific knowledge of the soil and soil life, of the growth and structure of plants or the processes of animal nutrition, may be regarded as technical instruction, but for the countryman whose life and interests are not divorced from his occupation, as so often happens with the town worker, it may be the door to a liberal education. How far this desirable end is attained will depend almost entirely upon the teacher. If, as is unfortunately too often the case, he is a narrow specialist with no interests beyond the technical aspects of his subject, his teaching will inevitably show the defects so often associated with vocational instruction; but if he is inspired by a broad outlook and human interests, then it will be humane education in the best sense of the word. To carry this point further, a country life has so many subsidiary interests which are in themselves sometimes a means to a livelihood, but which are more generally considered as "hobbies" and not as vocational. Under this heading would be included such subjects as bee-keeping, fruit growing, poultry keeping and horticulture. Again, the whole study of the fundamental principles underlying agricultural practice is in itself highly educative. For this reason it is not only undesirable but impracticable to separate technical and non-technical training in the rural areas. Thus much of the work of the County Councils and Agricultural Colleges, though primarily vocational in aim, properly calls for some mention in this survey. Such institutions influence a widening circle of the rural population, and form in a real sense the basis of a rural university. The residential courses for farmers' sons, farm lads and village schoolmasters are of great social and educational value, and are slowly exerting an influence upon country life.

Popular lectures arranged by the County Councils and the Agricultural Colleges, either separately or in co-operation, on subjects concerned with the science and practice of rural industry are a common feature of the agricultural village. Sometimes single lectures are arranged, but short connected courses are also held. The lectures are usually of an hour's duration, followed by questions and discussion. Frequently they are illustrated by photographs and lantern slides, and also by exhibits of specimens, &c. Generally speaking, the reports of these peripatetic lecturers show that the attendances are good and well-maintained, if the scattered nature of the population in many of the districts is taken into account. That real interest and keenness are aroused is undoubted, and that the practical exhibits of specimens takes hold of the mind of the audience is certain. There is no doubt that this work arouses a general interest in the scientific aspect of agricultural life and that it develops an interest in kindred subjects.

The rural mind is often slow to take in the full significance of a lecture or exhibit at the time, and frequently the same village for several years will apply for a continuation of a course or even the repetition of a lecture. Though these audiences comprise private individuals, farmers and smallholders, they are usually also fully representative of the whole village and include a large percentage of manual workers, often women as well as men. In many villages, these lectures form almost the only public gatherings of the village. Out of them sometimes grow annual social functions such as local flower and vegetable shows, combined with which is usually some form of entertainment.

The evening continuation schools provided by the Local Education Authorities in rural districts are frequently the only opportunity afforded to village men and women for obtaining further general education. A village organiser states: "I have seen classes include bright boys of 12 and 13 still at day school and tired men of 25 and 30 straight from the fields who have learned too late to realise their backwardness and that their want of education is a handicap for life." These schools are generally open throughout the winter months, usually from October to March. While they are intended primarily for the continued education of boys and girls who have recently left the day schools, and the instruction has usually a decided vocational bias, they do provide means for the adult to improve his general education and to study certain subjects which may be regarded as recreative rather than vocational. Thus, while the village evening continuation school usually caters for those who are anxious to improve their arithmetic or to learn book-keeping, shorthand or other commercial and technical subjects, the fact that English and composition is almost invariably included in the curriculum, as are often history and geography, opens the door to a far wider education. Instruction in such subjects as ambulance, first aid and home nursing, cookery, needlework and dressmaking, weaving, carpentry and wood-work, is usually a feature of such schools. To their credit, many village school-teachers, themselves labouring under difficult and discouraging conditions, are to be found in these evening schools after their day's work in the elementary school, making the most of the opportunity which this evening work affords to help their students to self-expression and a living interest in their surroundings by debating with them on local geography, social history, and the history of village life, thus opening the mind of the villager to a wider vision. Such work often prepares the way indirectly for the adult school and voluntary study group. The practical difficulties in the way of rural evening schools are considerable, and consequently many districts are left entirely without any provision of evening classes. Indeed, the continuation work of Local Education Authorities touches but a fraction of the rural population.

The influence of village clubs and associations in widening the outlook of their members and of developing their capacity for mutual aid and communal effort cannot be overlooked. They are the most popular expression of organised effort on the part of agricultural workers. Though these village associations for mutual help are still fairly numerous to-day, they bear few traces of their pre-Reformation fore-runners on the social side. They are mainly sick, burial or insurance clubs, and the passing of the National Insurance Act of 1911 has caused many of them to close down, so that their influence as a training in citizenship and their potential use as organizations upon which to build are slight. Some of the larger societies such as the "Foresters" and the "Shepherds" have branches in many villages, and they "provide members with a full measure of self-government." They also afford some opportunity for social gatherings, but they have never been directly educational.

According to figures given by Mr. Ashby,<sup>1</sup> there were in 1914 some 1,080 village pig clubs and 157 cow clubs in England and Wales, and these are to-day perhaps the most active of village societies. Mr. Ashby's opinion of them is worth quoting: "It is not too much to say that during the last century such corporate life as the villages of England have enjoyed have centred round their various clubs, and it is noteworthy that the birth and development of these institutions has been due to the associative instinct of the labourers, the artisans and the small middle-men."<sup>2</sup> The indirect educational value attached to the administrative working of these associations is evident, and they open the way to a more active participation in public affairs. Since the war the countryman has been impelled to take a keener interest in the affairs of the village and the nation and to a fuller exercise of the responsibilities of citizenship. The exigencies of wartime called into being a number of local bodies such as War Agricultural Committees, District Committees of the Agricultural Wages Board, War Savings Associations, &c., demanding the co-operation of all classes, and service on these, for the agricultural labourer in particular, was a most valuable experience.

It is extremely difficult to gauge the extent to which the churches either by themselves carrying on educational work or in encouraging work established by other means have affected village life from the standpoint of adult education. Much depends upon the outlook of the individual clergyman or minister. In some cases either active or passive resistance is offered to any effort to introduce adult education into the village, especially when this is attempted by a voluntary association. A local organiser informs us that, in an attempt to organise the further education of some 34 villages in a rural area, with one exception he met with no active support and more than once with deliberate opposition. On the other hand, there are instances of the local clergy and ministers taking a leading part and organising lectures, classes and debates, &c., and encouraging the work of the voluntary associations. Most of the religious denominations add their quota to the intellectual life of the village by arranging spasmodic lectures and debates while some of them have developed literary and debating societies for their members.

While it is true that many residents in the country-side who are qualified by education and the possession of leisure to assist in developing the intellectual life of the people among whom they live, are

<sup>1</sup> *Village Clubs and Associations*, by A. W. Ashby. (Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England, Vol. 75, 1914).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

indifferent or antagonistic, there is undoubtedly a considerable amount of individual effort which is almost completely lost to view. Although some of this effort is disconnected and ineffectual from lack of aim and of the inspiration which connection with a large movement gives, it is none the less of value as indicative of a goodwill which may in the future be turned to more effective purpose. While, however, it is not possible to give any detailed account of the activities of private individuals, the value of such work as a stimulus and of preparing the way for more organised effort must not be overlooked.

The importance of purely agricultural organisations in the development of adult education in rural districts must be kept in mind, for by their close contact with rural life they offer a valuable method of approach. The Agricultural Organisation Society is a case in point. Founded in the year 1901 for the purpose of furthering agricultural co-operation amongst farmers, small holders and allotment holders it has chiefly been occupied in organising the commercial side of the country-side. Side by side, however, with the organisation of buying and selling, has gone a certain amount of educational activity which has taken the shape of propagating the general principles of co-operation, and instruction of a technical or semi-technical kind upon principles of marketing, agricultural practice and home industries.

Realising that its operations offered great possibilities for general educational development the A.O.S. approached the Workers' Educational Association in 1913 with a view to co-operating in educational and co-operative effort. Unfortunately the outbreak of the war prevented this promised close relationship between the two bodies from bearing fruit. There is no doubt whatever that the W.E.A. would have been able to approach many villages through the now wide-spreading organisation of the A.O.S., whilst the A.O.S. itself would have benefited largely from the general teaching and spirit of the W.E.A., and it is greatly to be hoped that the project may be revived so that this mutual aid may be developed in the future.

Originating under the auspices of the A.O.S. and affiliated to it, the Women's Institute movement which has taken root in this country during the war has developed very rapidly. The Institutes have been engaged very largely on war work of various kinds—war economy, war saving, food production, &c. That the movement has a much wider application and is far more enduring in character is proved by the experience of Canada, where it started over a quarter of a century ago. The character of the movement in Canada is essentially democratic. Its objects were "mutual help" and "the betterment of the country-side." The movement was judged of such value by the provincial Governments that they gave official and practical encouragement to it by providing expert lecturers and financial assistance. Travelling libraries were made accessible to the members. The Women's Institutes are developing on similar lines in England, though hitherto they have naturally been pre-occupied with war problems. The first Institute in this country was established in 1915 under the auspices of the Agricultural Organisation Society. In 1917 the promotion of Women's Institutes was taken over by the Board of Agriculture and a Federation of Women's Institutes has been formed which co-operates with the Women's Branch of the Board. Judged from the very rapid spread of the movement in this country and from the amount of interest already displayed, the Women's Institutes are destined to be a great influence in the organisation of the country-side. They promise to help to make village life tolerable and



more attractive for the wives of the agricultural workers. The objects of the Institutes are "to improve conditions of rural life by—

- "(a) Studying home economics.
- "(b) Providing a centre for educational and social intercourse and for local activities.
- "(c) Encouraging home and local industries.
- "(d) Developing co-operative enterprises.
- "(e) Stimulating interest in the Agricultural Industry."

Each Institute is an autonomous body governed by an elected committee. There is a small membership fee to cover cost of postage and incidental expenses. Lectures, discussions, demonstrations and competitions form a normal part of the activities of most Institutes. The demonstrations and competitions generally have reference to housewifery, dressmaking, &c. The lectures relate to a variety of subjects,—housing, the history of the village, co-operation, public health, education, &c. Some of the Institutes have started libraries for the use of members.

Already the Institutes are doing much to educate country women in the essentials of citizenship, and, if they continue to develop along democratic lines and to manage their own affairs, they will go a long way toward revolutionising the conditions of village life. An interesting development has already taken place in some villages in that some of the meetings are thrown open to both women and men.

Another purely rural organisation which has undertaken work of an educational character, both directly and indirectly, is the National Land and Home League. Among its objects are: "The encouragement of co-operation, co-partnership, housing and credit banks, in connection with the A.O.S."; an improved system of rural and general education, the provision of public village halls and other means of reviving social life; and the improvement of the conditions of rural labour.

The society has its head office in London and works through county organisers<sup>1</sup> and "Local Land Clubs," some of which arrange lectures on rural and agricultural subjects. The League has also issued a few cheap or free publications for circulation among rural workers, the most interesting being: "How to start a Public Library in a village," and "Parish and District Councils, what they are, and what they can do." Both these pamphlets illustrate well the objects of the League and its endeavour to train the rural population in general education and citizenship. The League has in actual fact perhaps been most prominent in fighting the battles of the small man to obtain allotments and in improving housing conditions.

Prior to the war, trade unionism in rural districts had made but slow progress, except in the eastern counties of England. During the past two or three years, however, conditions created by the war have given an impetus to industrial combination among rural workers, and much more rapid progress is now being made in this direction. We mention this fact because it will, we think, along with other changes which are now taking place, have the effect of improving the status of the country labourer, give him greater confidence and initiative, and in the course of time lead him to seek education on his own account; while the presence of trade union branches in the rural areas will undoubtedly assist the various educational agencies by providing a new means of approach. There are already signs of an awakened interest up and down the country. For example, an agricultural investigator

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<sup>1</sup> There are organisers for Bucks, Berks, Oxon, Dorset, Kent and Wilts.

informs us that after attending the meetings of a number of branches of an agricultural workers' union in Lincolnshire, and having conversed with the officials, he is convinced that many of these branches would welcome educational facilities.

Voluntary bodies concerned with non-vocational adult education such as the Adult School Union and the Workers' Educational Association, operate to a very much smaller extent in the rural districts than in the industrial towns. As regards the extra-mural work of the universities, extension lecture courses, chiefly those of Oxford and Cambridge, will be found in a good number of the country towns.

As regards adult schools, we are informed that "approximately there are 167 men's schools, 130 women's schools, and 22 'mixed' schools in the villages of England. This estimate does not include schools in small country towns where the population exceeds 3,000. The total membership of these 319 schools is about 8,000, the proportions of men and women being nearly equal." On the whole, it would appear that the adult school movement has flourished best in the towns and semi-industrial villages. The preservation of the independent and democratic character of an adult school presents more difficulties in rural districts than the larger centres of population. Not the least difficulty is that of accommodation, as it occasionally happens that a school is denied the use of the only suitable meeting place and the school must then be held in a private house or, as sometimes happens, in a barn or a workshop. There are, however, concrete instances up and down the country to show that the Adult School Movement can do good work in different ways, in rural areas. The school at Fleckley, in Leicestershire, for instance, developed a study group; another at Wythall with about 50 per cent. of agricultural workers formed a weekly debating society which has been in existence nine or ten years. At Heckington, in Lincolnshire, the school organises musical and other entertainments for the village from time to time. Rural adult schools follow the same general procedure as in the case of schools in the towns.

The rural activities of the Workers' Educational Association are gradually increasing, although the war checked several promising experiments. In 1910 the Association appointed a Committee to consider education in the rural districts, and, following this, instituted a campaign which resulted in the formation of study groups in a number of rural centres. In 1912 there were nine village and two country town groups established. In 1913 the number of groups increased to 17, and the work was receiving the support and encouragement of several Local Education Authorities. During the next year further groups were formed, and in 1915, despite the outbreak of war, seven new village centres were established. The work in Wensleydale (Yorks) now began to develop rapidly, and in the same year a special rural secretary took up her residence in Oxfordshire. The effects of the war then began to be severely felt, and the rural movement was particularly affected. Several of the most successful organisers and teachers were called away for military service, while the increased difficulties of travelling and pressure of work upon available lecturers made country work exceptionally hard, and many of the village groups in Sussex, Wilts and elsewhere had to disperse temporarily owing to these causes.

In spite of these difficulties the movement was not only kept alive, but began to spread in new areas; for example, in 1915 a village group was formed in Ham Street, near Ashford, and proved to be the forerunner of a movement in the villages and market towns of Mid-Kent,

which by 1919 had increased to 13 active centres, at two of which, Maidstone and Ashford, a tutorial class has been formed. Moreover, the demand for educational facilities in this area has been in advance of the available supply of teachers.<sup>1</sup>

The methods employed in these W.E.A. groups have varied considerably, according to the needs of each particular case. Among the subjects dealt with are:—English and European history, geography, English literature, natural science, rural science, horticulture, problems of reconstruction, English country life, music and singing, embroidery, French, mathematics, the evolution of the home, and biography. It is noteworthy that music and the drama occupy a far larger place proportionately in W.E.A. activities in rural districts as compared with the industrial towns.

Experience has shown that the work has spread most rapidly where there has been some definite attempt at local organization with a country town as a centre of operations. For example in West Sussex the W.E.A. movement began in the village of Heyshott with the organization of village concerts, and went on to lantern lectures and a village play. At this point the work seemed ripe for extension, and Midhurst was made the centre for propaganda. When the war broke out classes had been started in seven or eight villages, but unfortunately had to be suspended when the organiser joined the Army. In East Sussex the Buxton Memorial Lectures were begun in 1913, a fund of £300 being subscribed for the work as a memorial of the late Charles Sydney Buxton. An organiser-teacher was appointed and a start made at Horsted Keynes with a series of six lectures on "Social Movements in the 19th Century." During the winter of 1913-14 classes were held at Horsted Keynes ("Making of the British Empire"), Ardingly ("Mediæval England"), Hassocks and Ditchling (in the same subject), and Burgess Hill ("The Growth of Parliament"), together with three lantern lectures at Chailey. In the course of the next two years the following centres were also reached—Bolney, Cuckfield, Haywards Heath, Hurst, Keymer, Lindfield and Heyshott (in West Sussex). The lectures were usually in courses of from 6 to 14, and the attendances varied from 20 to 100. It was a misfortune that this most promising movement had, owing to insuperable difficulties arising out of the war, to be suspended for the time being.

In 1913 a W.E.A. branch was formed in the market town of Petersfield (Hants), and an organisation built up by federating the various educational and working class societies in the town and district, including the friendly societies, the local branch of the National Union of Railwaymen, and the co-operative societies, working men's clubs, &c. From Petersfield the movement spread to the villages of Froxfield and Steep. For 1913-14 a programme of subjects selected by popular vote was drawn up, including a course on industrial history, and musical theory and sight reading. Twenty-four "effective" students attended at Petersfield, 28 at Froxfield and 25 at Steep, and the classes earned Government grant. Of these 77 students 64 were of the working and shop-keeping classes, and 13 leisured people. Books were read and essays written. In addition to the above, discussion classes and miscellaneous lectures were held. In 1913-14 the work was in part re-organised to meet new conditions arising out of the war, and Froxfield developed into a separate branch. A French class for soldiers was held in Petersfield and some 300 men joined. The attendance was very irregular but

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 328-333 of this Appendix for particulars of the work of the Kent Federation of Study Groups.

much useful work was done. The soldiers acted a number of French plays with great success. Classes were also held in dressmaking, shorthand, social history, and French for civilians. Froxfield studied social history, while the Steep members acted a musical play. A summer class for the study of international relations was also held. The work was supported by the Hants County Council and the Petersfield Urban District Council, and is being continued on similar lines.

Another village movement was that in Wiltshire in the neighbourhood of Swindon which resulted principally from the missionary efforts of the Swindon W.E.A. branch. The movement in the villages of Wensleydale, Yorkshire, to which we have already referred, has distinctive features of its own. The lectures and discussions were often held round the farm house hearths, and the drama has been one of the chief educational methods employed.

Extension lecture centres are doing work of considerable value in many of the smaller country towns, where they are frequently the only means of higher education available for the ordinary adult resident. While their influence upon the villages is probably small, they could undoubtedly be a powerful agency in providing means of study for students in the market towns, and in stimulating them to carry their knowledge to the surrounding villages. Here and there this has actually occurred—for instance, in connection with the extension courses at East Grinstead in Sussex, where the local centre extended its influence to the neighbouring village of West Hoathly. The experiment is thus described by the local secretary:—

“I began first of all with Shakespeare readings for women school teachers and their friends, including our domestic servants. Those at once developed into evening Shakespeare readings with men helping. I found it better not to read solidly through a whole play, but to tell the audience (we used to get about 70 to 80 of the villagers to come and listen) the story and then read scenes. By degrees we put in a little action and for the ‘Twelfth Night,’ for instance, made a sort of box hedge for Sir Toby and Maria to stand behind, and so on. Of course, scenes like Bottom’s scenes in ‘Midsummer’s Night Dream’ read by real country folk were more convincing than any stage production.

“The next step was to give a short lecture on Shakespeare—followed by lectures on other Elizabethans, and for these I got some fellow students of the Extension centre . . . in East Grinstead to help me by giving these simple lectures.”

East Grinstead next had a course on Greece, and read some of Prof. Gilbert Murray’s translations. A similar experiment was made with the village class. “Then we suggested learning the parts and acting them. . . . Three months later we had a performance of the Hippolytus with 75 performers, of whom about 25 were men. After that, every year until the war we gave three or four performances of Greek plays, sometimes with as many as 90 performers, mostly villagers. . . . Then I asked Mr. Philip Wickstead, who was giving extension lectures in East Grinstead on Greek Drama, to talk to our players about some of the plays they had learned, and this developed into a course on Greek Drama, and besides our players a good many of the other villagers came.”

There are instances of extension lectures in even smaller villages, but this interesting experiment is enough to illustrate the fruitful possibilities of extension courses in villages or country towns if the twin obstacles of finance and transit could be removed.

The tutorial class movement up to the present has been confined almost entirely to industrial or semi-industrial districts in the larger

centres of population, and much groundwork requires to be done before an effective demand can come from the rural areas. Summer schools and summer meetings are also, at present outside the range of the agricultural worker, as they are usually held at that season of the year when he finds himself most busily engaged on the land. Other village residents, more fortunately placed, can and do avail themselves of the opportunity for study and intellectual refreshment which non-vocational summer courses offer, and have returned to their villages to become missionaries in the cause of adult education, and to undertake the duties of class secretaries and study group leaders, etc. But there undoubtedly remains a need for the provision of vacation courses adapted to the requirements of the rural labourer and held in those seasons of the year when he can attend. As regards residential courses extending over one or more years, Ruskin College, as far as we can ascertain, is the only institution which offers any special facilities for non-vocational studies to agricultural workers. There is one Buxton Memorial Scholarship for agricultural workers, tenable at the College, but as this is of comparatively recent origin it has not yet had time to make its influence felt. It is possible that a rural student might enter the College by means of one of the other scholarships tenable there, but this has never actually happened. Up to the present only two purely agricultural workers appear to have passed through the College,—one entering in 1909 whose occupation was described as a "carter," and who was maintained by private funds, and the other in 1913 who was an agricultural labourer. The percentage is, of course, altogether out of proportion to the importance of the agricultural industry, and is due to lack of opportunity.

While lectures and classes and book learning generally have an important part to play in rural schemes of adult education, they require to be supplemented by other methods. It is through some form of action that country people can often best express themselves, and in action they lose their reticence and feel that they are producing something for themselves. Thus drama, music and folk song and dance are important avenues of approach. As in the past the countryman found one of his chief means of self-expression and recreation in some kind of dramatic performance, so to-day it is noticeable that many of the spontaneously organised village entertainments comprise some form of simple play in which the villagers themselves take part.

The experiment referred to above, made by the members of the East Grinstead University Extension Centre, which led to participation of the village folk in Shakespeare's plays and Greek drama, is a striking example. Similar results were achieved by the W.E.A. in West Sussex, where the same interest was displayed in dramatic representation.

A most successful experiment of this kind was that carried out in the village of Woodborough in Wiltshire. Here a village play was written for and wholly acted by the village working people. The little company afterwards produced the play in Marlborough. The play, "The Man with the Load," written in local dialect, centres in a shepherd's cottage, and the action takes place in the cottage and on the hillside. The scenery was all "home-made" and each player provided his own clothes, but the very setting of the play involved few trappings. "The whole company enjoyed doing it so much that they were always asking if they couldn't do it again."

Another example is that of Steep, in Hampshire, where the Choral Society took to acting plays written by an inhabitant of the village and dealing with village life and customs. The first play was a representation of Hallowe'en in a farmhouse, written as an occasion for folk songs

and dances—with a slight story. The second was a very beautiful Christmas play written by Mrs. Muirhead Bone and staged by Mr. Muirhead Bone, who live in the village. Acted by members of the Choral Society, who were very keen and ready to work and rehearse, it surprised everybody by the result.

The same methods have been adopted in the very different atmosphere of a Yorkshire Dale. For five years in succession the rural workers of Wensleydale villages have produced plays very varied in type, including Shakespeare, Sheridan and Pinero. "Twelfth Night," "The Rivals," "As you Like It," "The School for Scandal," "The Playgoers" and scenes from "Henry the Fourth" have all been produced.

These instances are enough to show the possibilities of the drama as a means of education in the country village. Such activities awaken the imagination, develop personality and lead to a broader outlook upon life generally. This method of engaging the countryman's interest has proved almost invariably successful where it has been tried, but hitherto the experiments have been too few and far between.

Along with the drama, music, song and dance make a considerable appeal. In some parts of rural England, especially in the South and West, the choirs and choral societies form the main organised village groups, and while being highly educational in themselves, sometimes lead to wider activities.<sup>1</sup> The experiments in adult education in West Sussex and Oxfordshire often included musical entertainments and the singing of old English songs. For a number of years before the war classical concerts were organised at Lower Heyford and the neighbouring village of Steeple Aston, in Oxfordshire. The concerts were given by musical amateurs from Oxford, and the work was an unqualified success. It proved beyond question that first-class music is appreciated by ordinary village people, and that by steadily continuing concerts through a number of seasons the standard of taste and power of appreciation can be raised to an enormous extent. The principle adopted in this instance was to include only really first-class music in the programme and to banish all consideration of what is supposed to be popular taste, and as a result it was discovered that the music of Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert and Brahms can be enjoyed by village people. This experience is confirmed by the result of a similar experiment made in the Sussex village of West Hoathly, before referred to, where performances of classical music met with an equally keen appreciation. At the village of Steep the same interest in good music was discoverable, taking here the form of a choral society, whose members (among whom were labourers and gardeners and their wives and daughters), formed themselves into a class in sight reading and harmony, which class was recognised by the Board of Education as eligible for grant.

During recent years there have, of course, been many instances of the successful revival of folk songs and dances in the rural districts. Branches of the English Folk Dance Society have been established in several country towns, *e.g.*, Cirencester and Oxford, from which centres the songs and dances have been taken out into the surrounding villages. Mr. Cecil Sharpe informs us that "our experience was that the country people of all classes took very readily to the songs and dances when they were properly put before them," and he goes on to say that "the songs and dances appeal to country folk because they feel they are doing something themselves, just as they do in the case of acting."

<sup>1</sup> For Wales see the Section of the Survey on "Adult Education in Wales," p. 276 *et seq.*

The adequate provision of village libraries for general use and of collections of books for classes and study groups is a necessary accompaniment of any attempt to promote adult education in rural districts. While here and there village libraries are to be found, in most country districts they are non-existent. In certain rare instances the Public Libraries Acts have been adopted in country parishes, but the insufficiency of the product of a 1*d.* rate in the average rural parish to establish and maintain a library is an insuperable difficulty unless a group of contiguous parishes agree to unite for library purposes, an arrangement which it is extremely difficult to bring about. The Claydon libraries in Buckinghamshire are a notable instance of the adoption of the Public Libraries Acts. Middle Claydon, with a population of some 220 people, has had a library for the past 20 years, comprising about 4,000 volumes. Steeple Claydon, with a population of about 800, has had a library for 12 or 13 years with about the same number of books, while Botolph Claydon, with between 300 and 400 inhabitants, has a collection of over 3,200 volumes, with a circulation of from 40 to 60 per week. These libraries are free to the inhabitants of the parish, which contributes a yearly rate not exceeding 1*d.* in the £, the total product of which is about £35. These libraries, to some extent, have begun to cater for an area outside their own boundaries. For example, the neighbouring parish of Water Eaton, by an annual payment of the sum of £1 to the Middle Claydon library secures the loan of 100 books per year. It is interesting to note that the Steeple Claydon librarian in a report states that "working men and women choose a higher class of books for themselves than any we should think of offering them." It is of further interest to find that around the libraries a social life has grown up leading to lectures and debates and the like.

Among other existing facilities may be mentioned the Yorkshire Village Library founded in 1856 under the auspices of the Mechanics Institutes. It operates in connection with the village institutes, upon which it depends chiefly for its income. Similar in scope is the Library of the Lancashire and Cheshire Union. Founded in 1847 it suspended operations in the seventies and was revived in 1892. In 1906 a library scheme was established in Herefordshire by the then Bishop of Hereford, the funds being provided by an anonymous gift. For a subscription of £1 this scheme supplies a box of books three times a year to elementary schools and to some of the poorer parishes. The Dorset Book Lending Association is a similar scheme. Here 5*s.* of the annual subscription of £1 is contributed by the County Education Committee for those schools which make use of the library. The County Committee also makes a grant for the supply of text books for teachers in connection with the scheme. In Scotland, by the benefaction of the late Mr. James Coats, the Coats Libraries have been established in remote villages in the Highlands and Islands. The number on the mainland is stated to be 186, and in the Islands 150. These collections which vary from 300 to 600 volumes, are usually placed in the schools, and are free to the public. The Carnegie United Kingdom Trust has recently inaugurated a scheme for developing and keeping up to date these Libraries by the supply of boxes of books to certain districts where they are established, and a start was made in 1916 in the Orkneys, Shetland, and the Isle of Lewis.<sup>1</sup> At 56 places at which books were deposited on an average for six months, 9,215 volumes were issued. Of these volumes 633 were

<sup>1</sup> We are indebted for the information given above in this paragraph to the Address on "Rural Libraries" by Mr. A. L. Hetherington, Secretary of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, reprinted from the "Library Association Record," May, 1916.

borrowed by crofters, &c., 194 by fishermen and sailors, 1,048 by domestic workers, 803 by teachers, 174 by ministers, &c., 321 by shopkeepers, 52 by masons and joiners, 372 by dressmakers, &c., 5,299 by school pupils, and 319 by others.

An experiment whose extension would be of great assistance to the development of rural adult education is that promoted in Staffordshire in 1916. The Carnegie United Kingdom Trust placed a sufficient sum at the disposal of the Staffordshire Education Committee to enable it to experiment in the provision of books in the rural areas. A central repository has been created at Stafford, and from this boxes of books, suitable for children and adults, are distributed to selected schools of the country. Records are now available of the first two years' working of this scheme:—

In 1916–17, in 56 places in Staffordshire, out of 3,559 books issued to persons who were neither pupils nor teachers in the schools, 278 were issued to “farmers and those engaged in Agriculture generally.” Of these 278, 216 books were fiction, 12 on sociology, 11 on science, 21 on useful arts.

In 1917–18, in 182 places, 9,316 books were similarly issued. Of these, 1,063 were issued to farmers, etc., 886 being fiction, and the other corresponding figures were 35, 23, 32. In this class in this year 45 books were issued dealing with history, geography and travel, as against none in 1916–17.

While the provision of local libraries still remains a pressing need, the institution of the Central Library for Students in London has provided a valuable auxiliary to rural education. Rural classes and study groups can now obtain from this Library the loan of books bearing on their courses of study, as can the solitary student who in country districts is far more divorced from access to the world of books than his fellow in the towns.

### (C) ADULT EDUCATION IN WALES.

In other sections of this Survey we have dealt with those forms of non-vocational adult education which are common to Wales and other parts of Great Britain. In this section we shall deal with those activities which are peculiarly Welsh; for adult education in Wales possesses features which are of purely native growth, such as the Eisteddfod and the Sunday School, and which, bound up with the history and tradition of the country, are expressions of the character and genius of the people. Inhabited by an imaginative race, cherishing an ancient culture and highly sensitive to the appeal of things of the mind and spirit, Wales offers a rich educational field, and needs but adequate means for its full cultivation.

It has been pointed out to us that in any consideration of the problem of adult education in Wales “differences of population and employment” must be kept in mind. Broadly speaking, three divisions may be distinguished. First, the population of the greater part of North and West Wales, still almost entirely Welsh in tradition, thought and speech; secondly, the population on the industrial fringe, who have maintained much of the old traditions and habits of thought; and, thirdly, the population, much of it immigrant, in the centres of industry, where the Welsh language has fallen largely into disuse, and where the local industrial and social conditions have evolved special features.

Those who are familiar only with adult education as it has developed in England will note, at least in the more Welsh districts of Wales, some points of marked contrast. In England the more important developments have been closely linked with some central organisation.



In Wales, on the other hand, such institutions as the Eisteddfod, whose influence has been widespread throughout the country for generations, are entirely of local growth and connected in no way with any central organising body. Other marked features will be seen in the strong artistic bias in the educational life of the country—chiefly towards music and poetry, the arts and crafts being but little developed—and also in the close connection of many educational activities with the work of religious organisations.

*The Eisteddfod.*—In the Eisteddfod system Wales possesses a unique instrument of non-vocational adult education, and one which, in its various ramifications, influences a very large proportion of the population, both in North and South Wales. The Eisteddfod is not only the oldest of Welsh cultural institutions, but it is also uniquely Celtic in its character, and remains, like the *Oireachtas* in Ireland, a testimony to the ancient tradition of Celtic countries that culture was not merely a possession of the rich and leisured classes, but was, and should be, the inheritance of the whole people.

The National Eisteddfod meets annually and draws together, both as competitors and as visitors, Welsh men and women from all parts of Great Britain. This, however, is only the model of hundreds of other meetings held all over the country every year and narrowing down finally to the *Cyfarfod Cystadleuol* (competitive meeting) which is organised in connection with individual churches, literary societies, &c., even in the smallest villages. These meetings are subject to no external control or guidance. They break out spontaneously in the different localities, but the result is a system built up along the following lines:—

(1) The small competitive meeting, at which prizes are offered for poetry, music, essays on various subjects (literary, historical, theological, &c.) and hand-work. The prizes are small, and the competitions are generally confined to the members of the church or society arranging them. This is the school in which the local “bard” or singer makes his earliest efforts, and success here induces him to venture into a wider field.

(2) The local Eisteddfod may also be held in connection with a religious organisation or with some local institution. It does not differ from (1) except in that the prizes offered are larger, the subjects of a wider range, and the standard of attainment higher. The competitions are sometimes limited to a definite area, but are more often open to all comers. Such meetings very often offer a chair or a crown, which are the most coveted prizes of the Eisteddfod world.

(3) The provincial or county Eisteddfod is on a still larger scale, to which it has attained through its large prizes, the variety and excellence of its subjects, and its good organisation and management. It is almost always held on a public holiday, such as Christmas or New Year’s Day or one of the Bank Holidays, and is one of the chief social events of the year, drawing its competitors and audiences from a large area.

The National Eisteddfod is held each year alternately in North and South Wales, but English towns with a considerable Welsh population, such as London, Liverpool and Birkenhead, are also visited. It is attended by audiences amounting sometimes to as many as 15,000, and its “great moments,” such as the churning and crowning of the bards and the great choral competitions, are scenes of unforgettable enthusiasm.

The influence of the Eisteddfod on the life of the people throughout the year can hardly be exaggerated. The musical activity to which it gives rise is described elsewhere, but it is in relation to the verse competitions that its influence is most unique and least intelligible to the outsider.

It must be remembered that Welsh verse is built up on the most intricate system, and yet every village contains a number of men and women who master it and for whom poetry generally is the main interest of their leisure hours. The most coveted prizes of the Eisteddfod, both in poetry and prose, have been won by working men entirely self-taught; for instance, by a village policeman, a quarryman, and a shepherd.

But for the Eisteddfod there would be no possibility of publication for the work of such men. No organised teaching exists to supply them with the technique of their art—they learn it from much reading and by discussion with each other wherever the local bards congregate, often at the shop of the tailor or the blacksmith. The system has gone on for centuries, and it creates in every generation little groups of men and women who would be the finest possible material for classes in Welsh literature and history, and who would welcome such teaching warmly if it was brought to them by men in full sympathy with their national tradition and genius.

Another very important feature of the Eisteddfod system is the contribution made to research by the essay competitions at the more important Eisteddfodau. In the case of the National and of the larger local Eisteddfodau, the subjects are definitely set with a view to the building up of a body of knowledge in regard to the history, literature, archæology, and economics of Wales. The most important contributions thus made to the National Eisteddfod are published by the National Eisteddfod Association, and have resulted, to take only a few examples, in a series of Welsh county folk lore, of biographical and bibliographical dictionaries, and of histories of literature.

In addition to its work in publishing, the National Eisteddfod Association has greatly increased the value of the Eisteddfod by organisation to secure the holding of only one National Eisteddfod in each year, and to select (in conjunction with the *Gorsedd*) the place at which it shall be held, by obtaining fully qualified adjudicators, conductors and chairmen, and by maintaining a high standard in the various competitions.<sup>1</sup>

*The Gorsedd.*—Closely allied to Eisteddfod activities is the *Gorsedd*, or council of bards, which is best known to outsiders in relation to the picturesque ceremony connected with the National Eisteddfod. Its real significance, however, is as an examining body which gives bardic “degrees” in literature and music and its most important function is to inspire the study of Welsh metres.

*Literary and other Societies.*—The Honourable Society of *Cymmrodorion* is most conveniently treated here, although it bears no close relation to the societies dealt with in the latter part of the section. It is one of the oldest and best known of Welsh societies and was founded in 1751. It had a notable history in the latter part of the 18th century, but it fell on evil days, and after a spasmodic career in the first half of the nineteenth century, it was firmly re-established in 1873 “for the purpose of bringing into closer contact Welshmen, particularly those resident out of Wales, so as to unite their efforts for advancing the welfare of their country.” Its headquarters are in London, where it holds meetings for the reading of papers on historical, literary, scientific, and artistic subjects relating to Wales, which are afterwards published in an annual volume of Transactions. These volumes, together with those of the “*Cymmrodor*” (1887-1919), a magazine published by the Society, contain some of the most important research work which has been done

<sup>1</sup> For criticisms of the Eisteddfod held at Corwen in 1919 see *The Welsh Outlook*, August, 1919.

in relation to Wales and the activities of the Society are a constant stimulus to such research. The Society has also established a special fund for the publication of unpublished Records throwing light on Welsh History, and has already published several such records. An indication of the importance of the Society and of the high character of its work may be gathered from the fact that the Royal Commission on University Education in Wales in recommending the establishment of a Board of Celtic Studies in connection with the University, named the Society as one of the bodies in their view entitled to nominate a representative on the Board.

The Cymmrodorion is not, however, merely a learned society. As the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod it holds each year a meeting during the Eisteddfod week to promote the consideration of educational, social, and literary questions affecting Wales. For example, the University tutorial class system was brought before the notice of an influential audience by a paper read by Mr. Lleufer Thomas at the meeting of the Cymmrodorion Section of the Eisteddfod of 1915. From such meetings, and with the continual support of the Society behind them, have sprung such other educational institutions as the National Eisteddfod Association, the Welsh Folk Song Society, the Welsh Bibliographical Society, the Welsh Language Society, and others.

*Literary Societies.*—These Societies are to a large extent associated with religious organisations and they have contributed very largely to the preservation of the Welsh language and to maintaining the active interest of the people in literature, history, and social questions. For many generations in conjunction with the Sunday School they served to fill the gaps left by a very defective system of national education, and with their aid thousands of vigorous minds have repaired the intellectual defects due to a lack of early training. They may be divided into:—

- (1) Societies connected with individual churches or chapels;
- (2) Societies serving a town or district generally.

(1) Societies under this heading are exceedingly numerous and appear under every sort of title. It has been estimated from denominational statistics and individual reports that there were from 2,000 to 3,000 of such societies in Wales in the years immediately preceding the war. They form a most essential part of the work of a Welsh church or chapel, and are just as flourishing among Welsh circles in England. There are, for instance, no less than 23 such societies in connection with Welsh churches and chapels in London which are federated together as the Union of London Welsh Literary Societies and which, before the war, offered programmes of the most genuinely interesting nature and were the centres of intellectual life for the ordinary Welsh men and women in London, and the agencies through which dramatic performances and activities of a most varied nature were promoted.

The chief defect of such societies is the lack of continuity in their programmes. There is no opportunity for sustained study of any one special subject or branch of it, but the possibilities opening out in that direction are great. These societies should furnish the foundation for systematic classes in literary, historical, economic, and other subjects.

(2) The second group of societies—those associated with a town or district—present few points of contrast with (1) except that they are generally larger and that their work is mostly of a somewhat higher intellectual standard and their occasional lecturers of greater distinction. (It should be mentioned that professors and lecturers at the Welsh colleges and leaders of intellectual life in Wales are usually most generous in their

offers of lectures to such societies, and the influence of the public lecture is not to be despised as an educational force in Wales, particularly as it tends to be devoted to some question intimately affecting the history or life of the country. The isolated lecture, therefore, frequently turns out in practice to be more or less of a continuous course and in this respect differs somewhat from similar lectures in England. This is not the only point in which the "nationalism" of Wales would seem to serve a considerable educational purpose.)

These societies appear under a very large number of names, but their programmes are all very similar. The majority of the meetings are devoted to papers read by one member of the society to the others, or to debates, but each year there are usually several lectures by men and women of some eminence, sometimes a dramatic performance is given, and one night is almost invariably given up to a Parliamentary election. The literary society is *par excellence* the training ground for public speaking in Wales.

In North and Mid-Wales the societies are usually not federated together in any way, but in South Wales a strong movement has grown up within recent years which aims at federating all Welsh literary societies in the *Union of Welsh Societies* (*Undeb y Cymdeithasau Cymraeg*). This Society, founded in 1912, is one of great power and energy, and its avowed aim is to stem the wave of Anglicisation which threatens increasingly to obliterate in S. Wales both the Welsh language and with it those forms of culture which are traditionally Welsh. It works towards this end by federating all existing societies, and by propaganda work, whose aim is the founding of a Welsh society of this type in every village in South Wales.

It has now a membership of 75 societies, representing from 7,500 to 10,000 members, mainly in South or South-West Wales, and Welsh societies outside Wales (*e.g.*, in London, Liverpool, Glasgow, and Manchester) are now gradually joining it.

The Union derives much of its vitality from the fact that it is not merely a movement for mutual improvement, but that all its efforts are directed towards the one end of preserving the Welsh language and encouraging its teaching to the young both at home and in the elementary and secondary schools. Great insistence is laid on the exclusive use of Welsh in its meetings, and several societies organise evening classes in Welsh conversation and Welsh literature, while others have influenced Local Education Authorities to arrange such classes. It is part of the policy of the Union to watch carefully educational development, particularly with regard to the teaching of Welsh in schools, and also, in conjunction with similar movements in other Celtic countries, to make the language of the country a real instrument of education within them. An Annual Conference is held at different centres which is attended by representatives of Welsh churches and societies, who confer together on the difficulties encountered in the preservation of the language and the most effective means of meeting them. At such Conferences there is always an exhibition of Welsh books. The Union has recently considerably broadened the scope of its activities, still, however, seeking primarily to ensure that the culture of the Principality shall be essentially Cymric and Celtic in its inspiration. It is endeavouring to provide that all the educational authorities in Wales shall make this the dominating factor in the educational schemes invited by the new Education Act. It will also certainly seek to utilise every possible channel and method of adult education to promote the same end.

In 1918 the Union instituted a Holiday School in Welsh language, literature and history at Llanwrtyd Wells, the intention being to supplement rather than to compete with the summer school of the Welsh Language Society described later. The operations of the school were regarded as completely satisfactory by the Board of Education, which contributed substantially to the cost, practically meeting the difference between income and expenditure. The school is being held again in 1919, and has every prospect of becoming a permanent institution. While proceeding on popular lines, designed to attract those whose knowledge of the subjects studied is not great, it is likely to develop into a more ambitious organisation, attracting, amongst others, young Welsh men and women living outside Wales.

The Union endeavours to maintain a close connection with other Celtic countries and with Celtic studies generally, and it took the initiative in 1917 in calling, in connection with the National Eisteddfod at Birkenhead, a Pan-Celtic Conference which was attended by representatives from Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Brittany, Cornwall, and the Isle of Man. At a subsequent Conference held at Neath in 1918, it was decided to form an International Union of Celtic Societies under the style of "The Celtic Congress." The initial meeting of this organisation is to be held in Edinburgh in October, 1919, when the conditions of Celtic tuition and research at home and abroad will be very exhaustively canvassed. During the same week the *Highland Mod* will also be held at Edinburgh; the movement for increased attention to the Celtic languages in the educational systems of Scotland and Wales in particular being thus brought into very intimate touch.

*The Welsh Language Society (Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg)* cannot be described as a "literary society" in the sense in which the term is used in this section, but it is most conveniently treated here since its aims resemble closely those of the Union of Welsh Societies. It was established in 1899, its objects being the promotion of the use of Welsh as a means of education and the better teaching of Welsh in Welsh-speaking, bilingual and English-speaking districts.

Its main activity has been the summer schools, held (at various centres) every year from 1903 to 1915. Its object is to supply, mainly to elementary teachers, the teaching in the language, literature and history of Wales which is conspicuously lacking in Training College courses, and it encourages greatly the use of the "direct method."

The school extends over a fortnight during August and has been attended by about 1,000 students since its inception, some having attended for 4 or 5 years.

It has been used almost exclusively by teachers and must therefore be considered to some extent vocational in character, but other students are welcomed and much of the syllabus is suitable for the non-vocational student.

*Sunday Schools.*—The Sunday Schools are a most valuable instrument of adult education in Wales, particularly in those districts comparatively free from Anglicising influences. It was in and through the Sunday schools that Welsh men and women of an earlier generation received all the education they ever had, and it was out of the educational enthusiasm created in the Sunday school that the Welsh secondary school system and the Welsh University grew.

The Welsh Sunday school differs from similar institutions in England in two main characteristics—(1) the large proportion of adults attending it, and (2) the method of conducting the classes. We have no complete

statistics of the total number of adults who attend; but a carefully made estimate for 1914 for one denomination alone—the Calvinistic Methodists—gives 158,000 persons over the age of 16 years.

The classes and teaching are carefully graded in relation to age, and in the really Welsh parts of the country men and women of all classes remain as scholars or teachers all their lives. In districts where Anglicising and industrial influences are strong the proportion of adult scholars is markedly lower, and since 1906 there has been a general decrease (in proportion to the increase of the population) in the numbers attending, particularly adolescents and adults.

It is in the nature of the class work that these schools bear the most intimate relation to recent adult educational movements in England. The class is carried on entirely by methods of discussion. The passage of Scripture appointed for the lesson is read and then the various scholars question each other about it and discuss it in every possible light and relation, the teacher only intervening in the way in which a tutorial class leader would guide the discussion hour at the end of his class.

The instruction in the schools is confined to religious subjects. The teachers are very carefully chosen, and are always men and women of experience and profound scriptural knowledge, but these teachers are of every social class, and it is no uncommon thing to find highly educated men and women as members of a class led by an artisan. At the end of the first hour of the school, one of the teachers questions the whole school on the lesson for the day, and for about a quarter of an hour guides a general discussion between all the scholars and teachers.

The various denominations publish annually (in Welsh) a series of text books, written by the most eminent scholars in the denomination on the portion of the Scripture set for the year, and these are bought and studied by all members of the Sunday schools from the humblest to the highest. Each denomination is also very active in the provision of all kinds of literature and magazines for its schools. In the early days these magazines were almost the only literature that found its way into rural districts and their educational influence was very great. In recent years Sunday school libraries have also been widely established, and a typical library, opened in 1912, had 626 volumes by 1916. The educational value of these schools is high, and extends far beyond their religious purpose. That Welsh men and women attend these schools weekly throughout their lives, that the classes are conducted by the method of discussion, and that, amongst adults, the discussions turn upon the religious problems which lead so naturally and inevitably to questions of ethics and philosophy—these facts reveal the unique field which Wales offers for further developments on the part of the University Colleges and other educational agencies.

*Extra-mural work of the University Colleges.*—The Welsh University Colleges were themselves the outcome of a desire for higher education among the common people, and were established, in great part, by very small contributions. It is natural, therefore, that the Colleges thus founded by the people in general should recognise their responsibility for the general education of the community and establish centres of influence throughout the country. This the Colleges have endeavoured to do through their extra-mural work, although severely hampered by lack of funds.

We dealt with the extra-mural work of the Colleges in the section of this Survey devoted to Universities,<sup>1</sup> and it only remains to add that during the present year (1918-19) there has been an increase in the

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 193-4.

number of classes for which the University Colleges are responsible. Eight classes were conducted by Aberystwyth, nine by Cardiff and one by Bangor.

There is, undoubtedly, as the University Colleges themselves recognise, a great need and a great opportunity for the extension of extra-mural work in all parts of Wales. The views brought before the Royal Commission on University Education in Wales, 1916, by the Council of the University College of Bangor may be quoted in this connection:—

“The aim of the College should be to provide opportunities for adults engaged in their life work to pursue University Studies at home under the guidance of special members of the College staff. Both the University and the College have power under their present Charters to carry on extension work, but experience shows that such work is most naturally and effectively carried on by each College for its own district, though this need not preclude co-operation between Colleges whose districts are contiguous. The Council believe that the method of extension work which should be specially developed in North Wales is that known as the tutorial class. The classes of this kind conducted in economics in the quarry districts of North Wales during the past few years have met with such marked success as to justify the belief that the system could with great advantage be widely extended.”

The special difficulties in the way of the University Colleges of Aberystwyth and Bangor in regard to the extension of extra-mural facilities are the predominantly rural character of the districts which the Colleges serve, the comparative weakness of organised labour (which in England forms the basis of the movement), the scattered nature of the population and the inadequacy of railway communications. To these must be added what is perhaps the chief obstacle in the way of all three Welsh Colleges—their extreme poverty.

*Educational agencies mainly operating in South Wales.*—Most of the agencies we have described above are characteristically Welsh, though operating to some extent in industrial as in rural Wales. The following is a very brief mention of educational activity, mainly confined to industrial Wales, which has more in common with English institutions.

*The Labour College classes* are now to be found in many districts of South Wales, and are organised chiefly in connection with branches of the South Wales Miners' Federation and the National Union of Railway Workers. In March, 1917, the College was conducting 19 classes in South Wales, of which 8 were in the Rhondda Valley. These classes comprised about 500 students. Since then the number has largely increased and steps have been taken to organise classes in almost every district of the South Wales Miners' Federation. The subjects studied were chiefly economic, industrial, and political.

*The Workers' Educational Association* formed its first branch in Wales at Barry in 1906, and in 1907 the Welsh District was established. Its growth has not been so rapid nor the branches formed so persistent as in some other areas, and the report for the session 1914-15 records 10 branches and six W.E.A. “Groups.” Of these 4 branches and 2 groups were in districts in Mid-Wales where Aberystwyth tutorial classes had been held, but they hardly had time to become active before the war interfered with the holding of the classes, and on the whole the real activity of the Welsh W.E.A. may be said to have been confined to South Wales. This is easily understood in view of the fact that there has never been more than one paid official of the W.E.A. in Wales, and the great distance between North and South, together with very imperfect railway facilities, makes organising over the whole country impossible for

one man. In this connection it may be noted that the statement made to the Royal Commission on University Education in Wales by the Welsh W.E.A. only expressed a desire for "a full time secretary whose work shall consist mainly in the organisation and development of W.E.A. activities throughout Wales."

The main activities of the Welsh District during the session 1914-15, were:—

- (1) The provision of 22 lectures to branches and groups.
- (2) The provision of 21 lectures to other (non-affiliated) organisations.
- (3) The provision of 25 lectures to affiliated organisations.
- (4) The organisation of University Tutorial Classes.
- (5) Six other classes (3 under the Monmouthshire L.E.A.).

In the last couple of years, however, there has been a considerable extension of the work, and in September, 1917, a full time organiser and tutor was appointed, and steps taken to organise systematically the chief towns. The Annual Report of the W.E.A. for the year ending July 1st, 1918, records that "requests have been received for at least twice as many classes as can be supplied, and this demand could easily be quadrupled. New branches have been formed at Newport, Pontllanfraith, and Tredegar, and others are in process of formation in the Swansea District—Port Talbot, Fforest Fach, Neath, Caerau, Cymmer, and Blackwood. At Cardiff, Newport, Ebbw Vale, Penarth, and Llantwit Major, lectures courses were given to prepare the way for classes next session. . . . There was a welcome demand for subjects other than economics, such as music, literature, psychology, Welsh literature, and history."

*Co-operative Society Education Committees* (including the Women's Co-operative Guild) are very active in South Wales, and carry on a considerable amount of educational work of a miscellaneous kind for their members, including classes in co-operation, industrial history and citizenship, &c., public lectures, and study groups.

Finally may be mentioned the *Workingmen's Clubs and Institutes* which are very numerous and of various types. Their main educational activities are the provision of libraries and reading rooms, and the arrangement of miscellaneous lectures and debates.

It will of course be understood that there are many other isolated educational activities throughout South Wales (and indeed in Wales generally) but they are not such as can readily be classified and do not differ in any marked respect from similar work in England.

*Libraries and Museums.*—In 1917 there were 65 public libraries in Wales and 68 institutional and other libraries, 35 of which were in Workmen's Institutes.

The institutions which require special mention here are the National Library of Wales, the Cardiff Welsh Library, the Swansea Welsh Library, and the National Museum at Cardiff.

*The National Library of Wales.*—This library, founded in 1917, has a magnificent building (not yet completed) standing in a position of unique beauty at Aberystwyth overlooking Cardigan Bay, and is the concrete embodiment of the devotion to education in this generation of Welsh men and women, as the University Colleges and the secondary schools were of the generation previous. It is maintained by a grant from public funds which for the current year has been increased to £7,100, together with a special grant of £1,800 to meet liabilities incurred during the war. In 1911 the Library was given the right to receive all books (with some very unimportant exceptions) published under the Copyright Act.



Its main object was the promotion of higher education and research within its own walls, but its charter contains certain provisions with regard to the loan of duplicate books, and by interpreting these provisions widely the library has been able to send boxes of books on loan to tutorial classes and study circles throughout Wales, and this provision has been of the utmost value, in view of the inadequate library provision in most districts. Book boxes have also been sent to the tutorial class summer school at Bangor and to the summer schools for teachers at Aberystwyth and Barry, and for these latter an admirable descriptive catalogue was supplied. Special efforts were also made to supply books to troops training in Wales. A special fund was raised and gifts of books asked for, and over 8,000 books were supplied, but not from the library stock.

An arrangement has been entered into and is now in satisfactory operation whereby the library co-operates with the Central Library for Students in London. Applications received by the Central Library from individuals or institutions in Wales are referred to the National Library, which either satisfies the demand from its own resources or asks the Central Library to do so. Also, the Central Library places its duplicates as far as possible at the disposal of the National Library.

In dealing with requests from areas where public libraries exist, the National Library attempts always to enlist their co-operation and to encourage them to provide for the needs of their own area, helping them when necessary by temporary loans.

The Development Commissioners have made a grant to the Library for the purchase of books to form a library of agriculture (including horticulture, forestry, &c.) on condition that the books are available for loan to people engaged in the study or pursuit of agriculture in Wales, and arrangements for this, which will be capable of very wide application, are being made.

The Library, from the outset of its existence, has given a liberal interpretation to its powers in relation to adult education generally. In its evidence before the Royal Commission on University Education in Wales it stated :—

“The authorities of the Library are trying to build up a great educational institution which shall be the complement and the handmaid of all other educational efforts on behalf of the Principality.”

*The Cardiff Welsh Library* has been open as a reference department of the Cardiff Public Libraries since 1891, and had in 1917 about 55,000 books and pamphlets and over 3,000 MSS. It also houses the libraries of the Cardiff Naturalists' Society, of the Astronomical Society for Wales and other societies. It is used by about 5,000 persons per year. Popular lectures on subjects relating to Wales are arranged during the winter at one or other of the branch libraries.

*The Swansea Welsh Library* is the Welsh and Celtic Department of the Swansea Public Library. Its work proceeds on much the same lines as at Cardiff. From four to six lectures in Welsh are given on Saturday nights during the winter and about the same number in English on a Welsh historical subject, all being well attended. The Library gave the impetus in 1912 for the founding of the Mabinogion Reading and Antiquarian Society, which is an active member of the Union of Welsh Societies described above.

*The National Museum.*—Museum provision in Wales is very inadequate, and the only one of consequence is the National Museum at Cardiff, which was incorporated by Royal Charter in 1908, but owing to the time required for the planning and erection of a suitable building and to the delays incident on the war, it is as yet only in its initial stages, and the exhibits are temporarily housed in the City Hall and elsewhere. The

Museum is planned on a most comprehensive scale and includes a picture gallery. Temporary exhibitions have already been held, and, when the Museum is in full working order, it is intended to have single lectures or short courses intended to awaken interest and to explain special topics illustrated by the collections. The subjects would include pure and applied art, history and archæology, natural history, and the special industries of Wales, these being the main branches of knowledge dealt with by the Museum. It is the aim of the Council of the Museum to make it an integral part of the educational system of the country and to supplement the instruction provided by other bodies in every possible way.

*Music.*—The population of both industrial and rural Wales offers the finest possible material for musical culture, though up to the present such culture has been confined within somewhat narrow limits. A Welsh village generally contains a large proportion of men and women with fine voices, with an accurate ear for music, and, what is most important, with a universal habit of enjoyment of, and devotion to, music.

The most outstanding feature of Welsh music is its predominantly vocal character. Instrumental and orchestral music are less developed than in England, largely owing to the poverty of rural Wales and the lack of sufficiently large centres of population to support good orchestral performances. The traditional instrument—the harp—together with the traditional form of song associated with it, known as penillion singing, has largely fallen into disuse.

At present, music in Wales is associated to a great extent with (a) religious organisations and (b) Eisteddfodau. Its organisation is largely the same throughout the country, though with some variations in industrial districts where the hold of the chapel is less strong. It has developed into a very clearly defined system, but it should be understood that this is of quite natural growth, and not the result of any mechanical arrangement.

As regards vocal music associated with religious organisations the first step is the *Ysgol Ganu* (Singing School), which is mainly attended by the younger members of the church, and is devoted to the practice of congregational tunes. This practice is generally held on a Sunday and many of its members attend also on a week night a class devoted to the study of the tonic sol-fa system of musical notation. (This system, introduced about the middle of the nineteenth century, took very deep root in Wales, and it is still the notation most used by members of Welsh choirs.) The *Ysgol Ganu* and the tonic sol-fa classes are conducted by the church member considered most suitable for the work, who is generally also one of the leaders of the congregational singing. In such a leader we meet the lowest of the hierarchy of choir conductors whose highest order is represented by the conductor of a National Eisteddfod choir, and upon whom so much depends in the maintenance of Welsh musical life.

The climax of all this activity during the year is represented by the *Cymanfa Ganu* (Singing Festival) which is held annually for all the churches belonging to a particular denomination, in an area, say, of 20 square miles. In preparation for this a Committee representative of all the churches in the district selects tunes (hymns, chants, and anthems) a year previously and prints them in a special book—this, incidentally, being the method by which new tunes are constantly introduced. These

tunes are practised throughout the year in the local *Ysgolion Ganu*, with a number of joint local rehearsals conducted by the most eminent local leader from, say, five churches, culminating in a final rehearsal of members of all the churches under the most eminent leader in all the churches concerned, and finally in the *Cymanfa Ganu* itself, conducted by a leader of national eminence.

There is a very large number<sup>1</sup> of such meetings, occupying a whole day, held throughout Wales each year; they are attended by large audiences, all of whom join in the singing and the result is extraordinarily impressive. A National *Cymanfa Ganu* has become during the war an important feature of the National Eisteddfod.

A feature of the musical activities of many churches is the choir consisting of the best singers in the congregation, which practises for the small competitive meetings described in the Eisteddfod section.

In a large number of districts a larger choir, not belonging exclusively to any particular church or denomination is formed, and is composed of the best singers in each of the smaller choral units; it is led by the most capable of the various local leaders and travels into various centres at which Eisteddfodau are held for the purpose of competition with other choirs. Some of the most famous of Welsh choirs have come together in the manner described above.

A very large amount of musical activity is associated with Eisteddfodau. On the musical side the competing conductors, choirs and individual singers are much the same in *personnel* as in the religious organizations, but the choirs are mostly grouped on a secular basis. In these choirs, as in the denominational ones, very much depends upon the energy, enthusiasm, and often upon the personal ambition of the choir leader, whose constant object is to spread the fame of his choir over a larger area. Such a leader is frequently, even in the case of some of the largest choirs in Wales, the village tailor, or shoemaker, or blacksmith, who gives his services and the leisure of a lifetime, generally without any remuneration (the prizes won going to a choir fund for travelling and other expenses).

One of the most interesting features in the development of musical life in Wales during the last ten years has been the growth of interest in folk song stimulated by the work of the Welsh Folk Song Society. The national songs and dances of Wales were lost not, as in England, through a general decay in rural life, but through the influence of the Methodist Revival, which, on the other hand, did so much to save the language and to mould Welsh character. It may be noted here that the National Eisteddfod has contributed very greatly to the collection of folk songs by offering prizes for the best collections. The first genuine collection was made for the Eisteddfod of 1838.

A step likely to be of great importance for the future musical development of Wales has been the recent appointment (largely as a result of the Report of the Royal Commission on University Education in Wales) of an eminent musician (Dr. Walford Davies) as Professor of Music in the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, and Director of Music in the University of Wales generally. The scope of the new Director's work is likely to be such as to have an important influence on the musical life of Wales generally, and not in the University Colleges alone.

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<sup>1</sup> A Memorandum submitted to the Welsh Church Commission in 1907 states that in 1895 there were at least 280 Cymanfoedd, attended by 134,550 singers.

*The Drama.*—Most of the more powerful educational influences in Wales are of very long standing, but with the drama the most striking development took place during the decade prior to 1914. Previous to this there had been great prejudice against the stage generally, and very little play-writing or amateur acting.

In 1905 the National Eisteddfod repeated an experiment previously made in 1879 and offered a prize for a drama dealing with Welsh life, which it was proposed to act during the Eisteddfod week, but of the plays submitted not one was considered worthy, and the play ("Owen Glendower") which had won the prize in 1879 was acted.

In later developments the University Colleges have played an important part. They had always an initial advantage in the possession of a large number of young people of some education, from among whom capable actors could be chosen. For some years the College dramatic societies were content to act English plays of the ordinary commercial type, but even with these, valuable experience in staging was gained, which has had great influence on later developments, for it must be remembered that very few Welsh men and women of the last generation had the slightest knowledge of stage technique or of the ordinary machinery of a theatre. Later, however, there was a remarkable output of original work by graduates of the University colleges, the plays being first acted at the colleges themselves.

The years 1906-12 saw steady development in every direction, and in 1912 and the two succeeding years Lord Howard de Walden gave the movement considerable stimulus by offering a prize of £100 for the best drama of Welsh life, to be written in Welsh or English. By this time companies of amateur actors had sprung up all over Wales, and were assiduously playing the new plays—some of which were in English and some in Welsh.

In 1913-14 a prize was offered at the National Eisteddfod for the best performance of an existing Welsh play. Nineteen companies competed, and the adjudicators heard each play in its own locality at some time during the year, and chose the two best to be performed again during the Eisteddfod week. The experiment hardly met with as much success as had been hoped, owing to the lack of suitable stage properties and staging facilities. Local Eisteddfodau have also encouraged local dramatic efforts by offering prizes, and this support is capable of quite indefinite extension.

In 1914, the Welsh National Drama Company was established under the chairmanship of Lord Howard de Walden. A company of bi-lingual players was formed on a professional basis, consisting partly of those who had distinguished themselves as amateur actors and partly of those who were already professional actors. The repertory of the company consisted of six plays, some in Welsh and some in English, and the inaugural tour covered eight of the larger towns in South Wales, where the enterprise was favourably received and adequately supported. Its artistic and financial success was enough to encourage the promoters to undertake another tour in the same year, and plans were on foot for acquiring a "travelling theatre" in which to hold performances where there was no adequate hall, but the declaration of war compelled their abandonment, and for the time being suspended the dramatic movement generally.

Now that the war is over there is every sign of renewed life in the movement, which is one of the most promising features of artistic life in Wales. The Welshman is an admirable actor, and has a quickness of appreciation, intensity of feeling, and facility in emotional expression, that enables him to give most sympathetic interpretations of character.

The supply of plays<sup>1</sup> is also most promising, and the younger writers have brought to it the knowledge of dramatic construction and of the needs of the stage that was so deficient in the earlier plays. Some idea of their artistic value is conveyed by the fact that four plays (either originally in English or translated from the Welsh) have been produced by the Incorporated Stage Society, by Miss Horniman's Company, and by the Liverpool and Birmingham Repertory Theatres.

#### (D) ADULT EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND.

The position of non-vocational adult education in Scotland is different from that obtaining in England and Wales. While in the latter country, and in England especially, the need of men and women for some form of "liberal" education in their leisure hours has led to the creation of voluntary organisations, which have endeavoured both to meet and stimulate the demand, and to the extension of the extra-mural activities of the Universities, in Scotland the need for adult education of this kind hitherto has either not been so acutely felt, or, if it has, has found expression and satisfaction in other ways. For the fact is that, compared with England and Wales, the activities of voluntary bodies and of the Universities in this field are slight in extent and of comparatively recent growth. This, we believe, is due in the main, though not entirely, to differences in the educational system and tradition, and in national outlook and temperament; for it will be generally admitted that a real feeling for education is, and has long been, a characteristic of all classes of the Scottish people.

For many years the Scottish Universities conducted extension courses of a distinctly non-vocational character, but more recently these courses have been chiefly those necessary for graduation. At the present day there is nothing in Scotland comparable to the widespread university extension lecture system of the South, and the tutorial class movement is of recent growth and small in extent. A tentative beginning was made in Edinburgh in 1913, and in 1914 a joint committee for tutorial classes was formed at Aberdeen. To these we have referred in the section of the Survey dealing with universities,<sup>2</sup> and reference is made below to the classes held during 1918-19.

When considering the comparative lack of extra-mural activities on the part of the Scottish Universities, their democratic character must be borne in mind, and the fact that their intra-mural courses are more readily accessible to all classes of the people than is the case in England. The fees are low, and any obstacle that these might offer has, since the benefaction of Mr. Carnegie, been removed from the path of the student. The tradition of a university education is widespread and not confined to certain social classes, and the universities are attended by all sorts and conditions of men. Further, in regard to the bearing of their intra-mural work on our subject, it has been put to us that the degree courses of the faculty of arts are "in their fundamental

<sup>1</sup> Returns received from nine publishers show that 37 plays were printed between about 1909-1914. It is difficult to obtain information as to the number of performances given during any one period, but one firm of publishers states that in 1914 they were informed of 50 performances of their plays, and of 107 performances between August, 1916, and August, 1917. Another firm had 68 performances notified during 1913, and one dramatist who has written three plays has information of their being acted 100 times during the year 1913-14. Since the date of the armistice all this activity has been vigorously renewed, and most of the small towns and larger villages will shortly have their own dramatic companies.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 193.

“idea non-vocational or ‘liberal,’ not technical, vocational or ‘professional,’” and that “the encouragement of a wider circle to avail themselves of these courses, if possible immediately after leaving school, is perhaps the most important field of non-vocational adult study in Scotland.”

The universities from time to time arrange lectures on subjects of common interest, open to the public. There are also certain foundation lectures, *e.g.*, the Gifford Lectures on Natural Theology and the Munro Lectures on Prehistoric Archaeology at Edinburgh, to which the general public are admitted, but they appeal only to a limited section of the people. In recent years courses for Social Study and Training have been instituted which, besides catering for vocational and professional needs, offer facilities to volunteer social workers, members of local governing bodies, &c. The Glasgow School of Social Study and Training was established in 1911 and works under the auspices of the University. Its main object is to provide opportunities of training in social and administrative work, but the course is so planned that its appeal is of the widest character, with the hope that all interested in problems of citizenship will avail themselves of it. To this end each of the tutorial courses has been made as complete as possible and is open to the public. A feature of the School is the regular courses of public lectures dealing with questions of popular interest. In 1917, for instance, a course was delivered on “The Democratic Idea in History.” These lectures are attended by representative audiences, ranging in number from 60 to 100, and including a good proportion of working people.

The Edinburgh School of Social Study and Training began its work in 1918. The objects of the school are described in its prospectus. “There has been a marked growth in recent years of all forms of social work and a corresponding increase in the number and variety of appointments requiring qualified administrators to fill them. It is now recognised that a broad outlook and adequate theoretical and practical training are required by all who desire to qualify themselves for such positions, whether as officials or as voluntary workers. In response to this widely felt need, an association has been formed consisting of representatives of the University of Edinburgh, and of all bodies in the district specially interested in promoting study and training.”<sup>1</sup> The objects of the association are to provide, under the auspices of the University, courses of study and training “for persons desirous of taking part in social work of various kinds.” Besides the courses for students special lectures open to the public free are given from time to time, and in the early summer of 1919 a course of ten evening lectures on present day social problems was given.

The Adult School movement has never taken root in Scotland. In 1914 there were only five schools (three men’s and two women’s) with a total membership of 290 men and 259 women.

It was not until 1913 that the Workers’ Educational Association made a real beginning in Scotland, since when war conditions have hampered development. A Scottish Provisional Council carried on the work of the Association from 1916 until in 1919 a properly constituted Scottish Council was established. At the end of May, 1919, the Scottish Workers’ Educational Association Council was composed of five branches (Aberdeen, Ayrshire, Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow) and four affiliated societies (the Perth Co-operative Society, the East of Scotland Co-opera-

<sup>1</sup> These include the Workers’ Educational Association and the Scottish Co-operative Women’s Guild.

tive Conference Association, the N.U.R. Edinburgh No. 2 Branch and the Scottish Farm Servants' Union) together with a number of individual members. According to the report for 1918-19, "the total membership of the Aberdeen, Dundee, and Edinburgh Branches is 430 individual members and 67 affiliated societies—33 Trade Union, 9 Co-operative, 7 Political, 4 Friendly, 2 Educational and 9 Miscellaneous, with 3 Education Authorities." The membership of the Ayrshire and Glasgow Branches cannot be stated with precision. In Aberdeen, Dundee and Edinburgh there are Joint Committees of the University, the Local Education Authority and the Workers' Educational Association. The Association organises the demand for classes, the education authority gives a grant to meet the expenses, including the salary of the tutor, and the university supplies the tutor, subject to the approval of the students concerned. During the session 1918-19 six classes, two of which were full tutorial classes, were conducted under these auspices. The classes were as follows:—

Aberdeen (Tutorial): Natural History—Zoology.

Edinburgh (Tutorial): Literature.

Edinburgh: Economics.

Edinburgh: History.

Edinburgh: Literature.

Edinburgh: Philosophy.

The Labour College has also recently commenced activities in Scotland. In February, 1916, at a representative Conference held in Glasgow, a proposal was put forward to found a Labour College for Scotland, and a provisional Committee was formed, but difficulties, due to the war, delayed action. During the winter of 1917-18, as we have stated in the section on Colleges for Working People, the provisional Committee organised 17 classes in economic and political subjects, in which 1,500 students were enrolled. The classes were held in various industrial centres in Dumbartonshire, Fifeshire, Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire. The Glasgow Plebs League, which works in close association with the Labour College Committee, organised 19 classes, in which about 1,000 students were enrolled. At a further Conference, held in Glasgow in March, 1918, the constitution of the Labour College was adopted.

Another agency of working-class education is the Co-operative Movement, which in Scotland, as in England and Wales, is responsible for a considerable amount of educational activity among its members, chiefly in the form of lectures, classes and study groups in the history and principles of co-operation, industrial history, citizenship, &c. The work is conducted on similar lines to those we have described in our survey of co-operative education<sup>1</sup>.

The interesting schemes, educational and recreative, of the Carnegie Dunfermline Trustees embrace provision for non-vocational and cultural education for adults. These schemes are the outcome of the benefaction made in 1903 by the late Mr. Andrew Carnegie to his native town, and placed in the hands of a body of local trustees to administer. This benefaction, which yields an annual income of, approximately, £46,000, was directed by the donor "to be used in attempts to bring into the monotonous lives of the toiling masses of Dunfermline more of sweetness and light."

Of particular bearing on our subject are the School of Music and School of Arts and Crafts which the Trustees have instituted in Dunfermline. The music scheme is far-reaching in scope. The work begins in the elementary schools and is carried on to the School of Music. Provision

is made here for all branches of musical instruction. The annual enrolments of individual students number about 400, made up of young people and adults of both sexes. A choir and two orchestras (junior and senior) form part of the activities of the school. High-class concerts, open to the general public at a small fee, are a feature of the scheme. Elocution is also taught, and the study and production of standard dramatic works are undertaken by a special class. The fees are nominal, and the classes are taken advantage of by a large number of adults, who attend after their day's work. In their arts and crafts scheme the Trustees were guided by a desire "to encourage the study of the useful arts and crafts which give pleasure and . . . inclination toward artistic products which make a home beautiful, and whose manipulation lies well within the capabilities of the average workman." The workshops are open, both day and evening, five days a week. Freedom is allowed in choice of subjects, hours of work and rate of progress, the only limitation being that each article made must be a thing of utility. The curriculum is divided into five sections:—woodwork, embroidery, metal work, painting and decorating, and crafts. The school is largely attended by adults, the majority of whom use the workshops solely for recreational purposes and to make objects for home use or decoration.

In Scotland, as in England and Wales, there are innumerable institutions and organisations doing admirable work among adults in their own sphere, and enriching by their varied activities the intellectual life of the country, such as libraries, museums and art galleries, scientific, literary and philosophical societies, societies concerned with music, drama and the arts, together with the educational work among their members conducted by religious bodies, the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., &c. Facilities for general education are also provided to a certain extent by institutions primarily concerned with technical and professional studies. As examples of these latter, we may refer to the Glasgow and West of Scotland Commercial College (formerly the Glasgow Athenæum), and the Athenæum School of Music in the same city. There are certain sections of the work of the Commercial College which are not technical, and are largely taken advantage of by people whose only reason for attending is to further their general education. These include the economics section and the modern language section, which includes the study of French, German, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish, and associated with which are the Language Clubs, affording members facilities for conversation in French, German and Spanish, and for the study of the literature of these languages. Besides the provision of musical education for professional purposes, the Athenæum School of Music provides, on moderate terms, a high-class musical education for those who study the art for the pleasure it affords. A course in elocution is included for advanced students to specialise in dramatic art or public speaking.

While the continuation classes and evening schools of the Scottish School Boards are, as in the case of similar institutions organised by the Local Education Authorities in England and Wales, concerned for the most part with vocational and technical training, they include classes in more general and non-vocational subjects, some of which are attended by adults. Among these are geography and history, modern languages, political economy, duties of citizenship, art, &c. Classes specially for women, in domestic subjects, such as cookery, laundry work, dressmaking, millinery, sick nursing, etc., are a normal feature of the curriculum. A School Board will also often be willing to start a class in other non-vocational subjects if a reasonable number of students



is guaranteed. For the most part, however, the evening classes of the School Boards are concerned with vocational training, and the great majority of their students are adolescents. In Scotland, as in England and Wales, the adult, for various reasons, is not attracted by the average continuation school, and men and women undoubtedly feel that they are out of place there. Again, the average teacher engaged in such schools, while perhaps admirable with young persons from 14 to 17, is generally unversed in methods suitable to older people, while the low scale of grant which can be earned does not encourage the School Boards to pay the salaries necessary to secure adequately equipped and suitable teachers for adult work. We have been informed that the few teachers of non-vocational adult classes in Scotland who have been successful with classes in humanistic subjects have been highly qualified men of wide interests, who have been attracted, not by the fee, but by the work itself. Thus, adult classes run in connection with continuation schools labour under inherent disadvantages which militate against their success. Another factor which, in Scotland as elsewhere, has militated against the formation of non-vocational adult classes under the auspices of the Local Education Authority is that, generally speaking, such classes have only flourished where the students themselves, or their own organisations, have had the responsibility for the management and control.

The Dundee School Board have recently made a new departure which may have an important bearing on the future of evening school work in that city. An experimental school has been opened for young women mill-workers, in which the time spent on strictly instructional subjects has been reduced to a minimum, and the remainder devoted to social and recreative activities. Two half-hours a week were given to English, one half-hour to arithmetical calculations, one half-hour to popular demonstrations in history and geography; and ambulance instruction, with limelight illustrations, was also included in the curriculum. The rest of the time is devoted entirely to dancing, gymnastics, music (concerts), sewing and knitting, and discussions on subjects of interest to young women. If successful, the experiment will be followed by the establishment of similar centres. The school in which the classes were held is one of the most imposing in the city, and contains spacious halls for dancing and concerts. A headmaster was in charge, and he had the assistance of an adequate staff and a competent lady superintendent who devoted herself to the social side of the school. If the experiment succeeds it will probably lead to the establishment of dual schools for young men and women conducted on similar lines.

Hitherto, one of the obstacles to the development of non-vocational education in Scotland (to which we have before referred) has been the existing education law. In England and Wales it has been possible, under the Regulations of the Board of Education, for voluntary bodies to organise and manage their own classes, and for these classes to obtain recognition by the Board, and to earn grants which are receivable by the organising body. This has greatly encouraged the work of voluntary associations, as it has secured the independence of their classes, given students a voice in the selection of a teacher, and enabled the arrangements to conform to the wishes and needs of the students themselves. In Scotland a class organised by a voluntary association for its members cannot be recognised and become eligible for grant unless it is brought under the auspices of a School Board, who must become responsible for its management and supervision, and to whom the grant is payable. Such classes have, in fact, become part of the School Board's continuation school scheme, and though the work may be of a much higher standard, the scale of grant is merely that of the ordinary continuation

class. This apparently continues under the Act of 1918, though Local Education Authorities may, with the sanction of the Scottish Education Department, "contribute to the maintenance of any educational institution or agency, where such contribution appears to the Department desirable for the educational benefit of persons resident within the education area of the authority." (Cl. 9 (4)).

The same system applies to the tutorial class movement in Scotland, where the Education Department can only support such classes if they are under the supervision of the local School Board. The School Board, therefore, has to accept financial responsibility, and the tutorial classes are regarded as part of its scheme of continuation classes. With all the goodwill in the world on the part of the School Board, this, obviously, must hinder tutorial class development, as compared with England and Wales, where these classes are regarded by the Board of Education as university work, where their supervision is left in the hands of Joint Committees, representative equally of the universities and workers, and where a code of regulations has been issued specially adapted to the circumstances of the classes, and making provision for grants having regard to the standard of the work and its cost.

There are, doubtless, other reasons for the comparative lack of organised activity in the field of non-vocational adult education in Scotland of a more fundamental kind. It has been represented to us from an official source that "traditionally, every parish school in Scotland aims at providing instruction of a non-vocational kind to its older pupils. Secondary education, the facilities for which are abundant, is almost purely non-vocational. The result is that a very much larger proportion of the lower middle class population of Scotland find opportunities of access to the universities, and take advantage of them, than in any other country I know of. To put it briefly, the class of people whose needs as regards non-vocational education are catered for in England by the Workers' Educational Association and such like organisations, in the circumstances of Scotland have little difficulty in finding their way to the universities, where they pursue non-vocational studies in a much larger proportion than they do at, say, the newer Universities of England."

We think that, generally speaking, this may be true of the past, for from the days of John Knox, and up to quite recent times, at any rate, there is little doubt that Scotland possessed a more democratic and more co-ordinated and completely rounded system of education than England and Wales. Thus, the average Scotsman in early manhood, by reason of his education, probably found himself better equipped for life in general than his contemporaries south of the Border, and thus did not feel, at least in so great a degree, the need for education in adult life. Again, in many cases, as we have already indicated, easier access to university training gave him greater opportunities of higher education. These considerations may account, to some extent, for the fact that in Scotland there has not been up to the present the same keenness and volume of demand for adult education, giving rise to enthusiastic voluntary effort, as has been the case in the South. The Scottish people, traditionally, have had at least as great a concern for education, but this concern, through differences in national conditions and temperament, has taken other channels. It has been, we think, in the case of the average Scotsman (as it might have been in that of the average Englishman had similar facilities for higher education been equally accessible to him) directed more to vocational and professional ends; yet these ends have not been pursued so narrowly as to miss the wider mark. But

these considerations, if they be applicable to the past, do not, in our opinion, hold good to anything like the same extent to-day. With the increasing growth of industrialism, conditions in Scotland are more and more approximating to those south of the border. In the industrial districts, where very few have had the advantages of a general education beyond the age of fourteen, and where it is evident the pressure of economic, political and social problems is being increasingly felt, there is a similar need for adult education, and a similar desire springing up for its satisfaction. A university teacher and social worker, with considerable experience in working-class movements in the Glasgow district, who has himself conducted non-vocational classes for adults, tells us that "there are many evidences of the demand in Scotland for educational courses suited to the requirements of adults, both men and women, while there have been few opportunities until the last year or two for acquiring such education. The mainspring of this movement is undoubtedly social and political. There is a growing feeling that our theory of government . . . is largely ineffective, and that the mass of people have little or no share, either in the control of the industry in which they are immediately engaged, or, more broadly, in the general life of the community. There is an ever-growing desire to make the practice conform to the theory, and the consciousness of this purpose has led a large section of the workers of Scotland to express a desire for adequate educational facilities."

Another Scottish educationalist, well acquainted with the conditions throughout the country, whom we have consulted, corroborates this view:—"It is only in recent years that the ideas of social service, community interest of a mutual nature, and the need of political comprehension have evolved. These are now much more appreciated than in earlier days, but what is wanted is a series of attractive and active movements to capture them when at their height, *i.e.*, in early adult life, when enthusiasms are keen and high, and when the outlook on life is fresh and alluring."

Others whose advice we have sought agree that an expansion of present facilities is now a pressing need, and that to meet it, voluntary bodies and the universities should be encouraged to extend their operations.

Bearing in mind the fact that several voluntary organisations are now endeavouring to extend their operations in Scotland, and that the university tutorial class movement has made a beginning in recent years, we cannot do better, in summing up the present position of non-vocational adult education in Scotland, and our views on the desirability of encouraging its extension, than to quote the views of another Scottish educationalist, whose opinion we asked:—

"It would be wise to assume, therefore, that non-vocational adult education of an organised nature is at present non-existent in Scotland. To the lasting credit of a large mass of the Scottish people this, in thousands of individual cases, has been overcome, and, urged by the spur of legitimate ambition, aided by cherished traditions of independence and forcefulness, many have risen to positions of high personal influence and usefulness. In our day, however, with its complicated social order, it is extremely desirable that enlarged opportunities for development should be available, and this is the problem that presses for solution. My opinion, accordingly, is, that further provision for adult education is possible and necessary, and that it is the work of voluntary agencies to organise it, encouraged, financed and sympathetically supervised by State authority."

## (E) ADULT EDUCATION IN NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE.

*The North Staffordshire Miners' Higher Education Movement.*

*Origins of the Movement.*—In 1911 the university tutorial class at Longton was completing the third year of its course, and a feeling sprang up in the class that the members ought to pass on to others less fortunate the educational advantages they had themselves received. Various means of doing this were discussed, and it was finally decided that the greatest need lay in the mining villages which surround the Potteries towns. Arrangements had already been made to get in touch with one or two likely villages, when the secretary of the class was approached by the chief instructor of mining for North Staffordshire. The chief instructor had always been anxious that technical education should be supplemented by humane studies, and, indeed, had always impressed upon his students the necessity for a wide education, including the study of historical and literary subjects. He put it to the class secretary that there was a great need in the mining villages for the kind of education that tutorial class students were receiving, and that it was the duty of these students to extend to others the knowledge they had gained. This was exactly the opportunity that the class had been seeking, and arrangements were at once made for a joint meeting of representatives of the mining villages and the tutorial class. This meeting was held in the School of Mining, Stoke-on-Trent, on the 27th May, 1911, and was addressed by the class tutor, Mr. R. H. Tawney. The meeting showed in unmistakeable fashion that a real demand existed for the work, and the following resolutions were passed:—

- (a) That a scheme be formulated for the promotion of higher education in the mining villages in North Staffordshire, and that this meeting be formed into a committee to carry the movement into successful operation; and
- (b) That the movement be affiliated to the Workers' Educational Association.

A further meeting was held on the 17th June, when officers were appointed and 14 applications for classes were received. It was decided that a start should be made in six villages. At the moment it was not possible to see means of extending the work further, but by the beginning of the winter arrangements had been made to increase the number to ten. The work was taken up in the spirit of adventure, and the movement which thus originated out of the happy coincidence of supply and demand began its work in the following October, and succeeded far beyond expectations. When once established, demands came in quickly from neighbouring villages, the usual form of inquiry being: "Why can't we have a class like they have in—?" The demand, in fact, outstripped the supply of teachers; indeed, the strain on the available teaching supply became a normal feature of the movement. However, every effort was made to meet the need, and the establishment of new tutorial classes in the Potteries, thus ensuring an increased supply of teachers, saved the situation. The growth of the movement since its start is shown by the following figures, viz.:—

| Year.   | No. of Centres. | Estimated total<br>No. of Students. |
|---------|-----------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1911-12 | 10              | 200                                 |
| 1912-13 | 20              | 450                                 |
| 1913-14 | 24              | 520                                 |
| 1914-15 | 24              | 545                                 |
| 1915-16 | 30              | 600                                 |
| 1916-17 | 30              | 650                                 |
| 1917-18 | 23              | 500                                 |
| 1918-19 | 23              | 510                                 |

During the last two years it was impossible to keep the movement at full strength owing to lack of teachers.

# SKETCH MAP OF NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE DISTRICT.

●=North Staffordshire Miners' Higher Education Movement Centres (present and past).

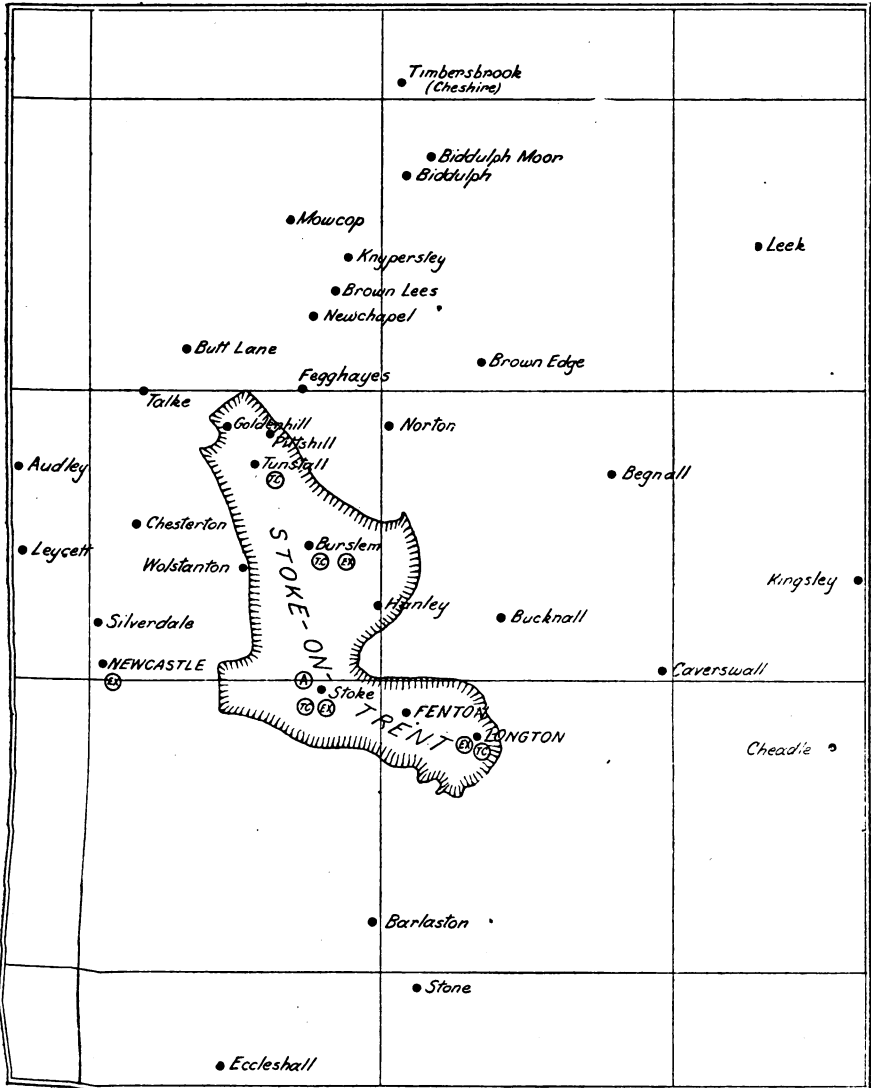
T.C.=University Tutorial Class Centres.

Ex.=University Extension Lectures Centres.

A.=Adult School.

||||| Area bounded by shaded line=The County Borough of Stoke-on-Trent ("The Potteries").

SCALE=Four-mile Squares (approximately).



*Geographical Distribution of the Work.*—The classes are situated in the North Staffordshire coalfield, which forms a homogeneous area. The villages are grouped round the "Five Towns," now the County Borough of Stoke-on-Trent, which, generally speaking, is the centre for marketing, entertainments, and intellectual life. The villages lie chiefly to the North, East and West of the Borough, and are thickest at the North-East. The nearest are contiguous to the towns, and the farthest some seven or eight miles distant. While many of the villages are connected with the towns by branch lines of railway, and a few are near the tram termini, the communications are not good and most of the villages are shut off from the amenities and interests of town life. Evening continuation classes are held in most centres, but beyond this there were little or no opportunities for higher education, especially on the humane side; nor, until the recent establishment of the County Education Committee's rural library scheme, was there any access to books such as that afforded by the public library.<sup>1</sup> The villages, while for the most part situated in rural surroundings, are generally semi-industrial. With the exception of two or three centres, mining is the chief occupation of the inhabitants, in some cases the mines being adjacent to the villages, and in others two, three, or four miles distant. The villages situated close to the mines are usually unlovely and somewhat depressing, whatever the original beauty of the landscape may have been, whilst those more distant still preserve very largely their rural features. The populations of the villages where classes are established vary from about 800 to 3,000 and the total population of the North Staffordshire district in the area of the movement is about 350,000.

*Class Methods, &c.*—The classes are held fortnightly, owing to the fact that the majority of the students work on alternate day and night shifts. The experiment of giving the same lecture in two successive weeks was tried in one or two centres to meet the needs of two distinct groups of students; but as this meant doubling the teaching work it was abandoned, at least, for the time being. The work is arranged in courses of twelve and of six lectures, the first covering the session and the second the half-session. The value of continuity of subject has always been recognised, and hence the general practice has always been to induce classes to take the twelve-lecture courses, and in three cases out of four classes have taken one subject right through the winter. The method of procedure is that of the tutorial class, except that the period of meeting is usually an hour and a half instead of two hours. Of this, from 45 to 60 minutes is taken up by the lecture, and the rest of the time is spent in discussion. Each class is provided with a supply of books bearing on the subject of the course, students being induced to read as much as possible and every encouragement is given to them to do written work. There is the usual difficulty of getting students to put their ideas on paper, and the amount of written work done is small; in some classes, generally the newer ones, no written work is done at all. In some of the older ones the value of essay writing is gradually being appreciated, and a few of the students do written work. The importance of this subject is not overlooked, but the first necessity is to get students, many of whom have never read a serious book in their lives to read the books supplied; and in the matter of reading there has been considerable advance since the movement started.

In starting a new centre the aim is always to get a class rather than an audience, and thus the movement is distinctly one composed almost entirely of classes. At one or two centres, however, the result

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 276.

of the announcement of the starting of a class has been to bring in 60 or 70 people, and in these cases the class is really an audience. The average size of the classes is 20.

In addition to the classes, single lectures are given here and there for educational propaganda purposes, usually with great success, and these have often been the means of starting new centres. It has become the custom, too, to continue work during the summer months by special lectures at various centres. From time to time during the winter a few special lectures have been arranged, given by friends of the movement, university men and others, and these have been most valuable in stimulating the work and spreading a knowledge of the movement.

*Teachers.*—Hitherto the teaching work has been done voluntarily by tutorial class students, past and present, together with a few university extension students and other local people to whom the work appealed. During the first winter twelve teachers were engaged. Eight of these were students of the Longton class, their occupations being: 1 miner, 1 colliery weighman, 1 potter's engineman, 1 potter's decorator, 1 railway booking clerk, 1 elementary school teacher, 1 secretary, and 1 municipal clerk. Of these, two were women. In the following session the number of teachers engaged increased to 17, of whom 9 were members of the Longton class, and 6 members of the Burslem tutorial class, the remaining two being non-tutorial class students. The occupations of the tutorial class students were: 2 potter's decorators, 1 miner, 1 potter's thrower, 1 municipal clerk, 3 elementary school teachers, 1 railway booking clerk, 1 fitter, 1 insurance collector, 1 potter's engineman, 1 Labour Exchange clerk, 1 secretary, and 1 potter's lithographer. During the winter of 1916-17, before the teaching staff was seriously depleted by the calls of the war, 15 teachers took part in the work, of whom all were either past or present members of the Potteries' tutorial classes. Their occupations were: 1 colliery labourer, 1 potter's decorator, 1 secretary, 1 tutorial class organiser, 1 miner, 3 elementary school teachers, 1 basket maker, 1 colliery weighman, 1 colliery clerk, 1 potter's lithographer, 1 Labour Exchange assistant, 1 accountant's clerk, and 1 potter's thrower. Taking those students who were teaching during 1916-17, and those who would have been teaching in that year had it not been for the war, eight had been teaching regularly in the movement since the beginning, and thirteen, at least, since the second year.

As regards the quality of the teaching, it has been favourably spoken of by visitors to the classes who were in a position to judge; and of the teachers who have been engaged in the movement only two have proved clearly unfitted for the work. Warm attachment invariably springs up between the class members and the teacher, and, as in the tutorial classes, the centres are usually eager to retain one teacher for a number of years. The fact that the teaching is voluntary service no doubts acts almost automatically in keeping out of the work those who have no real teaching vocation. The demands made on a teacher who has to spend the greater part of his time in earning a livelihood are great, and it can only be a real bent for the work, plus an enthusiastic belief in education, which enables a teacher to undertake it. Many of the centres are difficult of access, and entail country walks of several miles in winter weather. The experience of the normal working teacher is that he arrives home from work about 6 p.m., snatches a hasty tea, and makes for the railway station, walking a mile or two at the other end to meet his students at 7.30 p.m., reaching home between 10 and 11 p.m. In addition, he has to give up considerable time between class meetings to the preparation of his subject, for if one thing more than another has added to the success of the work it is that the teachers have taken

it seriously, and have made a point of adequate preparation. Then a teacher is usually a member of a tutorial class which necessitates reading and essay writing; and it is just those students who are engaged in the work of the movement who are most regular in class attendance and written work.

With the growth of the movement these older teachers have come to take two, and even three classes a session. The older teachers have now become well known in the villages, and in addition to conducting the classes are often asked to speak at village meetings, Brotherhoods, and P.S.A.'s and to help in educational programmes arranged by various religious bodies, such as Wesley Guilds. At the beginning there was great doubt as to whether the teaching could be satisfactorily done by untrained men and women whose education had been obtained only through the elementary school and the tutorial class, but experience has shown that effective teaching work can be done by one whose sole qualifications are a firm grasp of the elements of his subjects, a humble mind, and a bent towards the work. The value of the tutorial class training has been demonstrated by the fact that student-teachers have not only gained in the classes the knowledge of a particular subject, but have learned methods of study and preparation which have enabled them to teach successfully in subjects other than those they have studied in the tutorial class. In this matter it has been invaluable to have had the assistance and advice of the tutorial class tutors, all of whom have helped the movement in every possible way. As to the effect of this teaching work upon the teachers themselves it suffices to say that it is a "liberal education."

Two of the teachers in the movement—a man and a woman, a potter's thrower and an elementary school teacher, respectively—were nominated by their fellow-members of the Longton tutorial class to the Oxford University Tutorial Classes Committee for the purpose of being given an opportunity of three years' study in Oxford. As a result, the man entered Balliol College, and is now conducting Oxford tutorial classes in Staffordshire and Derbyshire and assisting voluntarily in the work of the Staffordshire movement. The woman entered St. Hilda's Hall, and after a three years' course, is now engaged in welfare and educational work in a large factory in Birmingham. It is hoped that later an opportunity will present itself which will enable her to return to North Staffordshire and to resume teaching in the movement.

*The Students.*—Of the students, seventy per cent. are miners. In some of the villages the classes present solid groups of those engaged in the neighbouring mines. In the classes in, or contiguous to, the towns, there is the mixture of occupations one would expect—miners, potters, mechanics, clerks, &c. One or two of the local teachers attend the village classes and seem to find them to their liking. Village schoolmasters in several centres take a keen interest in the work and four act as secretaries of their respective centres. Women are invited to the classes equally with men, and though at first they were timid and very few attended, now a few women will be found in most classes and are often amongst the keenest students. They are usually from miners' families; a few are elementary school teachers, themselves the daughters of miners. What is true of similar movements is true of this: the students are practically all adults, many being of mature years. There are but few young men under twenty-one or twenty-two in the classes, and it is a common lament at meetings of the movement that it has made so little appeal to them. It is interesting to note that



some of the most active students in the movement are those who have studied under the chief instructor of mining in the technical classes and who have been inspired by him to pass on to humane studies.

The question may here be asked: What are the educational effects of the work on the students? This is a question which many of the teachers, doubtful of their powers, have asked themselves as they conducted their classes. "Are these people getting anything out of all this?" "Have I really been of use to them?" are some of the queries that cross the mind of the amateur teacher. He has often been surprised and relieved at the end of a course to find students spontaneously getting up and declaring the value to them of the winter's work. Shyer students will wait for him in the road outside and tell him how much they have gained. Such incidents have taken place in the experience of most teachers. One student, a middle-aged man, after two years in a class declared with much feeling: "I never knew what education was until 'I came here. For twenty years I have walked in the darkness, and 'now I can see light. I bitterly regret that no such opportunity came 'my way twenty years ago.'" Another student waylaid the lecturer after the last meeting of the course, and said: "I want to thank you 'for what you have done for me this winter. I did not want to come 'to these lectures, but my friend persuaded me. I never cared for 'reading or education, and yet I seemed to be struggling after some-'thing. This winter has been a revelation, and has made a new man 'of me.'" Another student, writing to his teacher, said: "I must 'say that I owe much more to the movement than I am able to 'express. As a working man I feel it has given me a clearer outlook 'upon life, and has taught me not a little of the duties of citizenship."

Of the two hundred students who attended in the first year (1911-12), about forty were known to be still in attendance last session (1918-19), having completed eight continuous years. This, perhaps, speaks better than anything else for the real demand that existed for the movement. No one who knew these students eight years ago can doubt the very real progress that they have made. Many of the older students are now more than ready for advanced work, such as a tutorial class can offer, but for most of them this is impossible, owing to the shift system and to the remoteness of the towns. A number of students have passed on from these preparatory classes to a tutorial class, but, generally speaking, this has only been possible in the classes held in the towns or in districts contiguous thereto, and here again the shift system has opposed an almost insuperable obstacle to miners.

*The Women's Section.*—As stated above, women are free to join the classes equally with men, and most of the classes comprise at least a few women. No exact record has been kept, but in 1918-19 there would probably be from eighty to hundred women in the classes altogether. Experience has shown, however, in many centres that if women are to be brought into the movement it must be through the medium of women's classes, as many have not in the first place the confidence to join a mixed class. As the movement fully recognises the importance of educating women equally with men, it was decided at the annual meeting in 1916 that a Women's Section of the movement should be started, so that more attention could be given to this side of the work; and, as one of the secretaryships was vacant, a woman was appointed with the duty of attending particularly to the Women's Section. This section is now considering the difficulties peculiar to women which so often make it impossible, or at least very difficult for them to attend evening classes, and it is at present trying to devise experiments to test

whether it is possible to overcome some of these obstacles. The Women's Section is in the hands of tutorial class women students who are acting as teachers and organisers of the women's classes.

The difficulties of war-time have militated against rapid progress, but it is encouraging to note that in 1918-19 five women's classes were held. Although the work was affected by the influenza epidemic, promising results were achieved as is shown by the following extract from a report of a teacher of one of these classes:—

“The class was conducted on the lines of the girls doing the whole of the work, taking it in turns to do a paper each week, and holding discussions after each paper, the class leader acting only as a guide and prompter. The results have been excellent. Keen enthusiasm was shown and the discussions were vigorous. Girls who have had no education since leaving the elementary school at thirteen contributed papers and took part in the discussions. Poetry was chosen unanimously for the subject next year, and eight girls have already selected a poet on whom they wish to give a paper.”

*Subjects of Study.*—The subjects of study are humane in character—history, literature, political science, economic and social problems, &c. The following is a list of the subjects taken since the beginning, namely :

English History. (Economic, Constitutional, &c.)

European History. (French Revolution and 19th Century.)

English Literature. (Shakespeare; the Romantic Revival; Charles Dickens; 19th Century writers.)

Nature Study.

John Ruskin.

The Development of Modern Germany.

Staffordshire Worthies. (A course on famous Staffordshire men, which was devised and the material collected by the teacher, a potter's engineman.)

Economics.

Economic and Social Problems.

Central and Local Government.

Introduction to Plato's "Republic."

The Origin and Growth of the British Empire.

History and Problems of Trade Unionism.

Great Englishmen.

Great Englishwomen of the 19th Century.

During the war valuable work was done in the study of modern European history, and in such subjects as "Problems and Issues of the War;" while during the last two years classes have turned naturally to the subject of reconstruction in all its various phases.

There are indications that had the movement possessed an adequate number of teachers in science there would have been a much larger demand for this subject. Most thoughtful miners, as an outcome of their work, are interested in geology, and this offers a starting point. There has been from the first a steady demand for literature, and it has been found by actual experience—in spite of the query contained in the somewhat indignant remark of a local worthy; "What do miners want with Shakespeare?"—that miners can appreciate great literature if the subject is made a living one, and taught in a broad and human way.

*Administration.*—At the beginning of the movement the "organ of government" consisted of a general assembly, which members of the classes, officers, lecturers, and organisers, and, in fact, all in any way connected with the movement, were entitled to attend. This assembly

met each year at an annual meeting, when the general lines of policy were laid down, and as many as possible of the arrangements for the coming year settled, details usually being delegated to the officers of the movement, viz., the president, joint secretaries, librarian, and treasurer. Should important business arise in the meantime a special meeting would be called to deal with it. This seems a somewhat cumbersome method of administration, but it had its advantages in that it interested and drew into the counsels of the movement a large number of its members. Recently, however, the growth of the work has necessitated a development of organisation, and an Executive Committee has been formed to carry on the administration in the intervals of the annual meetings. This Committee is composed as follows:—

4 members appointed by the centres.

2     "     "     "     women's section.

2     "     "     "     lecturers.

2     "     "     "     local university tutorial classes.

*Ex officio*: The president, secretaries, treasurer and librarian.

The president of the movement, who has occupied that office from the first meeting, is the chief instructor of mining for North Staffordshire, and to his enthusiasm, initiative and guidance the movement owes a great deal. Two secretaries were appointed at the outset, one a miner, representing the mining side, and a former tutorial class student, and the other a municipal clerk, representing the tutorial classes, he being the secretary of the Longton class. At the present time there are three joint secretaries, one being a woman, a tutorial class student, whose special function it is to deal with the women's side of the movement. The librarian, a potters' warehouseman, is a tutorial class student. Like the teaching, the administrative work has been done by voluntary service.

As regards the organisation of the centres, the usual practice in starting a class is for a local committee to be appointed which elects a secretary and sometimes a librarian and treasurer. This committee is then responsible for the class organisation and all local arrangements in connection therewith. The local committees, through their secretaries, keep in touch with the central movement through its officers. Special care is taken to reduce the mere routine and clerical work of class secretaries to the minimum and to avoid any appearance of "red tape," so that their energies can be devoted to the purely educational side rather than to correspondence and the filling-up of forms. During the year only one form is sent to the centres—a simple form of report on the work of the winter. Touch is kept with the centres as far as possible by personal contact, but nothing like so much is done in this way as is desirable owing to the limitation of time and energy available. With the rapid growth of the movement the question of organisation is a serious problem. The movement undoubtedly suffers by the fact that it is impossible for those responsible to give the time and thought that is required to develop it, and to take advantage of the opportunities for improvement, for new experiments and extensions which occur from time to time. It is only by the most strenuous efforts, by teachers acting as organisers, and organisers as teachers, that the winter's work can be carried through in its present amount. There is, indeed, more than enough to employ the full time of a competent organiser.

*Finance*.—The movement started without any clear idea as to how the expense was to be met. It was felt that the great need was to start the work and leave the finance to look after itself. It was laid down that the admission of a student to a class should not be dependent upon

the payment of a fee, but that it should be left to students whether or not they contributed towards the funds. (There are few students now who do not contribute to the expenses of the work.) The finance is based upon the local centre, and any contributions received from the class go, in the first place, to defray the purely local costs, such as postages, book carriage, caretaker's fees, and similar small payments, any surplus being handed over to the treasurer of the movement for the central fund. The heaviest items of expenditure are for books—to economise on which it was agreed would defeat the ends of the movement—upon printing and stationery, and lecturers' travelling expenses. During the first two years the financial position was greatly relieved by a grant of £25 from the Oxford University Tutorial Classes Committee towards the cost of books, etc. It was decided that application should be made to the Staffordshire Education Committee for a grant to defray the debit balance on the first year's work. This they very readily made, and they have continued the practice ever since, thus relieving the movement of financial anxiety. The average amount of the County grant per year has amounted to £22 13s. 9d.

In the third year, when classes came to be established in the Potteries towns, the Stoke-on-Trent Education Committee equally readily made a grant of £10, which has also been continued up to the present. It is satisfactory to know that the centres increasingly recognise their responsibility for the movement, with the result that the net receipts available for the central funds from this source have gradually increased. In 1918-19, after payment of local expenses, a net sum of £13 5s. 7d. was contributed by the classes to the central fund for general purposes. It is felt that the more the movement can raise its expenditure within itself the sounder it will be.

Local centres adopt their own methods of raising contributions. Except to the Local Education Committees, the movement has never made any appeal for funds, and has never had to apply to individuals for help, although several generous sympathisers have from time to time spontaneously made donations. It is the considered opinion of the movement that it has gained a great deal in independence and stability from not having to rely upon a constant stream of individual subscriptions and donations. It is here that the action of the Local Education Committees in defraying each year the debit balance has been so important to the welfare of the movement.

The following are particulars of the total expenditure and average cost per class per session for each year of the movement's existence:—

| Year.          | Total Expenditure. | No. of Centres. | Average cost per Class per Session. |
|----------------|--------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------------|
|                | £ s. d.            |                 | £ s. d.                             |
| 1911-12 ... .. | 54 18 4            | 10              | 5 9 10                              |
| 1912-13 ... .. | 49 10 9            | 20              | 2 9 6                               |
| 1913-14 ... .. | 46 11 6            | 24              | 1 8 9                               |
| 1914-15 ... .. | 53 0 3             | 24              | 2 4 3                               |
| 1915-16 ... .. | 56 17 11           | 30              | 1 17 11                             |
| 1916-17 ... .. | 54 6 2             | 30              | 1 6 3                               |
| 1917-18 ... .. | 51 5 10            | 23              | 2 4 7                               |
| 1918-19 ... .. | 60 14 1            | 23              | 2 12 9                              |

*Relations with Local Education Authorities, the W.E.A. and the Universities.*—The relations of the movement with the Local Education Authorities in whose areas it works have been all that could be desired.

They have welcomed and encouraged it in every way, amongst others, by making grants as stated above, and by allowing the free use of rooms for class meetings, while never in any way attempting to direct the policy of the movement or interfere in its internal affairs. All that they desire, and this quite rightly, is that the movement should be doing educational work. The relations between the Local Education Authorities and the movement are a good example of what can be achieved in non-vocational adult education by co-operation between voluntary bodies and Local Education Authorities. The question may be asked: Would not the movement have prospered equally, or even to a greater extent, if initiated and controlled by the Local Education Authorities themselves? The answer seems to be that, through no fault of the Authorities, but through the inherent difficulties of their position, this would not have been the case. "The chief source of the movement's strength"—to quote from the 1913-14 Report—"is the 'voluntary principle on which it rests—voluntary as regards both 'teaching and organisation and the students' own participation.'" The movement values its independence, as it believes this to be a great source of strength.

As stated above, at the first meeting of the movement, it was decided to affiliate to the W.E.A., and this affiliation has been continued ever since. The movement is indebted to the W.E.A. for advice, assistance, and encouragement at every stage, and it is with the methods of the W.E.A., and its spirit, that the movement has proceeded. The movement is represented on the Executive Council of the Midland District of the W.E.A., and one of its members has been appointed by the Council as a representative on the W.E.A. Executive.

A word should be said as to the relations of the movement with the Oxford University Tutorial Classes Committee. This committee has taken a peculiar interest in it from its start, and helped and encouraged it in many ways, and it is not too much to say that had it not been for this assistance and co-operation the movement could not have reached its present stage of development. In part, the movement sprang from the Oxford tutorial class work in the Potteries, and the two have ever since been closely bound together, each strengthening and enriching the other.

*Summer Schools.*—From the beginning, the movement has recognised the value of summer schools, and by the kindness of the school authorities has been able to arrange each year for at least a few students from the movement to attend the schools held at one or other of the universities. These visits have played no small part in the development of the movement. The students invariably return to their respective centres confirmed in their educational beliefs and full of a new enthusiasm for the movement, of which they become active agents and missionaries. The Stapley Educational Trust in 1919 made a grant of £20 for scholarships to enable students to attend the Oxford Summer School.

The following are particulars of the number of individual students who have attended the various summer courses:—

- 4 Bangor Tutorial Classes Summer School.
- 1 Cambridge Extension Summer Meeting.
- 31 Oxford Tutorial Classes Summer School.
- 8 Oxford Extension Summer Meeting.

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Many of the students have repeated their visits on several occasions.

*Reasons for the Success of the Movement.*—The reasons for the success which the movement has so far attained can be summarised thus:—

- (1) That the district was ripe for it—that is, it sprang out of a very real demand which existed in the villages and towns for non-vocational education of a humane type.
- (2) That it is a real democratic movement, springing from the people, and embodying what may be called “education of the people, by the people, for the people.”
- (3) That it unites freedom with responsibility. The responsibility rests upon the whole body of the members; and without the practice of this responsibility the movement would collapse. Its freedom gives it room to experiment and to adopt the methods best suited to achieve its aim.
- (4) That from the beginning both the teaching and the organisation have been taken seriously. The teachers have done their best to prepare themselves adequately, and have never failed their classes. There is not one instance on record where a teacher, except through illness or other unavoidable cause, has failed to meet his class. The organisation from the first was put upon a business footing, as far as possible, attention being given to detail without making a fetish of it.
- (5) Lastly, and perhaps this is the strongest reason of all, because it is a purely voluntary movement, in which the students attend classes of their own free will, and the teachers and organisers teach and organise because of their belief in education, and because they, like most of the students, are animated by a strong social purpose. For these two reasons there is a moral and spiritual force within the movement which keeps it alive.

*Present Position and Future Policy.*—The years of the war were a severe test for a purely voluntary movement. Heavy losses were sustained by the departure from the district of many of the teachers and organisers, owing to causes due to the war, and a number of them will not return. By strenuous efforts, the movement was kept intact, but inevitably suffered some disorganisation in face of the accumulating difficulties of the war period. This situation led the Executive Committee of the North Staffordshire Miners' Higher Education Movement to consider the position of the movement and its new needs. It was agreed that the most urgent need was to secure the services of a university tutor resident in the district. Application was made to the Oxford University Tutorial Classes Committee for the appointment of such a tutor, and the Committee approached the Education Authorities of Staffordshire and Stoke-on-Trent as to the provision of the necessary financial means. Following the enlightened policy they have always pursued towards the movement, the former agreed to contribute £350 and the latter £150 per year. To this sum of £500 the Oxford Joint Committee has added £100 a year, on condition that the resident tutor conducts one tutorial class in the district. A tutor has been appointed and will commence work in the autumn of 1919. His duties will be to supervise the educational work of the movement, to teach some of the more advanced classes and to help voluntary teachers to prepare themselves for teaching work. The Executive Committee is also of opinion that a full-time organiser will be required in the near future to undertake the increasing burden of organising and administrative work.

*Aims of the Movement.*—The chief aim of the movement is to provide means of humane education in the outlying villages of the Staffordshire coalfield and in the Potteries towns. The movement is essentially a pioneer movement, for not only does it set out to meet the expressed

educational demands of centres which are anxious to have a class, but also to call forth the latent demand; and it endeavours by all possible means to arouse interest in education generally. Thus, it does not spend all its energies in progressive centres, but regards it as equally important to introduce education into centres that are usually regarded as "hopeless."

The purpose of the movement in establishing and conducting classes is the personal development of the individual student and preparation for citizenship and service in the organisations of which he is a member. The more active members of the movement are inspired by a spirit of local patriotism. Students from the classes are already taking a greater interest in their trade unions, their co-operative societies, in local government, and in the life of the towns and villages generally, and it is interesting to note that at the present time a considerable number are members of local governing bodies. Study in common has done much to break down barriers and prejudices which prevent people co-operating for the common good, and members of classes with differing opinions and beliefs are now learning for the first time to work together. As was said at a social gathering held in connexion with a village class: "Why, this is the first time church and chapel people in this village have ever met together for social purposes." The movement, in fact, is already something more than a group of classes. It is a network of friendships and loyalties binding together not only the members of the same classes, but students and teachers everywhere in an educational effort "for the general good of all."

*Summary of the recorded adult educational work in North Staffordshire for the ten years from 1908-9 to 1918-19.*

The movement described above must be regarded as part of the larger volume of educational work in North Staffordshire including university tutorial classes and extension lecture courses. The following summary is compiled from the available records and covers the ten years from 1908-9 to 1918-19. For the sake of completeness and convenience the statistics of the miners' movement are included.

The estimated number of *individuals* who have attended classes, lecture courses and study groups comprised in the activities referred to below is 7,000. This does not include attendance at many sporadic and isolated lectures and study groups of an occasional kind of which there has been a considerable number in connexion with debating societies, field clubs, mutual improvement societies, religious bodies, &c., and of which there is no record.

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION LECTURES, 1908-1918.

|  |        |       |
|--|--------|-------|
| Number of Lecture Courses during past 10 years               | ...    | 42    |
| Number of individual Centres at which above Courses given    | ... .. | 5     |
| Total of average attendances for the 10 years                | ... .. | 8,438 |
| Total average number of persons attending regularly per year | ... .. | 843   |

*Subjects studied:—*

Periods of Modern History. Making of the British Empire. Military and Naval Campaigns of the Napoleonic Era. Six Statesmen of the 19th Century. Russia and the Russians. English Literature (Various periods). Dante. Music. "How to enjoy pictures." Problems of Reconstruction. "Ideals and Issues of the War." Some applications of Science to Modern Warfare, &c.

Number of students (not included elsewhere) who have attended extension summer meetings for past 10 years:—Estimated at 45.

## UNIVERSITY TUTORIAL CLASSES.

*Longton Tutorial Class.*

1st Course. January, 1908, to April, 1911.

Subject: Industrial History of England; Local Government and Economics; Social and Economic Problems.

2nd Course. September, 1911, to April, 1914.

Subject: Economic and Constitutional History. The Puritan Revolution; Secession of American Colonies; The French Revolution.

3rd Course. September, 1914, to April, 1917.

Subject: Political History of England, France and Germany.

4th Course. September, 1917, to April, 1920.

Subject: Problems of the 20th Century (National, International and Imperial).

*Burslem Tutorial Class.*

1st Course. January, 1910, to April, 1913.

Subject: English Industrial History; Economic Theory; Local Government.

2nd Course. September, 1913, to April, 1917.

Subject: Moral and Political Philosophy.

3rd Course. September, 1917, to April, 1920.

Subject: Problems of the 20th Century (National, International and Imperial).

*Stoke Tutorial Class.*

1st Course. September, 1911, to April, 1915.

Subject: Economic and Constitutional History; European History and French Revolution.

2nd Course. September, 1915, to April, 1919.

Subject: English Literature.

*Tunstall Tutorial Class.*

1st Course. September, 1913, to April, 1916.

Subject: English Social History; Economics.

2nd Course. September, 1916, to April, 1919.

Subject: Problems of Reconstruction. Political Science.

(Note.—A fifth tutorial class (at Hanley) is in course of formation.)

## SUMMARY OF TUTORIAL CLASS STATISTICS. (1908–9 to 1918–19.)

Eleven three-year courses have been conducted since 1908, of which two are not yet complete.

These courses have been attended for at least *one year* by 251 individual students. 119 students have attended for at least three years. Of these—

|    |      |          |     |    |       |
|----|------|----------|-----|----|-------|
| 24 | have | attended | for | 4  | years |
| 10 | „    | „        | „   | 5  | years |
| 24 | „    | „        | „   | 6  | years |
| 5  | „    | „        | „   | 7  | years |
| 3  | „    | „        | „   | 8  | years |
| 3  | „    | „        | „   | 9  | years |
| 2  | „    | „        | „   | 10 | years |

that is, of the 119 students, 71 have attended more than the stipulated three years.

Number of Tutorial Class Students who have attended University Tutorial Class Summer Schools during 10 years—133.



NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE MINERS' HIGHER EDUCATION MOVEMENT.  
1911-1919.

|   |       |
|---|-------|
| Total number of Individual Centres at which courses held during the whole 8 years. ... .. | 48    |
| Total number of 6-Lecture Courses given ... ..  | 96    |
| Total number of 12-Lecture Courses given ... ..   | 68    |
| Total Aggregate of Average Attendances at all these Courses for the 8 years ... ..        | 3,085 |
| Total Average Attendance for each year ... ..   | 385   |

Estimated total number of Students and average attendance for each year:—

|             | <i>Total Number.</i> | <i>Average Attendance.</i> |
|-------------|----------------------|----------------------------|
| 1911-12 ... | 200                  | 170                        |
| 1912-13 ... | 450                  | 275                        |
| 1913-14 ... | 520                  | 336                        |
| 1914-15 ... | 545                  | 460                        |
| 1915-16 ... | 600                  | 457                        |
| 1916-17 ... | 650                  | 500                        |
| 1917-18 ... | 500                  | 447                        |
| 1918-19 ... | 510                  | 440                        |

|   |       |
|---|-------|
| Number of special public lectures given in connexion with Miners' Movement and Tutorial Classes, 1908-1919 ... .. | 55    |
| Total Attendance at above ... ..  | 5,200 |
| Number of extra summer lectures given at village centres in Miners' Movement since 1912 ... ..                    | 13    |
| Total estimated attendance at same ... ..   | 470   |
| Number of Students from Miners' Movement who have attended Summer Schools or Summer Meetings ...                  | 44    |

RESIDENTIAL WEEK-END SCHOOL HELD IN CONNEXION WITH TUTORIAL  
CLASSES AND MINERS' MOVEMENT, SEPTEMBER, 1918.

Number in attendance ... .. 51

(F.) ADULT EDUCATION IN YORKSHIRE.

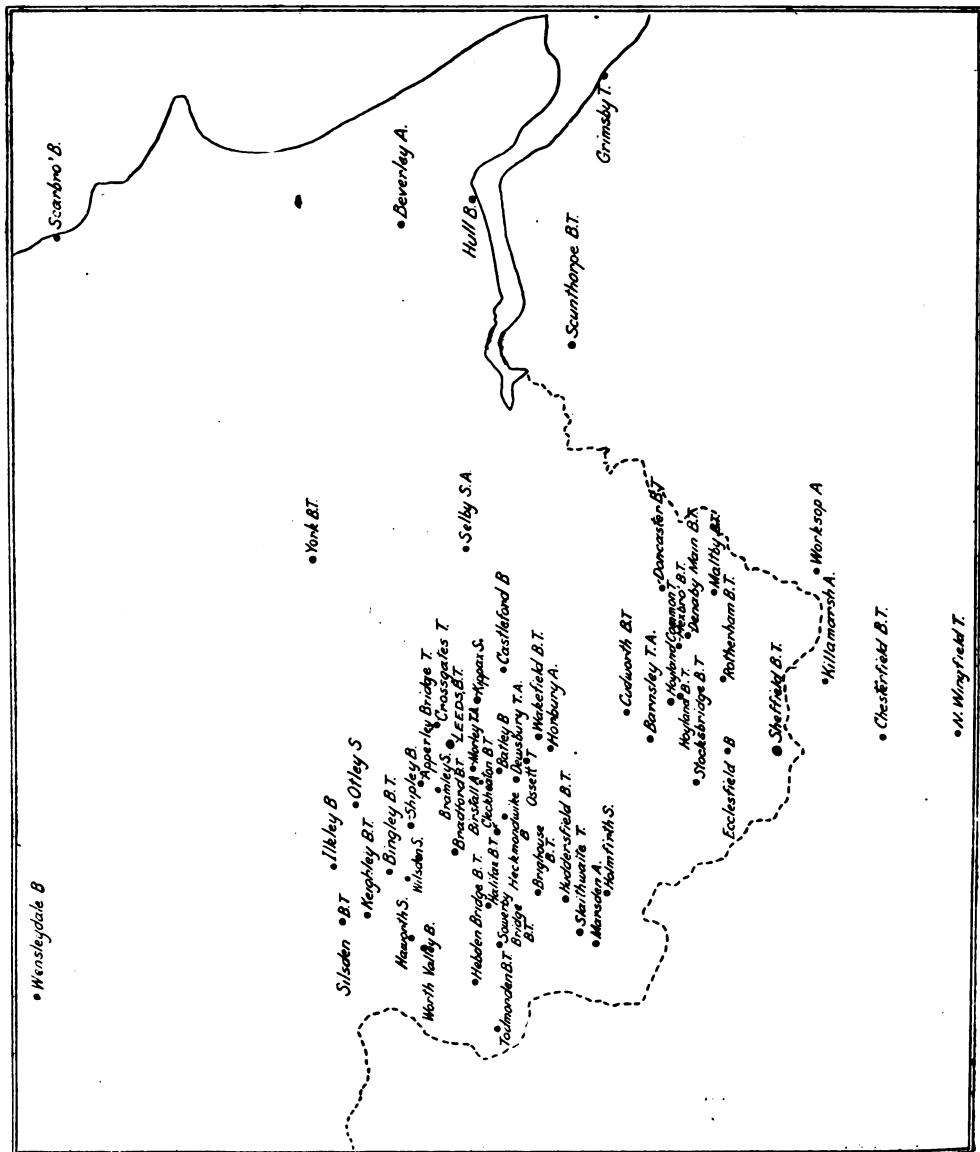
*The Yorkshire District of the Workers' Educational Association.*

In the year before the war the North Western District of the Workers' Educational Association appointed a Yorkshire organiser to develop the work of the Association in the eastern section of the district. In the following year it was decided to institute this area as a separate district of the W.E.A., and on July 1st, 1914, the Yorkshire District began its independent existence. Strictly speaking, the name is inaccurate, as the district stretches beyond Yorkshire on the south and does not include the northern part of the county. Its western frontier, however, coincides with the county boundary. Broadly speaking, the Yorkshire District stretches from Hawes to Scarborough on the north and from Chesterfield to Grimsby on the south. As war broke out almost immediately after the formation of the new district, it was met at the outset by considerable difficulties, some of which were intensified as the war proceeded. The record which follows is therefore a record of work accomplished during the years of war.

A few of the branches which were in existence in 1914 were compelled to suspend their activities during the war, and a few new branches came into existence; though the District did not, during the stress of the war

.....=County Boundary.

**SCALE=16 miles to an inch.**



period, encourage the formation of new branches. In addition, "student groups" linked with the District sprang to life in several places and became centres of W.E.A. activity. The majority of branches have maintained continuity of work during the past five years, a few have become inactive and in other places work has been developed.

The work of the District may be considered under four main headings:—(1) University Tutorial Classes, (2) One-year Classes and Study Circles, (3) Courses of Lectures, (4) Conferences. These different agencies have been used to meet the needs of students and members. It is interesting to notice that during the earlier part of the war period attention was directed towards the problems arising out of the war, whilst later the interest shifted to the problems of the future.

*The Study of International Relations.*—It cannot be denied that the study of international questions had been generally neglected, and the Yorkshire District at the outset strove to meet the new demand. It published in September, 1914, a special Yorkshire supplement to *The Highway*, the monthly organ of the W.E.A. This supplement, which was issued as a leaflet, was the first published attempt to give real guidance upon the historical background of the war and some of the more immediate problems involved. Nearly 6,000 copies were circulated, a considerable number finding their way far outside the District. The supplement gave advice on the formation of study circles, provided a comprehensive plan of study and indicated sources of information. It was followed up by similar outlines of study in subsequent supplements. The book "The War and Democracy," written by members of the Association, two of them resident in the district, was widely used, 1,100 copies being distributed from the District office during the winter of 1914-15 alone. During the session 1914-15, nine university tutorial classes studied European history, and there are records of thirty other classes and study circles organised by the Association in modern history, and, we are informed, "the schemes of study were used by many groups outside the Association." A large number of public lectures were arranged by the branches, "mainly on topics relative to the war." During 1915-16 the work of the previous winter was followed up by a series of conferences of representatives of working-class organisations to stimulate the study of international relations, and there were 27 one-year classes and study circles known to be devoting themselves to these questions.

*Reconstruction Problems.*—As the war proceeded, a demand arose for the study of the problems of reconstruction. During the winter of 1915-16 conferences of representative trade unionists were held to consider the problems of trade unionism. These conferences, according to the Annual Report of the District for 1915-16, were "arranged in sixteen centres of organised labour in co-operation with local trades councils" and were "addressed by W.E.A. tutors and officials." Arising out of the conferences, study circles were arranged. A detailed scheme of study on "Trade Union Problems and Policy," with a bibliography, was published, and during the winter over 2,000 copies were sold at the conferences and to trade union branches.

The District took an active part in the development of the educational policy of the W.E.A., and when its reconstruction programme was framed the branches of the District arranged local conferences for the consideration of its recommendations. In addition, during the spring of 1917 the district arranged four county conferences in co-operation with the Yorkshire Federation of Trades Councils, the Co-operative Educational Committees' Association and the Yorkshire Council of the Club and Institute Union. These conferences were attended by the representatives of a very large number of societies. Since the passage

of the Education Act, many branches have formed "Vigilance Committees" for the purpose of stimulating Local Authorities in the preparation of schemes, and have taken various steps to inform public opinion on educational problems and policy.

The problems of reconstruction have, of course, been incorporated in the study of political, social and economic problems.

*Subjects of Study.*—The subjects for which there is the greatest demand are industrial and social history, economics and social problems. The study of political science and philosophy has, however, developed during the past five years. There has been a steady increase in the number of classes and study circles taking literature as their subject. In 1914-15 there were two classes in biology in the District—one at Halifax, in its second year, and one commencing its course at Leeds. The former class came to an end in 1918, after a continuous course of five years' duration. The Leeds class completed five years last winter (1918-19). A biology class was commenced at Hebden Bridge in 1916 and another at Cleckheaton in 1918. For some years there was a class in the theory of music at Halifax, and the Huddersfield tutorial class in 1918-19 took as its subject the elements of English law. The experience of the district is that the variety of studies offered could be almost indefinitely increased if the facilities were available.

*University Tutorial Classes.*—The District has from the first been active in the promotion of university tutorial classes. The Organising Secretary of the District is the Joint Secretary of University Joint Committees of the two universities—Leeds and Sheffield—falling within the District. The recently appointed organiser for South Yorkshire will, however, take up the joint secretaryship of the Sheffield Joint Committee. The organising work, which is necessary and considerable in connexion with tutorial classes, is undertaken by the District, and the burden which this work has thrown upon the District office has been recognised by both universities, who now make a grant towards the cost of organisation of tutorial classes.

In the winter of 1913-14, there were within the area of the Yorkshire District, 20 tutorial classes. During the year 1914-15, there were 13 classes under the University of Leeds, 10 under the University of Sheffield, and four under the auspices of the Oxford University Tutorial Classes Committee, making 27 in all. Of these, 12 were classes meeting for their first session. Since then the numbers have consistently increased, in spite of recruitment and other difficulties due to the war. The following table gives the number of tutorial classes in the District during each year up to the present time:—

| Year.   | Tutorial Classes. |                 |                | Total in Yorkshire District. | Total in the country. |
|---------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|
|         | Leeds.            | Sheffield.      | Oxford.        |                              |                       |
| 1913-14 | 10                | 6               | 4              | 20                           | 145                   |
| 1914-15 | 13                | 10              | 4              | 27                           | 154                   |
| 1915-16 | 14                | 11              | 4              | 29                           | 121                   |
| 1916-17 | 14                | 14 <sup>1</sup> | 4 <sup>2</sup> | 32                           | 99                    |
| 1917-18 | 17                | 18 <sup>3</sup> | 5 <sup>4</sup> | 40                           | 121                   |
| 1918-19 | 20                | 25 <sup>5</sup> | 4              | 49                           | 153                   |

<sup>1</sup> Includes a "shift class" at Sheffield, which is counted as two.

<sup>2</sup> Includes a one-year class at York under a university tutor.

<sup>3</sup> Includes "shift classes" at Hoyland, Rotherham, and Sheffield, each of which is counted as two. One of the Sheffield classes was an "advanced class."

<sup>4</sup> Includes a one-year class at Hull under a university tutor.

<sup>5</sup> Includes "shift classes" at Cudworth, Hoyland, Hoyland Common, two at Rotherham and two at Sheffield, each of which is counted as two. One of the Sheffield classes was an "advanced class."

The number of students in tutorial classes in the Yorkshire District is shown below :—

| Year.          | University.      |                  |                  | Total students. |
|----------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|
|                | Leeds.           | Sheffield.       | Oxford.          |                 |
|                | No. of students. | No. of students. | No. of students. |                 |
| 1914-15 ... .. | 280              | 188              | 89               | 557             |
| 1915-16 ... .. | 293              | 194              | 81               | 568             |
| 1916-17 ... .. | 266              | 241              | 57               | 564             |
| 1917-18 ... .. | 346              | 331              | 91               | 768             |
| 1918-19 ... .. | 393              | 435              | 83               | 911             |

During the first three years of the war the membership of tutorial classes remained steady and increased by nearly 40 per cent. in 1917-18, in spite of the drain of enlistment and the increasing pressure of war work. The maintenance of and later increase in the number of tutorial class students was due to two causes—the establishment of new centres and an increased number of women students.

The problem of the “shift worker,” whose times of employment vary from week to week, has been met by duplicating the courses. When the students are on the “night turn” they attend a meeting of the class during daytime; when they are working during the day they attend the class in the evening. Some weeks therefore they attend the day course and sometimes the evening course. This plan, though not successful where three shifts are worked, has met the needs of two-shift workers. The problem arises on the coal fields, and in South Yorkshire the device of the duplicated course has met with considerable success. In 1916-17 a “shift class” was started at Sheffield with 42 students. In the following year similar classes were opened under the auspices of the Sheffield University at Hoyland and Rotherham, the former with 41 students and the latter with 32. In the winter of 1918-19 new “shift classes” were commenced at Cudworth (42 students), Hoyland Common (48 students), Rotherham (31 students), Scunthorpe (28 students) and Sheffield (32 students).

In 1917 three University tutorial classes which had been studying industrial history and economics completed their three years and from the members an “advanced class” was formed which during the winter of 1917-18 studied “poverty and unemployment.” In 1918-19 it undertook a course of advanced study in economics. During the summer of 1918 a special class was held under the auspices of the University of Leeds. It was composed of advanced tutorial class students and its purpose was to give assistance to the students in preparing themselves to take one year classes and study circles.<sup>1</sup>

An increasing number of ex-tutorial students are taking up teaching work in one year classes and study circles, and giving short courses of lectures to trade union and other bodies. In the late summer of 1915 the members of the Sheffield fourth year class arranged a course of lectures at the Engineers’ Club on the economic effects of the war. The tutor of the class and seven students took part in the course. The District Report for 1914-15 refers to the tutorial class students and ex-students who “while engaged in manual occupations during the day, have in outlying districts assisted in organising classes, which they have also led during the winter.” For example, three members of the Chesterfield tutorial class in the winter of 1916-17

<sup>1</sup> See p. 203.

conducted classes in the mining villages of Pilsley, Wingfield, Grassmore, Hasland and Tupton and two members of the Sowerby Bridge tutorial class conducted study circles in the neighbouring village of Luddendenfoot.

A considerable proportion of the officials of the W.E.A. branches are tutorial class students and the three officials of the Yorkshire District are all ex-students of tutorial classes. The officers and executive committee of the District are or have been either tutors or students of university tutorial classes. Several members of the Leeds and Sheffield University Joint Committees are tutorial class students.

Many of the keenest W.E.A. workers are prominently identified with the trade union, co-operative and political labour movements. The following particulars referring to the Oxford University tutorial classes within the Yorkshire District (1917-18) are typical:—

| —   | Chesterfield. | Huddersfield. | Leeds. | North<br>Wingfield. |
|---|---------------|---------------|--------|---------------------|
| Active trade union members ...  | 11            | 12            | 13     | 27                  |
| Trade Union officials (included<br>above).  | 5             | 3             | 4      | 12                  |
| Members of Trades and Labour<br>Councils.   | 2             | 2             | 5      | 1                   |
| Adult School Work ...   | 7             | 2             | 4      | 7                   |
| Co-operative Society Officers ...   | 10            | —             | 2      | 1                   |
| Members of local governing<br>bodies.   | 4             | —             | 1      | 1                   |
| Other public work ...   | 2             | 5             | 1      | 6                   |
| Voluntary teaching ...  | 2             | 2             | 1      | 1                   |
| Number of individual students<br>engaged in public work as<br>officials of organisations or as<br>voluntary teachers. | 16            | 8             | 19     | 29                  |

Some idea of the occupations of the tutorial class students in the Yorkshire District may be obtained from the following analysis, relating to the tutorial classes held during the winter of 1917-18. The grouping is, of course, only approximate.

| Occupations.   | No. of<br>Students. |
|--|---------------------|
| Housewives and domestic work ...   | 70                  |
| Chief industrial groups:—  |                     |
| Engineers, mechanics, &c. ...  | 66                  |
| Textile workers ...  | 69                  |
| Miners ...   | 77                  |
| Railway workers ...  | 42                  |
| Metal workers ...  | 20                  |
| Tailors, dressmakers ...   | 24                  |
| Teachers ...   | 93                  |
| Clerks, telegraphists, &c. ...   | 73                  |
| Others,—including shop assistants, carpenters and joiners, printers, warehousemen, insurance agents, postmen, municipal employees, &c. ... | 234                 |
| Total ...  | 768                 |

In 1914-15 women students formed slightly over 25 per cent. of the membership of the Leeds, Sheffield and Oxford tutorial classes within the area of the Yorkshire District. In 1917-18, out of 768 tutorial class students, 247, or 32 per cent., were women.

Detailed particulars regarding the tutorial classes in the Yorkshire District since 1914 are given in the table below:—

*University Tutorial Classes in the Yorkshire District W.E.A.*

The number following the subject of a class indicates the year of the course.

The capital letter indicates the University, thus L = Leeds, S = Sheffield and O = Oxford.

| Class.          |     | 1914-15. | 1915-16.                             | 1916-17.                      | 1917-18.                  | 1918-19.  |
|-----------------|-----|----------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|---|
| Apperley Bridge | ... | L.       | —                                    | Organisation of Industry (1). | Social Problems (2) ...   | Economic Problems (3).<br>Literature (1).<br>Economics (1). |
| Barnsley        | ... | S.       | —                                    | —                             | —                         | —   |
| Bingley         | ... | L.       | —                                    | —                             | —                         | —   |
| Bradford        | ... | L.       | Modern History (2) ...               | Public Finance (3) ...        | Philosophy (3) ...        | Philosophy (4).<br>Economic Problems (3).                   |
| "               | ... | L.       | —                                    | Philosophy (1) ...            | Philosophy (2) ...        | —   |
| "               | ... | L.       | —                                    | Organisation of Industry (1). | Social Problems (2) ...   | —   |
| Brighouse       | ... | L.       | European History (3)                 | European History (2)          | —                         | —   |
| Chesterfield    | ... | O.       | European History (1)                 | European History (3)          | —                         | —   |
| "               | ... | O.       | —                                    | —                             | French Revolution (1)     | France in the 19th century (2). —                           |
| Cleckheaton     | ... | L.       | Economics and Political Science (3). | —                             | —                         | —   |
| "               | ... | L.       | —                                    | Philosophy (1) ...            | Philosophy (3) ...        | —   |
| "               | ... | L.       | —                                    | —                             | —                         | Biology (1).<br>Social History (1).*                        |
| Cudworth        | ... | S.       | —                                    | —                             | —                         | —   |
| Denaby Main     | ... | S.       | Social Economics (2)                 | Economic Theory (3)           | Social History (1) ...    | Industrial Revolution (2).                                  |
| "               | ... | S.       | —                                    | —                             | —                         | —   |
| Doncaster       | ... | S.       | Economic History (2)                 | Economics (3)                 | —                         | —   |
| "               | ... | S.       | —                                    | —                             | —                         | —   |
| Dewsbury        | ... | L.       | —                                    | Political Science (1) ...     | Political Science (2) ... | Economic Theory (2).<br>Economics (3).                      |
| Grimsby         | ... | S.       | —                                    | Industrial History (1)        | Economic Theory (2)       | —   |
| Halifax         | ... | O.       | Social History (3)                   | —                             | —                         | —   |
| "               | ... | O.       | —                                    | Political Science (2)         | —                         | —   |
| "               | ... | L.       | Biology (2) ...                      | Biological Science (4) ...    | Biology (5) ...           | Literature (1).   |
| "               | ... | L.       | —                                    | —                             | —                         | —   |
| Hebden Bridge   | ... | L.       | Literature (2) ...                   | Literature (3) ...            | Biology (2) ...           | Biology (3).<br>Economic Theory (2).*                       |
| "               | ... | L.       | —                                    | —                             | —                         | —   |
| Hoyland         | ... | S.       | —                                    | —                             | Economic History (1)*     | —   |

| Class.           | 1914-15. | 1915-16.               | 1916-17.                    | 1917-18.                              | 1918-19.                        |
|------------------|----------|------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Hoyland Common   | S.       | —                      | —                           | —                                     | Social History (1).*            |
| Huddersfield ... | O.       | European History (1)   | English Social History (3). | English Constitution (4)              | Elements of English Law (5).    |
| Hull ...         | O.       | —                      | —                           | Social Philosophy†                    | —                               |
| Keighley         | L.       | French Revolution (2)  | —                           | —                                     | —                               |
| "                | L.       | —                      | Economics (1)               | Social History and Theory (2).        | Industrial History (3).         |
| Leeds ...        | L.       | European History (1)   | —                           | —                                     | —                               |
| "                | O.       | Economics (3)...       | —                           | —                                     | —                               |
| "                | L.       | European History (4)   | Biology (3) ...             | Biology (4) ...                       | Biology (5).                    |
| "                | L.       | Biology (2) ...        | Philosophy (3)              | —                                     | —                               |
| "                | L.       | Philosophy (1) ...     | Literature (3)              | Literature (4) ...                    | —                               |
| "                | L.       | Literature (2)...      | —                           | History (1) ...                       | History (2).                    |
| "                | O.       | —                      | —                           | English Social History (1).           | English Social History (2).     |
| "                | L.       | —                      | —                           | —                                     | Literature (1).                 |
| "                | L.       | —                      | —                           | —                                     | Literature (1).                 |
| Maltby           | S.       | European History (2)   | —                           | Growth of Political Institutions (1). | —                               |
| "                | S.       | Economics (3)...       | —                           | —                                     | —                               |
| Mexborough ...   | S.       | Industrial History (1) | Finance (3) ...             | Social History (1) ...                | Industrial Revolution (2).      |
| "                | S.       | Economics (2)...       | —                           | Social History (1)                    | Economics (2).                  |
| Morley           | L.       | —                      | —                           | Social History (1)                    | Industrial History (1)          |
| Ossett ...       | L.       | —                      | —                           | —                                     | France in the 19th Century (2). |
| North Wingfield  | O.       | —                      | —                           | French Revolution (1)                 | —                               |
| Rotherham        | S.       | Industrial History (1) | Public Finance (3)          | —                                     | Economics (2).*                 |
| "                | S.       | Economics (2)...       | —                           | Economic History (1)*                 | Mod. European History (1).*     |
| "                | S.       | —                      | —                           | —                                     | —                               |
| Scunthorpe       | S.       | —                      | —                           | English Literature (1)                | English Literature (2).         |
| "                | S.       | —                      | —                           | —                                     | Industrial History (1).*        |



| Sheffield      | ... | S. Mod. Social Problems(3)    | Economics (2)...                | Public Finance (3) ...    | Poverty and Unemployment.†     | Economics.‡                            |
|----------------|-----|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| "              | ... | S. Industrial History (1)     | Economics (2)...                | Finance (3) ...           | —                              | —                                      |
| "              | ... | S. Industrial History         | Economics (2)...                | Economic Problems (3)     | —                              | —                                      |
| "              | ... | S. Mod. Economic History (1). | Psychology (2)                  | Psychology (3)            | Psychology (4)                 | Psychology (5).                        |
| "              | ... | S. —                          | Philosophy (1)                  | Philosophy (2)            | Philosophy (3)                 | —                                      |
| "              | ... | S. —                          | —                               | Economic History (1)*     | Economic Theory (2)*           | Economic Problems (3)*                 |
| "              | ... | S. —                          | —                               | —                         | Social History (1) ...         | Social and Political Institutions (2). |
| Silsden        | ... | L. —                          | Industrial History (1)          | Industrial History (2)    | Economic Problems (3)          | Central and Local Government (4).      |
| Slaithwaite    | ... | S. —                          | Industrial History (1)          | Economic Theory (2)       | British Constitution (3)       | —                                      |
| Sowerby Bridge | ... | L. French Revolution (2)      | Economic and Social Theory (3). | Economics (4)...          | —                              | —                                      |
| "              | ... | L. —                          | —                               | —                         | Social History and Theory (1). | Ethics and Social Psychology (2).      |
| Stocksbridge   | ... | S. —                          | —                               | Industrial History (1)    | Economics (2)...               | Economics (3).                         |
| Todmorden      | ... | L. English Literature (3)     | Industrial History (1)          | Economics (2)...          | Public Finance (3)             | —                                      |
| "              | ... | L. —                          | —                               | Industrial History (1)    | Problems of Industry (2).      | —                                      |
| Wakefield      | ... | L. —                          | —                               | Industrial History (1)    | —                              | Social Philosophy (1).                 |
| York           | ... | L. European History (3)       | European History (4)            | Reconstruction Problems.† | —                              | Economic Problems (3).                 |
| "              | ... | O. —                          | —                               | —                         | —                              | —                                      |
| "              | ... | L. —                          | —                               | —                         | Social History and Theory (1). | Industrial History (2).                |
| Total Classes  | ... | 27                            | 29                              | 30§                       | 36                             | 42¶                                    |

\* "Shift class."

† One-year class under the auspices of the Oxford University Tutorial Classes Committee taken by a university tutor.

‡ Advanced class.

§ 32, including a one-year class and counting the Sheffield "shift class" as two.

¶ 40 if the three "shift classes" are each counted as two and a one-year class be included.

|| 49 if the seven "shift classes" are each counted as two.

*One-year Classes and Study Circles.*—It is not possible to give as precise information regarding one-year classes and study circles as it is in the case of university tutorial classes. It is difficult to draw a distinction between some one-year classes and some study circles. The District does not always obtain as full information concerning study circles as it possesses with regard to one-year classes. Many of the one-year classes organised by the District are provided by Local Authorities. The West Riding County Council, for example, has always co-operated most cordially with the Yorkshire District in the establishment of one-year classes. Particulars of one-year classes and study circles are available for the years 1914-15 and 1915-16. In the first year of the war there were in the district 37 one-year classes. In the following winter (1915-16) there were 29 one-year classes. In 1914-15 there were 35 organised study circles of which particulars are known, and in the following year 41 circles. The subjects studied are given in the tables which follow.

*One-Year Classes.*

| Branch.              |     |     | 1914-15.                          | 1915-16.                       |
|----------------------|-----|-----|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Batley ... ..        | ... | ... | Industrial History ... ..         | —                              |
|                      |     |     | Music ... ..                      | —                              |
|                      |     |     | Health in the Home ... ..         | —                              |
| Bradford ... ..      | ... | ... | European History ... ..           | European History.              |
|                      |     |     | Economic History ... ..           | English.                       |
|                      |     |     | English ... ..                    | —                              |
| Brighouse ... ..     | ... | ... | Literature ... ..                 | Literature.                    |
| Castleford ... ..    | ... | ... | —                                 | Literature.                    |
| Chesterfield ... ..  | ... | ... | Historical Background of the War. | European History.              |
|                      |     |     | European History ... ..           | European History.              |
| Cleckheaton ... ..   | ... | ... | Literature ... ..                 | Literature.                    |
|                      |     |     | Home Hygiene... ..                | Home Nursing.                  |
|                      |     |     | Home Hygiene... ..                | Home Nursing.                  |
|                      |     |     | —                                 | Home Management.               |
| Ecclesfield ... ..   | ... | ... | Economics ... ..                  | Botany.                        |
|                      |     |     | Literature ... ..                 | First Aid.                     |
| Halifax ... ..       | ... | ... | Literature ... ..                 | Literature.                    |
|                      |     |     | Theory of Music ... ..            | Theory of Music.               |
| Hebden Bridge ... .. | ... | ... | European History ... ..           | —                              |
| Heckmondwike ... ..  | ... | ... | Music ... ..                      | —                              |
|                      |     |     | Home Nursing... ..                | —                              |
|                      |     |     | Home Nursing... ..                | —                              |
| Huddersfield ... ..  | ... | ... | War and Democracy ... ..          | European History.              |
|                      |     |     | War and Democracy ... ..          | Literature.                    |
|                      |     |     | War and Democracy ... ..          | French.                        |
| Ilkley ... ..        | ... | ... | —                                 | French.                        |
|                      |     |     | Industrial History ... ..         | —                              |
| Leeds ... ..         | ... | ... | —                                 | Economic and Social Questions. |
|                      |     |     | —                                 | War Problems.                  |
|                      |     |     | —                                 | Economics and the War.         |
|                      |     |     | —                                 | Modern Poets and Dramatists.   |
| Mexborough ... ..    | ... | ... | Literature ... ..                 | Literature.                    |
| Shipley ... ..       | ... | ... | European History ... ..           | Democracy in Europe.           |
| Sowerby Bridge... .. | ... | ... | Home Nursing... ..                | The Drama.                     |
|                      |     |     | Physiology ... ..                 | —                              |
|                      |     |     | Dramatic Literature ... ..        | —                              |
| Todmorden ... ..     | ... | ... | European History ... ..           | —                              |
| Worth Valley ... ..  | ... | ... | European History ... ..           | —                              |
|                      |     |     | European History ... ..           | —                              |
|                      |     |     | European History ... ..           | —                              |
| Student Groups.      |     |     |                                   |                                |
| Bramley ... ..       | ... | ... | European History ... ..           | European History.              |
| Cudworth ... ..      | ... | ... | Literature ... ..                 | Literature.                    |
| Siladen ... ..       | ... | ... | European History ... ..           | —                              |
| Wilsden ... ..       | ... | ... | European History ... ..           | European History.              |

*Study Circles.*

| <i>Branch.</i>         | 1914-15.                             | 1915-16.                         |
|------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Bingley ... ..         | European History ... ..              | Local History.                   |
|                        | Psychology ... ..                    | European History.                |
|                        | Literature ... ..                    | —                                |
|                        | Literature ... ..                    | —                                |
|                        | Economics ... ..                     | —                                |
|                        | Botany ... ..                        | —                                |
| Bradford ... ..        | European History ... ..              | Browning.                        |
|                        | —                                    | Ethics.                          |
|                        | —                                    | Literature.                      |
|                        | —                                    | International Relations (8).     |
| Castleford ... ..      | International Polity ... ..          | —                                |
|                        | War and Peace ... ..                 | —                                |
| Chesterfield ... ..    | —                                    | International Relations (4).     |
| Cleckheaton ... ..     | European History ... ..              | Philosophy.                      |
|                        | —                                    | Literature (4).                  |
| Denaby Main ... ..     | —                                    | Literature.                      |
| Ecclesfield ... ..     | Summer Reading Circle ... ..         | —                                |
| Halifax ... ..         | Greek Plays ... ..                   | —                                |
|                        | European History ... ..              | —                                |
| Hebden Bridge ... ..   | —                                    | European History.                |
| Heckmondwike ... ..    | Reading Circle ... ..                | —                                |
| Huddersfield ... ..    | War and Democracy ... ..             | The Countries at War.            |
|                        | Literature (women only) ... ..       | International Relations.         |
|                        | Summer Circle on Problems of Empire. | —                                |
| Keighley ... ..        | —                                    | Trade Union Problems and Policy. |
| Leeds ... ..           | The King's English ... ..            | Social Problems.                 |
|                        | The War and European History         | Science of every-day life.       |
|                        | Problems of Democracy (3) ... ..     | Citizenship.                     |
|                        | Local Government ... ..              | Home Nursing.                    |
|                        | Literature ... ..                    | Home Nursing.                    |
|                        | Industrial Law ... ..                | War Problems.                    |
|                        | Physiology ... ..                    | Trade Union Policy.              |
|                        | Physiology ... ..                    | Trade Union Policy.              |
|                        | Art in the Home ... ..               | —                                |
| Mexborough ... ..      | Summer Circle on Modern History.     | International Relations.         |
| Sheffield ... ..       | —                                    | Child life (women).              |
| Sowerby Bridge ... ..  | Industrial History ... ..            | Industrial History.              |
|                        | 18th Century Writers... ..           | The Drama.                       |
|                        | European History ... ..              | European History.                |
| Todmorden ... ..       | —                                    | Trade Union Problems and Policy. |
| Wakefield ... ..       | War and Democracy ... ..             | —                                |
| Worth Valley ... ..    | War and Democracy ... ..             | —                                |
| <i>Student Groups.</i> |                                      |                                  |
| Cudworth ... ..        | European History ... ..              | —                                |
| Totals ... ..          | 35                                   | 41                               |

*Courses of Lectures.*—Most branches of the W.E.A. include amongst their activities the provision of public lectures. Often these are arranged by the branches themselves; in many cases the branches seek the assistance of the District office, which helps the branches to secure suitable lecturers. The services of speakers unconnected with the movement are obtained, but a considerable number of lectures arranged by the branches are given by members of the W.E.A. from other towns. A good deal of useful work is done in providing affiliated and other bodies with lecturers. In 1914-15 it is known that 121 lectures were arranged for other organisations; but the actual figure is higher than this and complete statistics are not available.

*Conferences.*—Reference has already been made to the conferences which were held on international relations, on trade union problems and on the Education Bill. These conferences, whether arranged by branches or by the District organisation, have been a means of bringing the Association into touch with a widening circle of people connected with working-class and educational organisations, and in stimulating interest and the formation of classes and study circles. In the arrangement of conferences the District often co-operates with other bodies.

*Distribution of Literature.* Apart from the distribution of leaflets giving information about the movement, the District undertakes the sale of literature to students. Reference has already been made to the sale of "The War and Democracy," the outlines of study on international relations, and the pamphlet on "Trade Union Problems and Policy." At W.E.A. meetings literature is on sale, and branches and classes are supplied by the District with books for sale to students.

*Other Activities.*—"From the outset it was realised," to quote the words of the First Annual Report of the Yorkshire District, "that the new district organisation should not confine itself to the mere formal and official sides of the work. The driving force of co-operation and good fellowship, it was felt, could be secured only by the development of a District patriotism, which would form a rallying point for the more or less isolated units in the District, and itself be merged in the larger patriotism of the National Association." Since the inauguration of the District, it has been the policy to hold the meetings of the District Council in different parts of the area to promote unity and interest. After each District Council meeting a social rally is held which enables members to meet each other and it is the custom for the Chairman of the District to speak on these occasions on the ideals, needs and problems of the movement. It is generally agreed that these functions have done much to consolidate and develop the District. Similar local rallies are held by many branches during the winter months, and rambles and visits, sometimes arranged jointly by branches, take place during the summer. In the branches and in the District as a whole, there has been a growth of interest in dialect poetry and dialect literature. At least one branch has its dramatic side, and in connection with the Cudworth branch there is an excellent male voice choir, consisting of miners.

In the summer of 1914 three week-end lecture schools were held attended by 240 members. Since 1915, the Ingleton Holiday School has been an annual feature of the District's activities. In 1919 the school was attended by about 150 members from various parts of the District. Rather more than half attended from Saturday to Tuesday, the remainder staying the whole week. A pavilion is engaged which is used as a dining room and meeting hall, the members sleeping in the village of Ingleton. Those present assist in the preparation of meals and other domestic duties. During the day various excursions are made. The school always includes a number of tutorial class students who are enthusiastic geologists and botanists, and whose knowledge adds to the interest of the rambles. In the evening there is a lecture and discussion, followed by a social rally. The holiday school provides an opportunity for arranging lectures and exchanges of visits during the following winter and for the interchange of experience. So popular has the Ingleton school become that the number of applications in 1919 far exceeded the available accommodation. The school is of real value to the work of the movement.

The Yorkshire District took the initiative in the establishment of a summer school of a type similar to the schools held at Oxford and

Bangor, with the result that in the summer of 1919 a school was held at Saltburn under the auspices of the Universities of Leeds, Sheffield and Durham. The Yorkshire District of the W.E.A. allocated £50 to the provision of scholarships, and the Yorkshire District Secretary was the organising secretary of the school. The school was attended by 138 students, the average number of students in residence each week being 39·4.

*Branches.*—Since the war a few branches of the W.E.A. in the Yorkshire District have been inactive. When the District was established there were 25 branches in existence. During the first year (1914-15) two new branches were established. Five "student groups" were established in places where no branch existed. In 1919 there were 24 branches and 10 "student groups" actively at work, or 34 local centres in all. Of these 24 branches, nine have arisen since the commencement of the war, and it is interesting to note that in six cases the establishment of a branch followed upon the work of a "student group."

The branches are autonomous and arrange their own activities. Their work, therefore, is determined by local needs and interests. Classes, study circles and courses of lectures are common activities. Some branches have undertaken extension work in outlying districts; others pay considerable attention to the provision of speakers for affiliated and other organisations. A number of branches do excellent work by means of conferences. The York Branch has initiated a Council on which the Local Education Authority is represented for the regular discussion of the problems of local education. Sheffield has opened a W.E.A. house as the headquarters for the activities of the branch.

The branches consist of affiliated societies and individual members. The number of the former varies with the opportunities. In the smaller branches, for instance, there are usually few local bodies which might be brought into affiliation. The total number of organisations affiliated to branches, and the number of individual members of branches, will be found below in the table analysing the membership of the District.

*The District Organisation.*—The District is administered by a Council consisting of representatives of branches, representatives of bodies affiliated to the District and representatives of individual members of the District. Bodies affiliated only to branches and individual members of branches are represented only through the representatives of the branches on the Council. The Council meets four times a year in different places, and in order that distant branches may not be penalised there is a pooling scheme in operation under which the total cost of travelling expenses of the branch delegates is divided equally between the branches. The Executive Committee is elected annually by and from the Council.

The growth of the membership of the Association within the District may be gauged from the following table:—

| Year.          | No. of<br>bodies<br>affiliated<br>to<br>branches. | No. of<br>individual<br>members<br>of<br>branches. | No. of<br>members of<br>student groups<br>where no<br>branch exists. | No. of<br>bodies<br>affiliated<br>to the<br>District. | No. of<br>individual<br>members<br>of the<br>District. |
|----------------|---|--|--|---|--|
| 1914-15 ... .. | 458   | 1,260  | 119  | 23  | 251  |
| 1915-16 ... .. | 357   | 1,449  | 100  | 31  | 289  |
| 1916-17 ... .. | 390   | 1,505  | 95   | 36  | 323  |
| 1917-18 ... .. | 425   | 1,904  | 273  | 49  | 401  |
| 1918-19 ... .. | 413   | 2,043  | 263  | 47  | 445  |

The District organisation has clearly become much stronger, even during the war. The societies and student groups which were affiliated to the District in 1919 comprise 16 co-operative societies (Barnsley, Batley, Beverley, Birstall, Bradford, Castleford, Chesterfield, Cleckheaton, Dewsbury, Horbury, Killamarsh, Leeds, Marsden, Morley, Scunthorpe, Selby, Stocksbridge and Worksop), and the Co-operative Education Committees' Association, three tutorial classes and four student groups, four trade union organisations (the Colne Valley General Union of Textile Workers, the Heavy Woollen Branch of the General Union of Textile Workers, the Yorkshire District of the Tramway and Vehicle Workers' Union, and the Yorkshire Cotton Operatives' Association), two teachers' organisations, the Leeds and South Yorkshire Branches of the Club and Institute Union and the Grimethorpe Working Men's Club, the University of Leeds, the University of Sheffield, and the Sowerby Division Conference of Youth.

The District is mainly financed by individual subscriptions and the affiliation fees of branches and organisations. The new District started, to refer to its Fifth Annual Report, "with an assured annual income of £93 (promised for three years to the Yorkshire Organiser Fund), together with £40 from other individual subscribers, £16 from affiliated societies, and £10 from branches." With an income of £160 it faced the obligations and responsibilities of a District in July, 1914. The Yorkshire W.E.A. has, however, been self-supporting from the start and has increased its income to a very remarkable extent. The following table shows the receipts and expenditure during the five years of its existence:—

| Year.                         |     |     | Receipts. |    |    | Expenditure. |    |    |
|-------------------------------|-----|-----|-----------|----|----|--------------|----|----|
|                               |     |     | £         | s. | d. | £            | s. | d. |
| July 1st, 1914—May 31st, 1915 | ... | ... | 406       | 19 | 0  | 374          | 5  | 10 |
| June 1st, 1915—May 31st, 1916 | ... | ... | 475       | 12 | 11 | 473          | 3  | 1  |
| " 1916— " 1917                | ... | ... | 550       | 19 | 7  | 557          | 18 | 10 |
| " 1917— " 1918                | ... | ... | 859       | 3  | 0  | 807          | 18 | 7  |
| " 1918— " 1919                | ... | ... | 1,103     | 5  | 4  | 1,015        | 11 | 9  |

It is interesting to analyse the sources from which the District draws its financial support. This is done below under four heads—societies affiliated to the District, branches and student groups, individual subscriptions to the general fund, subscriptions to the Organiser Fund (which is devoted to the salaries of the officials) and payments from the Universities of Leeds and Sheffield on behalf of the expenses of organising tutorial classes, this money also being placed in the Organiser Fund.

|         |     |     | Affiliated Societies. | Branches and Student Groups. | Individual Subscriptions (General Fund). | Subscriptions Organiser Fund. | Leeds and Sheffield Universities. |
|---------|-----|-----|-----------------------|------------------------------|--|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
|         |     |     | £ s. d.               | £ s. d.                      | £ s. d.                                  | £ s. d.                       | £ s. d.                           |
| 1914-15 | ... | ... | 17 0 6                | 22 9 6                       | 95 4 0                                   | 115 0 0                       | —                                 |
| 1915-16 | ... | ... | 41 13 0               | 39 18 8                      | 123 12 8                                 | 86 0 0                        | —                                 |
| 1916-17 | ... | ... | 44 0 8                | 62 2 5                       | 125 3 3                                  | 130 8 0                       | —                                 |
| 1917-18 | ... | ... | 49 3 6                | 58 6 11                      | 147 11 6                                 | 214 16 0                      | 84 0 0                            |
| 1918 19 | ... | ... | 46 4 0                | 88 1 8                       | 234 3 3                                  | 265 9 0                       | 105 0 0                           |

It will be seen that the District depends in the main upon individual sympathisers, though the subscriptions and donations of branches and

student groups have increased fourfold between 1915 and 1919. Individual subscribers and subscribers to the Organiser Fund include a considerable number of students in tutorial classes and working people. During the first year of its existence, 106 tutorial class students became individual members of the District, in addition to fulfilling their local obligations. In 1919, there were over 330 subscriptions to the general fund of sums ranging from 2s. 6d. to 10s., and 56 of similar amounts to the Organiser Fund.

The expenditure of the District has grown with the volume of work. The following table details some of the more important items of expenditure:—

| —                                    | 1914-15. | 1915-16. | 1916-17.            | 1917-18. | 1918-19. |
|--------------------------------------|----------|----------|---------------------|----------|----------|
|                                      | £ s. d.  | £ s. d.  | £ s. d.             | £ s. d.  | £ s. d.  |
| Salaries and Insurance ...           | 90 12 0  | 120 13 0 | 150 13 0            | 236 17 3 | 306 16 0 |
| "Highway" and Publications           | 97 17 1  | 98 12 9  | 33 1 8 <sup>1</sup> | 91 1 0   | 99 2 11  |
| Travelling expenses <sup>1</sup> ... | 51 2 5   | 62 3 8   | 87 10 4             | 108 3 0  | 135 9 0  |
| Printing and Stationery ...          | 25 5 9   | 40 3 8   | 76 3 7 <sup>2</sup> | 74 16 0  | 86 4 9   |
| Postage ...                          | 26 7 0   | 34 7 9   | 38 6 7              | 43 4 6   | 51 3 2   |
| Affiliation fee to Central Office    | 20 5 0   | 25 14 0  | 30 10 6             | 50 0 0   | 40 0 0   |

<sup>1</sup> These include the travelling expenses of officials, of members attending executive and special meetings and of representatives on the Central Council.

<sup>2</sup> Printing and stationery include items which in other years are found under "Highway" and Publications.

The District at the outset appointed as District Secretary the organiser, who for a year had been the Yorkshire organiser of the N.W. district, and for a time the office work of the area was conducted from his private house in Leeds. In 1916, however, a larger house was taken which provided accommodation for an office and a room for small meetings and study circles which is used considerably by the Leeds branch. The work grew beyond the powers of a single full time official and in 1917 a woman assistant was appointed. In the summer of 1919 an organiser was appointed to devote himself to the development of the work in the southern part of the district, under the general supervision of the District Secretary.

*Distribution of the Work.*—The Yorkshire district may be regarded as extending from Wensleydale to Scarborough, a distance of about 75 miles. Its southernmost group is the tutorial class of North Wingfield in Derbyshire which is roughly 80 miles distant from the northern boundary of the district. The total area may be roughly put at 5,000 square miles, and the total population at about 4 millions. North-west Yorkshire is mountainous and sparsely populated. The East Riding of Yorkshire is purely agricultural and contains, apart from Hull and the much smaller towns of Beverley, Selby, Driffield and Bridlington, no centres of population of any size. It is clear from the map that the work of the District has been concentrated in the mining and textile areas of the West Riding. All the county boroughs and boroughs in the Riding are centres of W.E.A. activity, but a large number of industrial and semi-industrial villages still remain untouched, and it was with a view to the development of work in such places in South Yorkshire and North Derbyshire that an organiser was recently appointed for

the southern part of the district. In Derbyshire at present there are two active centres, the town of Chesterfield (which has carried on work in the surrounding villages) and N. Wingfield where there is an Oxford University tutorial class. In North Lincolnshire there is a branch and tutorial class at Scunthorpe and a tutorial class on the coast at Grimsby. Away in the North Riding there is a rural branch in Wensleydale carrying on work in the villages of the dale. The Scarborough branch on the east coast has been in abeyance since the early days of the war. The branch at Hull formed during the war is not at present active and the Selby student group did not meet in the winter of 1918-9. At York, however, there is a strong and vigorous branch. The District has given consideration to the extension of its work in the rural area of East Yorkshire and it is expected that a beginning will be made in the near future. The difficulty is one of finance. With limited resources it was inevitable that educational facilities should be organised first in the more accessible districts where the demand was more insistent.

It is impossible to form any estimate of the number of people who have been brought into direct contact with the W.E.A. in the Yorkshire District or of the influence exerted by its organisation. It maintains close co-operation with the Universities of Leeds and Sheffield and the chief Local Education Authorities in the area, on the one hand, and with working class organisations and movements on the other. During its five years' existence the District has won a large measure of support from trade union branches and other trade union bodies, from co-operative societies and from adult schools. In spite of the difficulties of war time it has made consistent progress and steadily increased the volume of educational work organised under its auspices. At the same time it has succeeded in enlarging its income to meet the growing demands made upon it. The policy of the District has been to combine administrative efficiency and voluntary co-operation—a policy which, as results prove, has achieved a considerable measure of success. The movement, it is true, touches but a very small fraction of the people, but speaking generally those it does touch, it touches deeply; and it is drawing into it in increasing numbers the more public spirited and effective workers in the democratic movements of the District.

#### *Other Educational Movements in Yorkshire.*

One of the most widely dispersed movements in Yorkshire is that of the adult schools.

The Yorkshire Union of adult schools covers much the same area as the Yorkshire District of the W.E.A. It extends into Derbyshire, the Sheffield Sub-Union including the Chesterfield District Federation, composed of the adult schools of Chesterfield and certain mining villages in the vicinity. In 1914 the average attendance at the adult schools comprised in the Yorkshire Union was roughly 7,000, and the membership between 13,000 and 14,000 men and women. The following table gives the various sub-unions in the Yorkshire Union. Most of these sub-unions cover an area wider than the town which gives its name to the sub-union. Thus the Bradford sub-union includes, besides the adult schools in Bradford, those in Bingley, Keighley, Saltaire and Shipley. The figures contained in the table are to be regarded as approximate only. They refer to the early months of 1915.



*Yorkshire Adult School Union.*

| Sub-Union.                           | No. of Schools. |        |        | Men.                |                             | Women.              |                             |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------|--------|--------|---------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|
|                                      | Men.            | Women. | Mixed. | Approx. membership. | Approx. average attendance. | Approx. membership. | Approx. average attendance. |
| Barnsley ... ..                      | 6               | 4      | —      | 550                 | 290                         | 222                 | 151                         |
| Bradford ... ..                      | 20              | 15     | 2      | 550                 | 318                         | 479                 | 280                         |
| Castleford ... ..                    | 9               | 8      | —      | 299                 | 179                         | 300                 | 180                         |
| Dewsbury ... ..                      | 8               | 6      | —      | 275                 | 154                         | 248                 | 106                         |
| Doncaster ... ..                     | 6               | 5      | 2      | 305                 | 176                         | 270                 | 144                         |
| East Coast ... ..                    | 10              | 10     | 1      | 403                 | 213                         | 627                 | 321                         |
| Halifax ... ..                       | 6               | 5      | —      | 198                 | 110                         | 187                 | 103                         |
| Harrogate, Thirsk and Northallerton. | 6               | 6      | —      | 145                 | 82                          | 159                 | 97                          |
| Huddersfield ... ..                  | 14              | 11     | —      | 523                 | 280                         | 564                 | 296                         |
| Leeds ... ..                         | 23              | 16     | 2      | 851                 | 473                         | 754                 | 376                         |
| Sheffield ... ..                     | 40              | 29     | 3      | 2,356               | 1,178                       | 1,128               | 649                         |
| Wakefield ... ..                     | 6               | 4      | —      | 192                 | 101                         | 119                 | 56                          |
| York ... ..                          | 15              | 15     | —      | 846                 | 372                         | 731                 | 336                         |
| Unaffiliated School ...              | 1               | —      | —      | 45                  | 33                          | —                   | —                           |
| Totals ... ..                        | 170             | 134    | 10     | 7,538               | 3,959                       | 5,788               | 3,095                       |

It will be observed that though there are adult schools scattered here and there in the East and North Ridings, the great majority of the schools are to be found on the coal fields of West and South Yorkshire. Broadly speaking the distribution of adult schools and of the activities of the W.E.A. outlined above follow the same lines.

The schools vary very considerably in size, from the small schools like those at Hartshead Moor, near Cleckheaton, and Pickering with an average attendance of four and seven respectively to schools with an average attendance of 40 to 50, and exceptionally large schools such as the Hartshead school, Sheffield, with several hundred members. Some adult schools have their own meeting places. Where this is the case other activities are more easily arranged in the intervals between the meetings of the school. The amount of purely educational work carried on in the schools varies very considerably, but many schools in addition to the weekly meeting (which usually includes a "first half hour" talk and discussion on a "secular" subject) hold study circles during the week. A large number of adult schools are affiliated to branches of the W.E.A. in Yorkshire and many of the active members of the W.E.A. are keen adult school members.

Complete statistics are not available for the war period. The membership of the Yorkshire Adult School Union at the end of the years 1914 and 1915 was as follows:—

*Yorkshire Adult School Union.*

| —                    | No. of Schools. |        |        | Men.                |                             | Women.              |                             |
|----------------------|-----------------|--------|--------|---------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|
|                      | Men.            | Women. | Mixed. | Approx. membership. | Approx. average attendance. | Approx. membership. | Approx. average attendance. |
| Dec. 31st., 1914 ... | 170             | 136    | 8      | 7,697               | 3,900                       | 5,897               | 3,084                       |
| Dec. 31st., 1915 ... | 160             | 134    | 9      | 6,546               | 3,286                       | 5,356               | 2,714                       |

The Co-operative movement has a strong hold in Yorkshire. The Airedale, Calderdale, Dewsbury, E. Yorkshire, Huddersfield and S. Yorkshire districts of the north-western sections roughly correspond with the area covered by the Yorkshire district of the W.E.A. The following statistics refer to the year 1916.

| District.           | No. of<br>Co-operative<br>Societies. | Total No. of<br>Members. | No. of Societies<br>making<br>Educational<br>Grants. | Grants for<br>Educational<br>Purposes. |
|---------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|--|--|
| Airedale ... ..     | 48                                   | 150,830                  | 9  | £ 3,276                                |
| Calderdale ... ..   | 27                                   | 43,906                   | 10   | 1,347                                  |
| Dewsbury ... ..     | 28                                   | 71,408                   | 12   | 4,188                                  |
| E. Yorkshire ... .. | 16                                   | 57,314                   | 8  | 1,931                                  |
| Huddersfield ... .. | 44                                   | 48,589                   | 10   | 1,068                                  |
| S. Yorkshire ... .. | 29                                   | 181,731                  | 20   | 4,959                                  |
| Totals ... ..       | 192                                  | 533,778                  | 69   | 16,769                                 |

Generally speaking, the distribution of societies is much the same as the distribution of adult schools and W.E.A. activities over the area. About a third of all the societies in the above six co-operative districts devote a portion of their profits to educational purposes. The sums granted vary very considerably. In a few cases it amounts only to £1 ls. contributed to some educational body such as the W.E.A.; in others the sum is a proportion of the profits and runs into many hundreds of pounds. Thus in 1916 the Leeds Society devoted £2,015 to educational purposes, Barnsley £1,885, Dewsbury £1,169, Hull £951, Huddersfield £923 and Doncaster £919. In smaller towns the educational grants of some societies were remarkably large. Morley contributed £745, Heckmondwike £568, Batley £539, and Todmorden £469. The uses to which the money is put are various. Huddersfield for example maintains a valuable library which is well used. Leeds and other societies hold public lectures and concerts (at which co-operative choirs often appear). Most societies conduct classes in co-operation. A smaller number of classes is arranged in industrial history, economics and citizenship. A good deal of the money is, however, devoted to purposes which are not strictly educational. A large number of co-operative societies are affiliated to W.E.A. branches in Yorkshire, and in 1919 there were 18 co-operative societies affiliated to the District organisation of the W.E.A. Many active co-operators are identified with the adult school movement on the one hand and with the W.E.A. on the other.

The university extension movement exerted a wider influence in the past than it does at the present time. Neither Leeds nor Sheffield University has developed this side of its extra-mural work to any degree and extension courses are now rarely given. Oxford and Cambridge extension courses have, since the establishment of the movement, been regularly given in Yorkshire.

During the winter of 1913-14 Oxford University extension courses were given in eight centres in Yorkshire. The table which follows shows the subjects of the courses and gives particulars of attendance.

*Oxford University Extension Courses in Yorkshire, 1913-14.*

| Place.              | Subject of Course.  | No. of lectures in Course. | Average attendance |             |
|---------------------|---|----------------------------|--------------------|-------------|
|                     |   |                            | At lectures.       | At classes. |
| Barnsley (E) ...    | The Age of Elizabeth ...                                  | 6                          | 210                | —           |
| Bradford (E) ...    | Modern Thinkers ...                                       | 6                          | 234                | 200         |
| " (E) ...           | Industrial Economics in their relation to practical life. | 6                          | 89                 | 82          |
| Chesterfeld (E) ... | Scientific Progress in recent times.                      | 6                          | 206                | 200         |
| Elland (E) ...      | Heroes of Liberty and Revolution.                         | 6                          | 90                 | 40          |
| Halifax (E) ...     | Social life in the Middle Ages ...                        | 6                          | 113                | 25          |
| Ilkley (A) ...      | The Expansion of England ...                              | 12                         | 99                 | 14          |
| " (E) ...           | The Religion of Israel ...                                | 12                         | 27                 | 27          |
| Ripon (A) ...       | Florentine Art ...  | 6                          | 150                | —           |
| Settle (E) ...      | 19th Century Statesmen ...                                | 6                          | 80                 | 24          |

A = Afternoon lectures.

E = Evening lectures.

Cambridge University courses were, during the same winter, held in six centres in Yorkshire. Particulars regarding the subjects of the courses, attendance at lectures and classes, and the number of weekly papers prepared by students are given below.

*Cambridge University Extension Courses in Yorkshire, 1913-14.*

| Centre.               | Subject of Course.                              | Nature of Course. | Average attendance |             | Average No. of weekly papers. |
|-----------------------|---|-------------------|--------------------|-------------|-------------------------------|
|                       |   |                   | At lectures.       | At classes. |                               |
| Doncaster (E) ...     | History of the Novel in the 19th Century.       | T                 | 120                | 7           | 1                             |
| Goole (E) ...         | English Statesmen in the 19th Century.          | S                 | 121                | —           | —                             |
| Hull (E) ...          | Russia ...                                      | T                 | 100                | 30          | 5                             |
| " (E) ...             | Rome and the Middle Ages                        | T                 | 120                | 25          | 5                             |
| Middlesbrough (E) ... | Art and Beauty ...                              | T                 | 300                | 30          | 5                             |
| " (E) ...             | R. L. Stevenson ...                             | S                 | 200                | 30          | —                             |
| " (E) ...             | Some Great Writers and their Achievements.      | S                 | 150                | 20          | —                             |
| Scarborough (A) ...   | Monastic Life and Buildings in the Middle Ages. | T                 | 120                | 18          | 9                             |
| " (E) ...             | The British Empire and its Problems.            | T                 | 75                 | 60          | 4                             |
| York (A) ...          | Outlines of the History of Modern Painting.     | T                 | 49                 | 15          | 9                             |
| " (E) ...             | Ditto   | T                 | 116                | 6           |                               |
| " (E) ...             | Scientific Progress in Recent Times.            | S                 | 271                | 37          | 6                             |

A = Afternoon lectures.

E = Evening lectures.

T = Terminal Course (12 lectures).

S = Short Course (6 lectures).

In the winter of 1917-18 Oxford University extension courses were given at Bradford (two courses), Halifax, Harrogate, Huddersfield, Ilkley (two courses) and Leeds. In each case the course consisted of six lectures. During the same winter three courses of twelve lectures each

were given under the auspices of the Cambridge University Extension Syndicate at Hull (two courses) and Middlesbrough, and courses of six lectures at Middlesbrough, Scarborough (two) and York.

During the last five years classes under the auspices of the Labour College have been held in a few Yorkshire towns, *e.g.*, Halifax, Bradford, Huddersfield and Leeds.

The settlements in Yorkshire (*e.g.*, Swarthmore, Leeds and St. Mary's, York) have been dealt with elsewhere in Appendix I.<sup>1</sup> It may be mentioned that a Y.M.C.A. settlement has recently been established in Sheffield. There is an adult school guest house at Scalby, near Scarborough.

Yorkshire is particularly rich in musical societies of various kinds, and there are many flourishing naturalist societies and field clubs in the West Riding of Yorkshire. As in other parts of the country, there are numerous literary and debating societies and philosophical societies. It is impossible, however, to estimate the volume of the activities of these and similar bodies.

#### (G) ADULT EDUCATION IN KENT.

##### *The Kent Federation of Study Groups.*

The W.E.A. movement was not unknown to Kent, especially in the industrial centres in the northern part of the county prior to 1915, when the work spread to the rural and semi-rural areas. This distinctly rural movement owed its immediate origin to a village school master, and, encouraged by the local organization of the Kent Education Committee, it found its initial strength in the readiness of the country teachers to work in its cause.

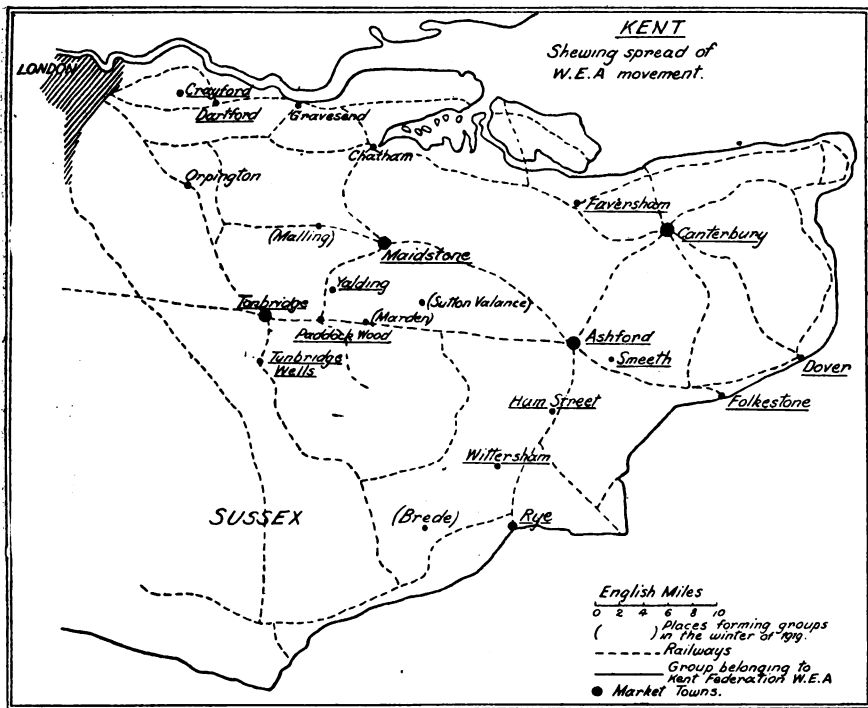
In October, 1915, Ham Street, a village with a population of 350, decided to form a study circle, and out of this beginning grew the Kent Federation of Study Groups. As the movement began informally and almost unnoticed in the midst of wartime, so it spread. The Ham Street group became the model to which came visitors from a distance anxious to learn its methods, and from which went out missionaries into other parts of the county.

Whilst a village continuation school indirectly formed the nucleus for one group, most of them sprang into being spontaneously as a result of propaganda work. In an area where there was little organisation of any sort, the movement built up its own groups solely by its direct appeal. Groups of villagers were brought together for the first time purely out of a desire for study. In most cases, no existing group or organization was handy from which to select the keener spirits.

Between the winter of 1915 and the spring of 1919 there were 15 towns and villages affected by the movement. Twelve entirely new branches were formed, two others were revived and one, already in existence, affiliated to the movement.

Those who were most active in the work determined to move along two lines—to form study groups in village centres and to try to establish larger classes in the neighbouring market towns from which they might ultimately draw class leaders for the smaller groups. The result is that several of the principal towns in Kent were drawn early into the movement.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 233–4.



The following is the list of places touched by the Kent Federation in the four winter sessions 1915-1919:—

| Name.                   | Date of Formation. | Character.                           | Class 1918-19.   |
|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Ham Street...        | 1915-16            | Rural (359 pop.) ...                 | One year course.   |
| 2. Ashford ...          | 1915-16            | Market town and industrial (13,668). | One year course.   |
| 3. Dover ...            | 1916-17            | Seaport (43,645) ...                 | —  |
| 4. Faversham ...        | 1916-17            | Market town and industrial (10,619)  | —  |
| 5. Tonbridge ...        | 1916-17            | Market town (14,796)                 | Study Group.   |
| 6. Paddock Wood ...     | 1917-18            | Rural (3,853) ...                    | One year course.   |
| 7. Smeeeth... ..        | 1917-18            | Rural (489) ...                      | Study group and short course (3 lectures).                     |
| 8. Wittersham ...       | 1917-18            | Rural (694) ...                      | Study group and short course (3 lectures).                     |
| 9. Folkestone ...       | 1917-18            | Seaport (33,502) ...                 | Public Lectures.   |
| 10. Maidstone ...       | 1917-18            | Market town (35,475)                 | Study group. Speakers' Class. Tutorial class. Public lectures. |
| 11. Canterbury ...      | 1917-18            | Market town (24,626)                 | Study group.   |
| 12. Crayford ...        | Affiliated 1918-19 | Semi-industrial (6,234).             | Tutorial class. Study group. Lectures.                         |
| 13. Tunbridge Wells ... | 1918-19            | Watering place (35,697).             | Music class. Course of Lectures.                               |
| 14. Yalding ...         | 1918-19            | Rural (2,591) ...                    | Study group.   |
| 15. Rye ...             | 1918-19            | Semi-Rural (4,229)...                | Study group.   |

Since the movement in Kent received its impetus during the war, the subjects of study almost universally chosen in the early stages were: The Meaning of the War, International Relations, National and International Reconstruction. These and kindred subjects were eagerly taken up by the study groups, but after one or two years' work each centre began to shew its own individuality. Social and industrial history covering different selected periods came to be commonly asked for. Whilst one branch (Canterbury) largely turned to literary study, another (Tunbridge Wells) turned to music and architecture. The main subjects selected by some of the rural villages are given below in tabular form:—

| —                 | 1915-16.   | 1916-17.                               | 1917-18.  | 1918-19.  |
|-------------------|--|--|---|---|
| Ham Street ... .. | Historical Problems and General Issues of the War. | Reconstruction and the British Empire. | Reconstruction—Agriculture and Rural Life, Housing and Education. | Economic History.                                 |
| Smeeth ... ..     | —  | —                                      | Reconstruction, National and International.                       | "The Peoples of Europe," and "League of Nations." |
| Wittersham ... .. | —  | —                                      | National and International Reconstruction.                        | "The Peoples of Europe," "U.S.A. and the Empire." |
| Paddock Wood ...  | —  | —                                      | Reconstruction.   | Political Economy.                                |

The following programmes illustrate very well the nature of the work being attempted in these villages, and the source from which the class leader or lecturer was drawn.

*Ham Street.* 1915-16. (First Session.)

A series of fortnightly lectures on the problems of the war were given by voluntary lecturers who came from a distance. On intermediate Friday evenings the class met for discussions and study under the guidance of a local leader.

1916-17. (Second Session.)

The course during the second winter was on the British Empire. Six lecturers came from a distance, two members from other Kent groups gave papers and at the remaining meetings members of the class acted as leaders.

1917-18. (Third Session.)

The subject of study during the third winter was national reconstruction, and the aspects studied were agriculture, housing, education, land problems and food supply and rural life. Only four lecturers came from a distance; papers were read by three members from other Kent groups and at the remaining meetings the class provided its own leaders.

1918-19. (Fourth Session.)

A university graduate delivered a course of 12 lectures in economic history, the local secretary taking the class on the alternate weeks.

The village of Yalding, which was first aroused by a series of general lectures, has formed a study circle "to study our own neighbourhood

and then our own country." In the detailed programme of the more rural groups it is noticeable that they gave considerable time to agricultural reconstruction and the revival of rural life. The more industrial centres such as Ashford developed a study of the industrial system and industrial history, but in the main the larger market towns have been studying the problems of reconstruction.

The most general plan which has been followed has been that of fortnightly lectures or papers, whilst the circle meets on alternate weeks for a more informal discussion. Little written work has been possible except in those cases in which members of study circles have prepared papers to read to their own or other groups. Such papers are often written after the visit of a lecturer from outside. From the very first it was apparent that there would be considerable difficulty in obtaining class leaders where there was no university near at hand from which to draw, and no very large towns or educational institutions. The movement was largely helped in its initial stages by lecturers coming long distances—from Oxford, London and elsewhere. Both in the matter of time and travelling expenses such a system was bound to prove wasteful and at best uncertain. During the war the Kent movement was helped considerably by visits from lecturers who were over in this country from distant parts of the Empire:—India, Canada, Australia, and also from the U.S.A. Its isolation made the Kent movement rely, at a somewhat early stage, largely upon its own resources and upon the small panel of local leaders which it could collect together. In one respect this difficulty in obtaining outside help benefited the movement, for it initiated the system by which one circle interchanges a class leader with another—a method which enables the groups to interchange ideas and to get into close touch one with another. Often, papers so read, perhaps by an inexperienced member of a group, are imperfect and merely tentative, but they have proved of real educative value both to the listeners and to the reader himself. Thus whilst the movement receives generous help from without in the matter of lectures by people of university standing, it has been forced to look to its own resources for class leaders. More continuous courses in the smaller centres and more tutorial classes in the larger ones are needed to train such local leaders to an even higher standard of effort.

This opens up the question as to the type of student reached by the movement, especially in the village groups. One secretary supplied the following analysis of a village group:—

|                              |                           |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| One parson,                  | Two maidservants,         |
| Six teachers,                | Two public house keepers, |
| Four farmers,                | Two tradesmen,            |
| Four farm labourers,         | Three shop assistants,    |
| Three farm labourers' wives, | One gardener.             |
| Two farmers' daughters,      |                           |

Thirty *regular* students.

|                           |                         |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| One curate,               | Three working men,      |
| one nonconformist parson, | Two independent people. |

Seven *casual* attenders.

This may be taken as fairly typical of the composition of village groups in Kent.

The average attendance may be given at five villages :—

|    |                  | 1915-16. | 1916-17. | 1917-18.    | 1918-19.      |
|----|------------------|----------|----------|-------------|---------------|
| A. | Population (480) | —        | —        | 20 average. | 24 average.   |
| B. | „ (350)          | 33       | 20-36    | 20-50       | 17 up to 30.  |
|    | (regular)        |          |          |             |               |
| C. | „ (3,850)        | —        | —        | 12-50       | 12-20         |
| D. | „ (690)          | —        | —        | from 60     | average about |
|    |                  |          |          | to 40       | 15-18.        |
| E. | „ (2,590)        | —        | —        | —           | 30.           |

Owing to the increased drain on the village male population, the numbers during each year of war were bound to shew some decrease. The village populations became shifting and the younger members reduced to a minimum.

In July, 1917, the isolated branches and study circles met in Ashford and decided to form themselves into a federation, the main objects in view being :—

- 1 To further the propaganda work by unity and co-operation, and to have periodical re-unions.
2. To facilitate the interchange of papers, &c., by members of local groups.
3. To try and adjust winter programmes so as best to utilise the services of visiting lecturers, and thus to economise in the time and travelling expenses of lecturers
- 4 To approach the local authorities jointly with regard to matters of finance and other aid.
5. Ultimately to appoint a full time organizer for the movement when funds should permit.

In July, 1919, the Federation was formally recognised by the Central Council of the W.E.A. and by the S.E. District of the Association. In many respects the Federation has carried out its programme. From 1917 the movement has expanded rapidly and grown considerably in unity of purpose. Groups have largely supplied each other with leaders from time to time and in a number of instances visiting lecturers to Kent have been able to pass from one group to another for several nights in succession as a result of the Federation's organising work. The Federation has been recognised by the County Education Authority and promised by them definite grants for different classes of work. The Federation possesses the nucleus of a small library for circulating amongst its branches. In this respect it has received help from the Oxford University Tutorial Classes Committee, from the Central Library for Students and elsewhere.

It is, however, mainly in the question of finance that the Federation has suffered. For this reason it has been unable to appoint any full time organiser or lecturer, and the organising work has so grown in volume that it is too much for volunteer workers to undertake. Whilst individual study groups and branches have contributed towards their own incidental expenses and have in many cases given a subscription to the Federation funds, they have in the main been quite unable to meet the expenses connected with the lecturers and their travelling. It is difficult to see how village groups can ever meet such charges, especially where such expenses are very heavy owing to the distances which have to be covered both by rail and road. Up to the present such expenses have largely been met by the generosity of outside educational bodies, by individual gifts of services, travelling expenses and money, and by grants



from the Local Education Authority. As yet these grants have not amounted to a large sum though in 1918 the Kent Education Committee expressed their willingness to give grants up to £5 for each study group, up to £10 for each one year class, and up to £25 for each tutorial class, according to the actual expenditure. In 1917, only £11 11s. 1d. was claimed from the Local Education Authority. The Federation itself has never possessed any certain funds, and as a result its action has been somewhat circumscribed.

To-day the work of the Federation and the progress of the movement are only bounded by its measure of power for action both as regards funds and workers. The demand for help in the villages and towns has so far proved greater than it has been immediately possible to cope with. There is substantial evidence to shew that this is likely to continue. It is interesting to note that another movement which is rapidly spreading over Kent—the Women's Institute Movement—has in one instance at least affiliated to a village W.E.A. group, and so opened its doors to a wider educational life.

## PART II.

### WARTIME DEVELOPMENTS.

In our consideration of non-vocational adult education we have hitherto mainly had regard to the position immediately prior to August, 1914, as the conditions created by the war, while not without lasting influence, were obviously to be regarded as abnormal and for the most part transitory. In this section we propose to deal briefly with some of the most noteworthy developments that have taken place during the period of war.

#### (A) EFFECTS OF THE WAR ON ADULT EDUCATION.

The dislocation due to the change from a peace to a war footing could not but result in a check to much of the educational work in progress, especially where that work was of the more intensive and highly-organised kind. From this check, however, there was a gradual recovery as time went on. For example, the number of university tutorial classes fell from 155 in 1914 to 99 in 1916, to rise to 121 a year later and to 153 at the date of the armistice. The following statistics of the development of the Workers' Educational Association during wartime show the same process at work:—

|                            | 1914-15. | 1915-16. | 1916-17. | 1917-18. | 1918-19. |
|----------------------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| No. of Branches ...        | 179      | 173      | 191      | 208      | 219      |
| „ Affiliated Societies ... | 2,555    | 2,409    | 2,336    | 2,709    | 2,525    |
| „ Individual Members ...   | 11,430   | 11,083   | 10,750   | 14,697   | 17,136   |

Residential institutions for men students were the most seriously affected, and, generally speaking, were obliged to close for the duration of the war. This was the case, for example, with the Labour College and Ruskin College, which, however, extended their operations in other directions. We are informed that the Labour College classes held in various parts of the country increased considerably in number during wartime, and that by 1918 some 5,000 students were in attendance. During the period between July, 1916, and May, 1919, Ruskin College organised a series of five educational conferences, held at Oxford, Birmingham, Bradford, Manchester and Coventry respectively, at which papers on the following subjects were read by well-known experts and

afterwards discussed by the Conference:—Industrial re-organisation, problems of urban and rural industry, international economic relations, the state and industry, and trade union problems. Each of these conferences was attended on the average by about 100 representatives of working-class organisations, and the papers and proceedings were afterwards published in pamphlet form. Then in 1918 Ruskin College held at Oxford its first summer school, extending over a period of six weeks, and attended by some 62 students, each student staying as a rule for two weeks. A summer school was also held in 1919 and was attended by over a hundred students.

While there was thus on the one hand some contraction at first in the existing volume of work, on the other new educational demands were created, for the shock of the sudden outbreak in 1914 of a great war in which this country was involved, stirred men's minds, and caused those who hitherto had given little thought to education to turn to knowledge for enlightenment on the many issues and problems which the war raised. Foreign policy and international relationships, past history leading up to the war, and similar subjects, were lifted out of the realm of academic discussion and became matters of burning interest, on which organised knowledge was keenly sought. Subjects of the school and lecture room became the concern of the ordinary citizen, who began to feel that "there might be something in education, after all." Then, as the war went on and grave political, economic and social problems inevitably arose as its accompaniment, demanding thought and inquiry by their very insistence, men's minds were still further engaged. All this, with the stream of new ideas which came flooding in, led to an intellectual ferment, and made the mass of grown people more responsive to the call of education than they had ever been before. Thus a new field was opened up for non-vocational adult education, and many men and women who hitherto had been apathetic, or for other reasons had not come into touch with it, were now brought within its range. We are of the opinion from the information before us that had teachers and money been available in a greater degree, there would have been a very large extension of adult education among the home population. The bodies engaged in adult education made strenuous efforts to meet the new demand, and much fresh ground was broken, but as the inevitable result of the war was to withdraw many teachers and organisers into the military forces or other forms of national service, educational bodies were seriously handicapped, and suffered severe disorganisation by the loss of personnel on the teaching and administrative side. As it is, we are impressed by the energy and zeal with which, in face of these difficulties, the associations and institutions concerned carried on their activities and played their part in the new developments in adult education which arose out of the conditions of wartime.

#### (B) THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

As an outcome of the realisation which the war brought of the responsibility of the ordinary citizen in questions of foreign policy, and in response to the widespread interest in international relations and the desire for information on that subject which the war created, the Council for the Study of International Relations was formed in February, 1915. The Council was composed of leaders of movements engaged in adult education and of representatives of all the chief political parties, religious bodies, educational and social movements. Attached to it was a Board of Studies composed of prominent university

men. The activities of the Council were two-fold. In the first place, by means of conferences and public meetings, and by the supply of articles to the press, it urged upon the existing societies concerned in adult education, and upon the general public, the need for the study of international relations, and in the second place provided facilities for the study of the subject, mostly in co-operation with existing educational bodies. Many conferences were organised in 1915 and 1916 in conjunction with the Adult Schools, Trades Councils, W.E.A. Branches and similar bodies, while a number of meetings of a representative character were held up and down the country, out of which many study circles grew. At York, for example, a conference took place in the autumn of 1915, as a result of which a number of study circles were formed, followed later by a second conference of the members of these circles, with the object of advancing the studies in which they were engaged.

The aim of the Council was to co-operate with the existing organisations, wherever these existed, rather than to create branches of its own. As, owing to the war and to the new demands which had been created, these existing organisations were feeling severely the lack of teachers for their members, the Council, by means of its panel of voluntary teachers and lecturers, was able to render substantial aid. In addition, in many centres where no organisation for adult education existed, the Council broke new ground by arranging lectures and forming its own groups for study. A considerable number of public lectures was arranged by the Council in the large towns, and with the object of reaching a different public the Universities and University Colleges were approached with the suggestion that they should, in co-operation with the Council, arrange public lectures to be given by men of high academic qualifications on the Council's panel. In addition, the Council supplied several of the various summer schools with teachers and lecturers in international subjects.

The chief educational method employed by the Council, and the one by which it achieved the most valuable part of its work, was that of the study circle. It was impossible to find teachers for all of the many groups of students that arose. The Council, therefore, adopted the policy of encouraging these groups to meet regularly as study circles, to pursue among themselves the study of international relations, assisting them by the provision of syllabuses and literature specially adapted to their needs. In this way much ground was covered, not only in the towns but in rural areas, and a considerable amount of continuous study set afoot. The number of groups and societies or individuals registered with the Council from October, 1915, to June, 1916, was 379, and in the following year its activities increased. This, however, is no indication of the amount of work done or the number of persons reached, as no exact record could be kept of all the study groups formed and lectures given as an outcome of the Council's operations, many of these being included in the programme of other educational bodies with which the Council co-operated.

An important part of the Council's activity was devoted to the provision of suitable literature for the study of international relations. Previous to the war the lack of popular interest in this country in international questions had as one of its results a corresponding lack of popular literature on the subject. Under the supervision of the Board of Studies material for study was prepared. The most pressing need was the provision of some material on which study circles could base

their discussions. To meet this, the Council issued in cheap pamphlet form a series of "Aids to Study," consisting of schemes of study (outline lectures with questions, topics for discussion and references to easily accessible books) on "British Foreign Policy," "The War and Democracy," "The British Empire," and other subjects. In the same series was published a fully annotated bibliography on the causes of the war and the recent history and policy of the countries involved. The Council also published an "Atlas of International Relations," specially prepared in view of the war situation. Another series of pamphlets was published later, giving the views of distinguished foreign thinkers on international problems with which they were familiar. An effort was also made to meet the need for good short books. In the first place, special cheap editions of certain books which were published independently of the Council, were secured, *e.g.*, "The War and Democracy," "The Foreign Policy of Sir Edward Grey," "The War of Steel and Gold," "The Problem of the Commonwealth," and "The Commonwealth of Nations." In the second place, it arranged for the writing and publication of two short volumes: "An Introduction to International Relations" and "International Finance," cheap editions of both of which were issued for the benefit of the Council's students. This literature had a large circulation, and this development of the provision of books and pamphlets, cheap, yet educational, specially written by scholars with an eye to the needs of ordinary folk not naturally studious, and possessed of scanty leisure, whose interest in certain subjects inclines them to study, was, we think, one of the most serviceable of the Council's activities.

### (C) EDUCATION IN THE ARMY.

It is not possible to trace to their source the first demands for education in the forces. These sprang up in places far apart, independently of each other. The first experiment of an organised kind on a large scale was that made at Brocton Camp, on Cannock Chase, in the beginning of 1917 in the battalions of young soldiers, A(iv) men (*i.e.*, those aged 18 years to 18 years and 8 months). In France the earliest class to be started was one at the Third Army Infantry School for boys under 19 (*i.e.*, those who had incorrectly given their ages as over 19 and had afterwards on discovery been withdrawn from the front line). The Brocton scheme was purely experimental, and was devised by certain officers on their own initiative, independently of any special instruction of the Army Council. It was in full and successful operation from February, 1917, to June, 1918, when other arrangements were made by the military authorities. The aim of the education provided was to stimulate interest and thought and to develop character, rather than solely to impart instruction, with a view to increasing the men's usefulness not only as soldiers but as citizens on their return to civil life. Instruction was given to half a battalion at a time in classes of 50, graded according to standard of attainment. For this, 16 teachers for a battalion were required, and these were supplied chiefly from those of the personnel of the establishment who had had a secondary school education or previous teaching experience. Ten hours per fortnight were set apart during parade hours for educational purposes, and the curriculum was as follows:—

|  |     |     |     |          |
|--|-----|-----|-----|----------|
| Literature (History, Geography, Composition) | ... | ... | ... | 4 hours. |
| Science and Mathematics                      | ... | ... | ... | 5 "      |
| Ethical and Hygienic Instruction             | ... | ... | ... | 1 hour.  |

A somewhat similar scheme was adopted in November, 1917, in the Southern Army (afterwards the 23rd Army Corps). The scope of this scheme was as follows:—

- (a) Regular classes in parade hours for 10 hours a fortnight.
- (b) Voluntary evening classes in vocational subjects.
- (c) Voluntary continuation classes in specialised and more advanced subjects unsuitable for parade lessons.
- (d) The formation of small libraries, specialised study groups, elementary discussion classes, &c.
- (e) Classes and lectures for teachers.
- (f) Courses of short lectures for the battalion, generally upon various topics of the day, including social and economic questions.
- (g) Classes on broad military subjects.

Included in the syllabus were courses on citizenship, the development of the British Empire, the State, the constitution, local government, foreign relations, social and economic science, the use of English, literature and art, the world war, &c., &c. Provision for older men was made in each of the above schemes out of parade hours, usually in the evening, attendance being voluntary.

The experiments at Brocton Camp, followed by those of the 23rd Army Corps, were of great value and importance in relation to the future of education in the Army. Before these schemes were started a considerable amount of educational work, chiefly in the shape of general lectures, had been done, especially by the Y.M.C.A., in co-operation with other voluntary educational bodies, more particularly among the soldiers abroad; but these schemes, initiated by officers in the respective camps and, in the case of the younger men, made an integral part of the soldier's training, illustrated what could be accomplished by a co-ordinated scheme of continuous study, and, along with the experiments of voluntary agencies doing educational work among the soldiers, led the way to the introduction at a later stage by the Army Council of a scheme of education for the Armies at home and abroad. It is significant that, following the English educational tradition, these early experiments were of a voluntary kind in so far as they were not the outcome of a preconceived scheme imposed by the War Office, but were a spontaneous growth arising out of the needs and opportunities of the particular camps in which they were begun. Thus, they possessed that elasticity, providing room for change of method and adaptation to circumstances, which is a necessary feature of adult education. Also, they broke away from the old régime of the spelling-book, and were conceived with liberality of spirit, so that, while not neglecting the purely military side of the soldier's training, they aimed at his personal development in the light of his interests and duties as a citizen. In the words of the Introduction to the Scheme of Educational Training in the 23rd Army Corps: "The main object of any system of education which can be adopted in the Army under present conditions must be the development of the soldier not only as an efficient fighting man, but also as a citizen."

Although not primarily an educational body, the Y.M.C.A. from the early days of the war supplemented its widespread efforts for the comfort and welfare of the troops by the provision of lectures and classes. The presence of its huts and hostels in home camps and in the Army areas abroad brought the Association into direct contact with the soldier, and gave it a unique opportunity for educational work, of which, with commendable vigour and public spirit, it made full use. Although by the nature of the case, this educational work could not be systematised and co-ordinated to the same degree as the experiments conducted within the Army, as at Brocton and elsewhere, it was characterised by the same liberality and width of

view. These activities were conducted through its Educational Committee, which sought and obtained the fullest possible co-operation of the Universities, Local Education Authorities, the W.E.A., and other voluntary bodies engaged in adult education, as well as the assistance of many private individuals.

From an early point in the war the Association arranged a constant series of lectures and classes in connection with its huts in France, Salonika, Mesopotamia, British East Africa, Malta, &c., conducted by qualified persons, while similar work was carried on in the home camps. In the beginning of 1917, important developments took place. At the request of the Army authorities the Association provided university lecturers who paid visits of from two to four weeks to troops on the Lines of Communication in France during the period January to March. They lectured to Army schools, special groups of officers and men, and general meeting of troops in Base camps, on a variety of subjects, including literature, history, science and art, special facilities being given by General Headquarters, and lectures were arranged in huts and cinema theatres of voluntary associations. Military arrangements did not permit of more than single lectures under this scheme. The experiment was so successful that, by direct arrangement with General Headquarters, it was repeated and extended during the period January to March of the following year, when the Y.M.C.A. Education Committee sent out 70 special lecturers for short periods, these being chiefly drawn from the universities and extension panels and being sent to the Army Areas, as well as to the Lines of Communication. The success of these lectures was so marked that General Headquarters expressed the wish for their continuance after March 31st. At the same time, the Association was endeavouring to develop class teaching and more continuous study in the Base Camp headquarters, as at Calais, Abbeville, Etaples, &c., and qualified women were engaged and sent out as teachers.

In France, as at home, classes in modern languages were a regular feature of the Y.M.C.A. work, and at these centres at the Base Camp headquarters a considerable amount of language teaching was done. At Etaples, for instance, early in 1918, over 1,000 men were taking a course in the French language.

Meanwhile the educational work within the Armies, started on the initiative of individual officers, had spread rapidly both at home and abroad, and this along with the activities of the Y.M.C.A. in their own sphere, proved so successful that it led to far-reaching developments in the spring of 1918. These resulted in an extension of educational facilities for the armed forces of a more systematised and continuous kind than had hitherto been possible, and led the way to the Army Education Scheme which was adopted by the Army Council in September, 1918. This adoption was an official formulation and authorisation of work that had been going on in the Army for many months past. In May, 1918, the Y.M.C.A. had already been requested by General Headquarters in France to act as their agents for education purposes throughout the Lines of Communication. For this purpose the Association appointed a Director of Education for the Lines of Communication, and by the end of the year a sub-Director had been appointed in each of ten base areas. Parallel to these appointments the military authorities authorised one officer at Headquarters, Lines of Communication, and one officer for each of the base areas, to make all requisite military arrangements, a step rendered necessary by the fact that the responsibility for all work in the Army must ultimately rest with the military authorities. A staff of 160 teachers was recruited

to assist in the scheme, whilst the participation of university extension authorities was secured in the provision of extension courses. Arrangements were also made for personal tuition to men pursuing in their leisure time studies along special lines, such as engineering, agriculture, law or medicine.

The spring of 1918 saw the foundation of the Y.M.C.A. Universities Committee as the body responsible for the control of the varied educational activities of the Association. This Committee, which kept in close touch with the Board of Education, comprised official representatives of all the universities of Great Britain (or of their Boards for extra-mural work), the Y.W.C.A., and working-class educational bodies, together with a few members co-opted on account of special experience.

In the month of December, 1918, on the Lines of Communication in France, 810 courses of study were being conducted, covering 71 distinct subjects, and comprising 12,235 students. The courses embraced mathematics and science, languages and literature, history, philosophy, business and commercial subjects, and arts and crafts.

The estimated attendances at lectures, as distinct from classes during the same month, was 93,380. These figures, however, cover only a small portion of the field. In January, 1919, exclusive of the above and of the Cavalry Corps and the Royal Air Force, the number of students under instruction in classes in France under the official Army Scheme was 120,312, while the estimated number attending lectures was close upon 1,000,000.

Music was introduced as a subject of study, a scheme of classes drafted, and music teachers appointed to each Base, a special feature being the inclusion of training designed to help the listener. A sub-committee of well-known musicians supervised this part of the work of the University Committee. Of particular interest and value was the provision of drama and music for the troops abroad through the organisation so successfully created by Miss Lena Ashwell, working in co-operation with the Y.M.C.A. This provision was made on a large scale, and in connection with it over 1,000 artistes visited France and other theatres of war during the war, and 111 touring dramatic and musical parties were formed to entertain the soldiers. Plays and musical recitals were given by these travelling repertory companies, embracing a catholic range of both "light" and "serious" drama and music, the principle acted upon in the selection of a programme being that whatever was given should be the best of its kind. In this way Greek tragedies, the works of Shakespeare, the plays of Shaw, Houghton and other modern dramatists, classical music, Gilbert and Sullivan's operas, &c., were presented. It is interesting to note that parts in the caste were sometimes filled by officers, N.C.O.'s and men of the Expeditionary Forces. Over 14,000 "concerts" and dramatic representations were given each year to large audiences, none being attended by fewer than 700. Literary recitals and readings were also included and folk dancing introduced with great success. We are told that these efforts invariably met with the highest appreciation and that good music and drama never failed to elicit a worthy response from the troops. The plays of Euripides, for example, were followed with as eager an interest and as intelligent an appreciation and understanding as the lighter and more modern works. We believe that the work accomplished by Miss Ashwell's organisation was not only recreational but educational in a high degree, and that the remarkable results achieved among the citizen armies are particularly valuable in indicating what might be done in introducing good drama and music to the home population in normal times.

The educational agency of the Y.M.C.A. on the Lines of Communication in France came to an end by joint agreement on April 30th, 1919, when its activities were absorbed into those of the Army Education Scheme of the War Office.

At the invitation of the military authorities on the spot responsible for education, the Y.M.C.A. assisted in the provision of facilities for the English troops in Italy, Salonika, Egypt, Mesopotamia and Malta. To Italy the Universities Committee sent some half-dozen teachers to assist in the War Office scheme, and arranged lectures by university extension lecturers. In Salonika, where the demand was insistent, by the autumn of 1918 educational work was in progress in 36 out of 48 centres. There were 30 French classes, 15 literary and debating societies, and classes for the study of social problems. In November, with the introduction of the official War Office scheme, the Y.M.C.A. Director of Education was appointed to serve as Civilian Adviser on Education to the military authorities, and a number of classes and study circles were started and incorporated in the Army scheme. Lectures and short courses of university extension lectures were also set on foot and arrangements made for advanced study, including a course in divinity. Interesting work was also done in archaeology on the ancient sites. The number in attendance at lectures in four districts up to November 22nd, 1918, was 5,627, while the total number of students who had applied for class instruction was 776. In Mesopotamia the Association assisted by arranging popular lectures and study groups and classes. These were organised with the help of officers and men and other qualified persons. In Egypt educational activities had sprung to life as in other Army areas, and at the close of 1918 a joint Committee was appointed, advisory to General Headquarters, consisting of three military members and three members of the Y.M.C.A. It is stated that at the beginning of March, 1919, between 15,000 and 20,000 were attending classes in the Egyptian Expeditionary Force in vocational and non-vocational subjects. In Malta, at Ghain Tuffieha Camp, instruction was organised in mathematics, modern languages, history and commercial subjects; and popular lectures, singly and in courses, were delivered.

The Universities Committee also assisted in the provision of educational facilities in the interned officers' camp in Holland. At Groningen the educational scheme was carried through by the Y.M.C.A., and in other centres the Association provided lecturers in connection with the scheme carried on by the Red Cross. Classes in navigation, in mathematical and scientific subjects, and in modern languages and commerce, were among those chiefly in demand. Lectures for large audiences were arranged, and proved exceedingly popular. Among the subjects dealt with were history, economics and geography.

From the beginning of the war the Y.M.C.A. conducted voluntary educational work in many of the home camps. For various reasons this was of a less intensive and co-ordinated character than its work abroad. Between 500 and 600 lectures per month on such subjects as history, biography, popular science, music and literature were arranged, and in the different divisions others have been added, bringing the total up to at least 1,000 lectures a month at home. General elementary classes were held at Shoreham, historical lectures at Newark and Chatham, agricultural lectures at Park Royal, vocational and non-vocational classes at St. Anne's-on-Sea, where classes in modern languages were a special feature. At one camp a university extension lecturer remained for a period of six weeks, carrying on concurrently in five different huts five short extension courses of six lectures each. The



Universities Committee appointed a Director of their work in England, and this enabled their educational work at home to be made much more effective.

In addition to their activities among the armed forces, the Y.M.C.A. organised lectures and classes in their huts and hostels in the munition areas in co-operation with the Y.W.C.A., the W.E.A., and other educational agencies. Brief lectures given for the last 20 minutes of the dinner hour, mid-day or midnight, in the canteens proved very successful and led to the request on the part of the workers for short continuous courses of daily lectures on such subjects as Education, the German Idea of the State, the Ethics of Reconstruction, &c. The cinema was used for the illustration of lectures on the allied countries. In areas where there were hostels it proved possible to arrange weekly lectures lasting an hour on general subjects. Classes were also conducted; for instance, in one hostel a W.E.A. class on tutorial class lines was held weekly throughout the winter, together with classes in Russian, French, English, &c.

As a necessary corollary to their educational and recreational work the Association undertook the provision of libraries. In addition to the supply of a library of recreational books in every hut at home and abroad, a considerable effort was made to meet the definite educational needs of groups of individuals by the purchase of text-books for study purposes. A complete library organisation was established at French Headquarters, and district library buildings opened in the various Base camps.

The whole cost of the work done by the Universities Committee was borne by the Y.M.C.A., and we are informed that the expenditure at Universities House, the London educational headquarters, upon the salaries of the educational staff, lecturers' fees and expenses, books and administrative charges, was in January last estimated at £140,000 per annum, and that at least 70 per cent. must be added to this for board and lodging of staff overseas, travelling, the provision of educational buildings and general equipment.

Considerable educational work has been done through various agencies in convalescent hospitals. The scheme of the King's Lancashire Military Convalescent Hospital at St. Anne's-on-Sea, based on a similar institution founded by the Canadians in Surrey, is a highly developed example of experiments in this direction. The principle adopted was to provide opportunities of the kind desired by the men, who usually remained in hospital for a period of eight weeks. Between February, 1918, when the scheme was started, and the following May, 1,286 applications had been received. Owing to military exigencies only 700 were able to join, and in the middle of June there were 300 on the books. The subjects asked for and supplied included Latin and Greek, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Art, and various industrial and commercial subjects. A fee of 2s. 6d. for officers and 1s. for other ranks was charged, the financial cost of the scheme being met by the central fund of the hospital.

The educational provision for military hospitals was assisted by the Hospital Lectures Scheme of the Victoria League, a non-party Association formed in 1901 "for the purpose of promoting closer union between British subjects living in different parts of the world." With the approval of the War Office and the support, moral and financial, of the Joint War Committee of the British Red Cross Society and the Order of St. John, military and Red Cross hospitals were approached and the first lectures arranged in April, 1917. From that date to the end of March, 1918, close on 1,000 lectures were given by about 100 of the League's lecturers in 203 hospitals all over England. In this work

the League secured the co-operation of several Local Education Authorities and voluntary associations concerned with non-vocational adult education. In their Report for 1917-18 the League states that the lectures met with increasing interest and appreciation as time went on, and resulted in a number of requests from the soldiers themselves for lectures of a more solid description. The League from the first supplied lectures on any subjects which might be specially desired, whether connected with Imperial matters or not. Among the lecturers, many of whom gave their services without fee, were eminent experts in their respective subjects.

Before the Hospital Scheme was initiated the League had in the spring of 1916 agreed to help the Y.M.C.A. of Canada by providing lectures at the Canadian camps in this country, as many of the men had expressed a keen desire for something of this kind. Lectures were given in the Shorncliffe area and the Bramshott and Witley Camps on a variety of subjects, such as "European nationality and ideals," "The evolution of the German Empire," "The makers of modern Italy," &c.

Soon after the outbreak of the war the League began the issue of its "War Pamphlets," for which the services of well-known writers and scholars were obtained. In the course of the next twelve months 22 pamphlets were published on various subjects connected with the war. They secured a large circulation, 853,000 having been sold and 82,000 given away by March 31st, 1915.

As regards the supply of books, the League secured the co-operation of the Central Library for Students, which undertook to lend books without charge to any soldier wishing to study a particular subject. The scope of the Library's co-operation was considerably increased by a grant of £500 made to it by the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust for the provision of cheaper text-books to be used for soldiers in hospitals in connection with the scheme of the League. In addition to the assistance which it gave to the educational scheme of the Victoria League, the Central Library for Students helped in other directions to provide books for soldiers. In compliance with the request of the Ministry of Pensions, books mainly of a technical character have been lent to discharged soldiers studying to fit themselves for civil life. In aid of this, the Ministry made a grant of £50 to the Library. Then, at the suggestion of its Educational Branch, the War Office made a grant of £1,000 to the Library in order that it might be in a position to supply approved books to soldiers at home and abroad. Towards this object the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust contributed a further £1,000.

The educational activities amongst the armed forces which we have very briefly sketched above arose in response to a spontaneous and growing demand from the soldiers themselves. As the war went on the Army came to be more and more an army of citizens, many of whom in civil life had come under the influence of one form or another of adult education, and who carried with them into the army their desire for knowledge. But it was by no means by these alone that the demand was made. It came also in great volume from those who had been untouched by the desire in civil life. As we said in our Interim Report on Education in the Army<sup>1</sup>:—

"The seeds of this awakened interest are probably to be found in the fact that men of varied antecedents, experience and outlook have been thrown together into closer association than is usual in civil life; whilst the war itself, the issues involved, the changes it has precipitated, the problems which are arising out of it, have led men who previously thought but little about the larger problems of life and society to seek knowledge and understanding."

Also, as we pointed out in the same Report<sup>1</sup>:—

“The conditions of Army life have themselves created opportunities for the development of the desire for education. Men on entering the Army have been cut adrift from their old interests and old associations, and cast into an entirely new environment and method of life. In such circumstances education has made a new appeal. The regular life, with its accompaniment of regular leisure time and the lack of counter-attractions, has led many men to attend classes and lectures, or to undertake a course of reading. . . . The fact of assembling large numbers of men to share a common life has also been an important factor, for not only has it led to that free interchange of thought and opinion which is a vital part of education, but it has increased the possibility of bringing together men with common interests and the most thoughtful men.”

This educational demand met with a response worthy of the occasion. Those enlightened officers in the Armies at home and abroad who helped to lay the foundation of the official Army Scheme by themselves initiating educational work, or encouraging that which was being done by other agencies; the Y.M.C.A. with its exceptional opportunities in all the theatres of war; the universities and individual lecturers and teachers; and the various bodies concerned in adult education, all took up the work with an enthusiasm which was the driving force that led the experiment to success. Throughout its progress this development of education in the Army was sympathetically viewed by the high military authorities—indeed, without their interest and co-operation it would have been impossible. At the same time, as was perhaps natural, some of those in authority in the armies viewed the efforts to provide education for soldiers in wartime with mingled astonishment and scepticism. They regarded all such efforts as incompatible with effective military training, as utterly out of place under active service conditions, and as unlikely to advantage either the individual soldier or the Army. Such was the attitude of mind of the sergeant-major who, on hearing that a young soldier battalion was about to parade for a history lesson, exclaimed scornfully: “History? History won’t kill Germans!” But in most cases the opposition and unbelief vanished as the success of the experiment became evident. Scepticism gave way to enthusiasm and most officers concerned, as they watched the progress of the scheme, came to develop a keen pride in the excellence of the educational work done in their commands.

By March, 1918, it was clear that the work had passed beyond the experimental stage, and the new developments which then took place, and which we have briefly outlined above, culminated in the issue by the Army Council of Special Army Order X., dated September 24th, 1918, which approved a scheme for educational training in the Army, which scheme was extended and modified by further Army Orders dated 9th December, 20th December, 1918, and 13th May, 1919, respectively. This scheme is described by Colonel Lord Gorell, Deputy Director of Staff Duties (Education), in his Note appended to our Interim Report on Education in the Army as follows:—

“The initial organisation was published in Special Army Order X., dated September 24th, 1918, and gave official authorisation to the educational work in the Forces in Great Britain and in France, which had been going on for a period of many months, not only among the A. (iv) soldiers at home, both in the scheme specifically

<sup>1</sup> Par. 3.

referred to in paragraph 5 of the Report and elsewhere in England, but also in the Army Areas and in the Base Camps in France, in the latter of which the Y.M.C.A. were invited by the military authorities to act as their agents for this work. Since September a fresh extension of the scheme has been authorised by the Army Council, which includes (*inter alia*) the bringing of educational facilities to hospitals and the formation of an instructional staff within the Army. There is now, therefore, a Department of the Staff Duties Directorate at the War Office charged with the organisation and supervision of the scheme and assisted by an Inter-Departmental Committee and by a body of expert advisers nominated by the President of the Board of Education and the Secretary of Scotland. This Department works in close liaison with the Mobilisation Directorate and also with the Ministries responsible for Education and for re-settlement, and the scheme, as authorised, provides for continuative education for A. (iv) soldiers and makes provision on voluntary lines, both by way of classes and by lectures, for older men, at home and abroad. Many thousands of soldiers, even throughout the heavy fighting of this year, have been under instruction by these means, and the work is constantly extending to meet the demands both of officers and men.

“Authorisation has also been given for the provision of text-books, libraries, stationery, &c., and the scope of the scheme is now such that endeavour is made to bring educational facilities within the reach of every officer and every man, so far as the conditions of their military service permit, and to view them educationally from the moment of enlistment to the moment of discharge.”

The scheme described above, modified by Army Order XVIII of 20th December, 1918, covered the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Salonika and Egypt. It provided for the creation of a teaching staff from among the Army personnel, and authorised the appointment of education officers and instructors on a given scale proportioned to requirements for each Young Soldier and Graduated Battalion and for each Army Corps Division, Command Depot, Special Camp and Base. Education officers were also authorised for hospital areas, defined in accordance with the size, number and location of hospitals in Great Britain. Provision was made for co-operation with Local Education Authorities by the authorisation of payment to them for the organisation of classes, more particularly in technical and vocational subjects. Syllabuses and schemes for courses of study in general, technical and commercial subjects were published with the Army Orders, including a special curriculum of general education for Young Soldier Battalions, together with suggestions for “practical instruction” in relation to the needs of a trade or profession. Provision was also made for elementary instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic for backward men. A list of text-books was also issued, covering the subjects of the syllabus. As a necessary adjunct to the scheme, two Schools of Education have been set up, one at Oxford accommodating 200 officers, and the other at Cambridge (afterwards transferred to Newmarket) accommodating 20 officers and 100 N.C.O.’s, in order to stimulate the supply of instructors and to train officers and non-commissioned officers for teaching work. At these schools intensive courses, extending over a month, are held.

The issue of the official Army Scheme was followed by the transference of the Army Schoolmasters’ Department to the Staff Duties Directorate created by the Army Order X. referred to above. The effect of this is to unify all educational training in the Army as one organism under the General Staff, the branch responsible for purely military

training. As Lord Gorell, Deputy Director of Staff Duties (Education), pointed out in his speech at the Royal Colonial Institute on the 25th February last, "This transference was, as far as it goes, an acceptance of the principle that military training and educational training could be and should be viewed together."

After the signing of the Armistice in November, it was found possible greatly to accelerate the process of putting the Army Scheme into operation. According to an Army estimate in February, there were then between 400,000 and 500,000 men attending classes in France alone, and at least 200,000 men in Great Britain. An estimate for Italy in the month of December gave 13,000 in classes and over 26,000 attending lectures.

Previous Army Orders were superseded by Army Order VII, dated 13th May, 1919.<sup>1</sup> The new Order authorises establishments to enable Commanding Officers to carry out the duties of the Educational Training Scheme, and makes full provision for the education of the troops in (a) the Home Armies, (b) in France and Flanders, (c) the Army of the Rhine, (d) the Forces in Italy, and (e) the Armies of the Middle East, Egypt and Murmansk. It states that the extension of the Scheme to India is under the consideration of the India Office, and that its extension to the garrisons of the Crown Colonies will be considered when the garrisons are reconstituted. The following is a summary of the scheme of studies, as set out in Order VII, which scheme, it is stated, is not intended to be unduly rigid:—

Group A.—(i) English, (ii) Arithmetic or elementary Mathematics, (iii) Civics, History and Geography.

Group B.—Languages and History.

Group C.—Political Economy (Economics and Industrial History).

Group D.—Pure Science (Chemistry, Physics, Botany, &c.).

Group E.—Mathematics (Higher Mathematics ; Practical Mathematics).

Group F.—Engineering Course.

Group G.—Commercial Subjects.

Group H.—Agricultural Science.

Group I.—Music (including the practice of Choral Singing).

Group J.—Drawing, Art and Design.

Group K.—Hygiene, First Aid.

Group L.—"Handyman" Training (Shoemaking, Tailoring, Cookery, &c.).

Group M.—Practical Trades.

For the Home Armies (with the exception of A (iv) soldiers) and for the armies abroad (with the exception of the armies on the Rhine) the Scheme remains on a voluntary basis. All officers and men may apply for educational training, and wherever circumstances permit, facilities for attending classes will be granted. Schools for the instruction of officers, administered by the Education Branch of the War Office (S.D.8), have been established at Elstow (Bedford), and Catterick Camp (Yorks). A (iv) soldiers in the Home Armies receive instruction for a maximum of six, and a minimum of four, hours per week, as part of their military duty. The subjects of instruction, for all A (iv) men above the level of illiteracy, are those comprised in Group A above. For illiterates, special courses are held in the rudiments of knowledge.

Provision is made in the Scheme for the insertion in the Record of Services Book of every officer who has attended classes, and in the Soldier's Service and Pay Book of all other ranks who have been under instruction, a form in which will be filled in particulars of all classes attended. Active Service Army School Certificates are also issued, which will summarise the records of attendances at classes, and in cases

<sup>1</sup> See War Office pamphlet: *Educational Training—Armies of Occupation*, issued with Army Order VII.

where the student has passed an examination an entry to this effect will be made on the Certificate, indicating the stage (elementary, intermediate, or advanced) in which he was successful. Further, a special Army Education Certificate is awarded to those who complete courses of instruction and pass examinations in the advanced stages of the subjects of Group A, and at least one, but not more than three, of the optional subjects of Groups B to F inclusive. This certificate has been accepted as exempting for matriculation or entrance examinations by universities, and a number of professional associations, *e.g.*, Institute of Civil Engineers, Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain, &c.

For the purposes of the Scheme, instructors are authorised in the Army of the Rhine on the maximum scale of 4 officers and 8 non-commissioned officers in each battalion, and in the Forces in Great Britain and Ireland, and in the armies other than the Army of the Rhine, on the maximum scale of 2 officers and 4 non-commissioned officers in each battalion. In smaller units, in special camps, depots, and hospital areas, instructors are similarly authorised in proportion to the total personnel. These instructors are attached to units and move with them, and are supernumerary to the normal war establishment of all units. Provision is made for the payment of extra-duty pay to instructors. The problem of securing an adequate supply of suitable teachers is a serious one, but the establishment of the Schools for Instructors at Oxford and Cambridge (now Newmarket) under the administration of the Education Branch of the War Office is now making its influence felt. These Schools are doing admirable work and have succeeded in their difficult task beyond expectation, and are providing a regular stream of teachers for the Scheme.

Realising the value of lectures as complementary to class instruction and as a means of arousing the interest of students in subjects outside the range of their own particular studies, the promoters of the Army Education Scheme gave early attention to the formation of a branch for the provision of lecturers. Volunteers from all possible sources were enrolled, and by the end of April a rota of upwards of 500 had been drawn up, covering a great variety of subjects, and including members of universities and learned societies and other specialists. A large proportion of the lectures are illustrated by slides, films, diagrams, demonstrations or experiments, and lectures on art and music can be accompanied by practical illustrations. The Armies in France were felt to have the first claim, and by the end of December over 60 lecturers had gone overseas. Lecturers under General Headquarters in France and Flanders and in Italy still travel from centre to centre visiting the chief towns in British occupation and other places where there are large concentrations of troops, while a lecturers' chateau has been established at Cologne to serve the Army of the Rhine. This lecture scheme has proved most popular among the soldiers, and in spite of demobilisation the demands for lectures is increasing. It is estimated that by the end of June upwards of 11,000 lectures had been given at a cost of under £9,000. The Navy, the Royal Air Force and the troops of the Dominions and Colonies have shared in the facilities. The Lecture Scheme was administered by a Committee established at the War Office in October, 1918, on which was represented the Navy, the Royal Air Force, all the Dominions, the British Y.M.C.A., the American Y.M.C.A., and the Victoria League. By this means the lecture resources of the whole country were co-ordinated for the benefit of the services.

With the inauguration of their Educational Training Scheme, the War Office took steps to provide an adequate supply of books. At the time of the armistice a library of a hundred standard books, of which 300 sets were to be issued, had been decided upon, together with instructional

books under about 70 titles. Difficulties soon arose; in some cases 50,000 copies of a single book were required, and the demands were quite beyond the power of the publishers to meet in view of the shortage of paper and of labour. To overcome this obstacle arrangements were made with H.M. Stationery Office. In some cases the War Office printed and bound the whole book; in others it provided the paper, and so forth. Libraries were prepared and sent out in December to the British Forces in the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Egypt, Salonika, Baghdad, and to the Schools of Instruction. All possible sources of supply were exploited, and except for difficulties of transport, the book supply was well in hand by February, by which date more than 400,000 volumes had been distributed. Afterwards distribution went on rapidly, and by the end of May over a million books had been issued by the War Office. A second standard library comprising 70,000 volumes had been added, while a stock of about 120,000 educational books accumulated by the Y.M.C.A. in France had been purchased. Meanwhile a catalogue was issued, showing nearly 900 books and 80 technical and trade periodicals. The number of titles will shortly be increased by the issue of a third standard library of 160 volumes. As a better adjustment of supply to demand becomes possible it is hoped to reach the standard of one student one book in all subjects of instruction, and to bring about the transition from a slightly heterogenous collection of books put together to meet the needs of changing circumstances to a more orderly establishment designed for more permanent purposes.

The system of educational training laid down in the official Army Scheme is now in successful operation in the Armies at home and abroad, and many thousands of students are enrolled in the courses of instruction. Space does not admit of detailed mention of the many aspects of the Scheme, but a short description must be given first of the very remarkable and complete organisation of education in the Army of the Rhine, and secondly, of the work in military hospitals in this country. At Army Headquarters on the Rhine the work is controlled by one General Staff Officer, 1st Grade, two General Staff Officers, 2nd Grade, and three General Staff Officers, 3rd Grade (one of whom is for technical education duties). Under them the work is organised at Corps Headquarters by a General Staff Officer, 3rd Grade, a Corps Education Officer, and a Corps Troops Education Officer; at Divisional Headquarters by a Divisional Education Officer and two Assistant Divisional Education Officers; at Brigade Headquarters by a Brigade Education Officer. Executive and instructional staffs are also authorised for an Army General and Commercial College of 300 students; an Army Science College of 220 students; an Army Technical College of 200 students; Corps Schools (General, Commercial and Technical) of 150 students, and Divisional Schools (with General, Commercial, Technical and Agricultural wings) of 250 students. Provision is also made for the employment of civilian instructors in these schools. Education in the unit for all "other ranks" for a minimum of one hour a day, taken out of parade hours, and, wherever possible in the morning, is compulsory. Instruction during this period is in Group A. subjects, which are taught in three stages—elementary, intermediate and advanced. Education in subjects under any of the other groups can be undertaken voluntarily, in addition to the minimum of one hour a day. From the unit selected students are passed on to the Divisional Schools, and from these students may be recommended for vacancies at the Corps Schools or Army Colleges suited to their requirements. At the General and Commercial Schools at least one hour a day is spent on advanced instruction in Group A. subjects. The scheme has been taken up with enthusiasm by both students and instructors, the

figures of attendance month by month showing a steady increase, and educational results of a high standard are being achieved. The following return, which is not quite complete, as it does not include all those taking courses at some of the main Army Colleges, shows the numbers under instruction in May, 1919:—

|  |                    |
|--|--------------------|
| Apprentices ... ..   | 1,408              |
| Students attending classes in Group A subjects ...   | 59,030             |
| Students taking classes in other subjects, exclusive<br>of those already included in Group A ... | 14,840             |
|  | <hr/> 75,278 <hr/> |

In November, 1918, the Education Scheme was extended to include patients in Military and War Hospitals. It was realised that the mental stimulus thus provided would have a definite curative value of its own, and the scheme was thus encouraged from a medical as much as from an educational standpoint. The problem was a difficult one. There were 250,000 patients in the United Kingdom, of whom scarcely half could be accommodated in the large organised hospitals and the remainder were scattered in innumerable auxiliary hospitals, and this entailed continual movement of patients from the larger hospitals to the auxiliaries in which the earlier stages of convalescence were spent. The policy adopted was to appoint capable education officers as fast as they could be discovered and to send them to the largest central hospitals, with instructions to start classes without delay, and as opportunity offered to work outwards towards the larger auxiliary hospitals, exploiting all local facilities and securing the services as instructors of any patients who had the necessary qualifications. By the end of January, 1919, education officers were at work in the 60 largest central hospitals, but were finding the obstacles so great that they were seldom able to attempt any extension. During the next two months the difficulties were slowly overcome, the scheme had extended to 117 central and 333 auxiliary hospitals, and 11,700 patients were undergoing instruction, approximately 8 per cent. of the total then in the country. Since this date consistent progress has been made. The country has been divided into hospital areas, and education officers have been appointed on a basis of 1 per 2,000 patients, and to each officer a staff of instructors allotted. In spite of the fact that the number of patients had decreased by 50,000 by the end of May, the number under instruction had risen to 13,200, being 15 per cent. of the total then in hospital. As regards the subjects taught, it has been the policy of the scheme to meet, as far as possible, all demands for general education or technical training, and the subjects studied cover a wide range. The demand for vocational subjects has naturally been considerable, but it was by no means confined entirely to these, and the authorities state that "the Education Scheme in Military Hospitals has proved conclusively the existence in the working classes of a latent desire for wider knowledge and a more liberal education." The hospital scheme has been generously assisted throughout by the grant of funds from the British Red Cross Society, first for the development of bedside occupational work, and more recently for the educational scheme as a whole.

We have not sufficient data, neither are we concerned, to attempt a considered estimate of the standard attained by the multifarious educational activities conducted during the war, which we have described. It must not be supposed that there was no reluctance or even active opposition to be encountered from officers in high positions, nor that the Army as a whole was rapidly converted to enthusiasm for educational ideals to which most of them had long been indifferent.



But the important fact is that those ideals of education were officially adopted by the Army authorities and that a system of education has now taken its place as part of the recognised military organisation. Carried on as most of it was amid the stir and movement of armies on active service, much of the work was necessarily slight and fugitive; where circumstances were more favourable it was more solid and continuous; while a certain part reached a comparatively high standard. It is clear, however, that any attempt at judgment of the work must be made in the light of the resources available and the conditions under which it had to be conducted. Viewed as a whole, it was a triumph of improvisation, and the surprising thing is that these widespread activities were found possible at all in the face of the difficulties which must inevitably accompany any attempt at education among the soldiers of armies taking part in a great war, when all such attempts must be subject to the overwhelming claims of military necessity. Indeed, when sufficient time has elapsed to enable the events of the war to be seen in their true perspective, the rise and development of the educational movement among the armed forces will stand out as one of the most striking and unpredictable. As the President of the Board of Education, speaking at the Cambridge School for Army Education Instructors, said: "Nothing in the shape of adult education has ever been attempted on the same scale in the whole history of the world."

As regards the range of studies, we note with satisfaction the prominent place taken by non-vocational and humane subjects, and the balance which was kept between them and vocational and technical instruction. We fully realise the value and importance of training in the latter sphere, but it lies outside our terms of reference. We note the significant fact that the educational demand sprang not only from the praiseworthy desire for such training as would the better equip a man for his daily work on return to civil life, but equally from a quickened intellectual curiosity and a desire for knowledge for its own sake. This widespread interest in things of the mind which sprang up among all ranks of the armies is, we believe, of a piece with the growing interest in education which has characterised the country as a whole during the past few years. It is idle to prophesy, but we may hope that these are portents of a new educational era which we are about to enter, an era which will be marked by a large extension of adult education among the people generally.

Before leaving the subject of education in the Army, we record the interesting and significant fact that the educational movement in the armies of the United Kingdom was paralleled by a similar movement in the Forces of the Overseas Dominions, some particulars of which we gave in the Appendix to our Interim Report on Education in the Army. The educational activities of the Dominion troops were among the earliest to take shape. Educational schemes of a high standard, comprising a wide range of subjects in general and humane, technical and professional studies, were introduced into the Canadian, Australian, New Zealand and South African Forces, and these have been eagerly welcomed and taken advantage of by many thousands of students; while the Overseas Soldier and Sailor Scholarship Scheme, which we described in the Appendix to our Interim Report, has been the means of securing to a number of Dominion soldiers and sailors invalided to England from the various areas of war the opportunity of following courses of study covering one or two years in the Universities and Higher Technical Schools of this country. The fact that the

military authorities of the Dominions were working out their educational problems at the same time as the English War Office was formulating its own scheme, made possible a large measure of mutual help and co-operation. One result of this was the formation of the Lecture Committee, whose activities have been described above, and which was responsible for the provision of lectures for the troops both of the Dominions and Colonies and of the home country. Another important outcome was the setting up of the Imperial Education Committee of the War Office, upon which the Overseas portions of the Empire are represented, for the purpose of co-operation between the respective Army educational organisations and to provide an agency for the exchange of experience and the co-ordination of effort in the common task of promoting education among all the Imperial Forces.

#### (D) EDUCATION IN THE ROYAL AIR FORCE.

We have been supplied with the following particulars of the educational work of the Royal Air Force during the demobilisation period.

Proposals for systematic educational work in the Royal Air Force were first put forward in August, 1918, and covering Treasury sanction for the scheme was obtained in November. One of the first steps taken was an attempt to secure a complete census of the educational requirements of the Royal Air Force serving in France. The results of this census are of considerable interest, more especially as no similar operation, it is understood, has been carried out in the case of the Army owing to the very large numbers involved. Rather more than 30,000 forms were completed, and of these, some 16,000 contained requests for instruction in one or more subjects, more than 3,000 of the applicants expressing their intention of working for some definite course, such as that for a degree or diploma. Further, nearly 1,000 offers to undertake voluntary instructional work were received.

The following summary of the results of the census may be of interest as showing what were the subjects mainly in request. On considering the various figures, two facts need to be borne in mind. The census was taken before the institution of any systematic educational work which would have served to guide the choice of officers and men. The Air Force is differentiated from the Army by the very large proportion of skilled and semi-skilled men contained in its personnel.

| <i>Subject of Study.</i>                   | <i>No. of Applicants for Instruction.</i> |
|--|---|
| French ... ..                              | 7,497                                     |
| Other foreign languages (20 in all) ... .. | 699                                       |
| General education, elementary ... ..       | 5,318                                     |
| "                    advanced ... ..       | 601                                       |
| Mathematics, elementary ... ..             | 2,392                                     |
| "                    advanced .. ...       | 239                                       |
| Science, various branches ... ..           | 524                                       |
| Medical subjects ... ..                    | 133                                       |
| Legal subjects ... ..                      | 166                                       |
| Musical subjects ... ..                    | 137                                       |
| Art subjects ... ..                        | 209                                       |
| Architectural and building subjects ... .. | 1,242                                     |
| Carpentry ... ..                           | 1,144                                     |
| Telegraphy and Telephony ... ..            | 221                                       |
| Electrical Engineering ... ..              | 944                                       |
| Engineering, mechanical and various ... .. | 2,042                                     |
| Engineering, aeronautical ... ..           | 462                                       |

*Subject of Study.**No. of Applicants for Instruction.*

|                              |     |     |     |     |     |       |
|------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|
| <b>Trades—</b>               |     |     |     |     |     |       |
| Motor mechanics              | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3,623 |
| General mechanics            | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,300 |
| Metal, various               | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,251 |
| Miscellaneous                | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,038 |
| Photography and cinema       | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 190   |
| Insurance and banking        | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 107   |
| Business training            | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2,145 |
| Book-keeping and accountancy | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,480 |
| Shorthand                    | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 942   |
| Typewriting                  | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 71    |
| Agricultural subjects        | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 726   |
| Theory of education          | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 11    |
| Geography                    | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 38    |
| History                      | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 41    |
| Logic                        | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4     |
| Political Economy            | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 59    |
| Philosophy                   | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 12    |
| Theology                     | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 8     |
| Memory Training              | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 38    |

In November, the scheme was extended to the home areas, and in notifying this fact to the General Officers Commanding, the main objects of the scheme were defined briefly under two headings to be:—

- (a) "To give officers and men facilities to prepare themselves for  
"a career in civil life, or to take up again the courses of  
"preparation they were engaged upon before joining the  
"Forces."
- (b) "To arouse interest and a desire for study, to broaden outlook  
"and to bring home to officers and men the realisation of  
"the greatness and possibilities of the Empire and of their  
"own duties as citizens."

While the aims of the scheme as thus defined are very similar to those of the corresponding scheme for the Army, the actual development of the work, owing to the special circumstances of the Air Force, has necessarily proceeded on somewhat different lines. The Air Force has no regimental system, the units are of all sizes, scattered widely throughout the country, and situated often in out-of-the-way places where few, if any, local educational facilities are available. Its personnel is composed largely of skilled and semi-skilled workers, each of whom has his own individual task to perform within his unit in one or other of a large variety of trades, and, in consequence, their duties usually keep them systematically occupied.

The general organisation adopted for the scheme aimed to meet these special circumstances by a system of decentralisation, and of individual treatment coupled with such a measure of central control as would ensure unity of action in regard to essential matters. An educational section, under a deputy director, was established in the Directorate of Training at the Air Ministry to be responsible for the general organisation of the scheme. This educational section dealt also with all questions of service education, such as the educational training of the boy mechanics and of the cadets. For each Home Area Command a staff officer, third class, was appointed, attached to the staff of the General Officer Commanding, to organise the work within the area, with the assistance of an education officer (captain—administrative) in each group of the area. For the work in France a staff officer, second-class, was attached for organisation duties to the staff of the General

Officer Commanding, Royal Air Force, in the Field, with a staff officer, third class, to assist him, while an education officer (captain—administrative) was allotted to each brigade and large depôt.

These officers were responsible for the organisation of the educational work within their respective commands, and were given wide discretion in making such arrangements, with the sanction of the General Officer Commanding, as seemed most likely to meet the special circumstances of the command and the individual needs of the units. With a view to securing unity of action and the sharing of experience gained, arrangements were made for all area education officers to meet in conference fortnightly at the Air Ministry under the chairmanship of the Deputy Director of Education. These meetings proved of considerable value, and were largely responsible for the smooth running of the scheme which has been one of the most satisfactory and outstanding features. The educational staff officers from France attend the conference from time to time as opportunity offers. Arrangements were also made for the meetings to be addressed occasionally by outside authorities on subjects which it was felt would be of direct assistance to the officers in their work of organisation.

Attention may perhaps be called with advantage at this stage to two considerations which largely served to determine the form of organisation adopted. The first of these was the fundamental principle that in a disciplined force the responsibility for the education, equally with the professional training of the personnel of a unit, must rest with its commanding officer. The function of a staff of professional educationalists, therefore, must be to advise, assist and inspect, but not in any sense to relieve officers commanding of the responsibility for seeing that adequate arrangements are made for the education of their men and reasonable facilities granted them. It follows that the success or failure of the educational work in any unit will turn largely on the question of whether or not, the keen personal interest in the scheme of the officer commanding has been secured. If this interest is to be aroused and maintained, the scheme must be practical and workmanlike, and the education officer gifted with tact and resource; for education classes are always liable to clash with other essential work, and to interfere with routine, while many commanding officers have yet to be convinced that this post-school education is of real and practical value to their men and to the Service.

The other determining factor was the conviction that the scheme in its main features was destined to become a permanent institution, in view of the growing demand for educational facilities among all sections of the working classes, the increasing realisation of the part played by education in the creation of moral and of individual resource and initiative, and the importance from a national standpoint of returning men to civil life fitted to take up a productive occupation. As a result of this conviction, the course followed was first to design an organisation suitable for normal times and then to adapt this to meet the requirements of war conditions without making any material modification in its essential features, so that on the return to normal conditions the temporary scheme might merge without difficulty into the permanent.

A further important step in the decentralisation already referred to was the opening in favour of each education staff officer of an "Educational Services Imprest Account," out of which he could meet at his discretion, subject, of course, to certain rules, regulations and review, any necessary expenditure such as the payment of local teachers, the hire of rooms, the purchase of apparatus, fees for special lectures, and so on.

Similarly, as regards the supply of the necessary books, it was not considered desirable in the early stages of the scheme to limit the discretion of the education officers by laying down an authorised list. Subject to the review of all demands at the Air Ministry, complete local discretion was allowed in the choice of the books considered most suitable to meet the special requirements of each unit or individual student, and this system proved to work well in practice. Now that the rush of the demobilisation period is largely over, demands are likely to be more stable and requirements more readily gauged. Steps are accordingly being taken to introduce a scheme under which each unit will have its nucleus library, consisting of a limited number of books of reference, and of the text books in most frequent demand, and will, in addition, be able to borrow from a central area library such other text books as it may need for any special class, or to meet the requirements of individual students.

As regards instructional staff, authority was obtained for the employment, as a maximum number, of four officers and twelve N.C.O.'s per thousand men. This would have provided a staff ample, and more than ample, to meet all requirements had it been possible to obtain the full complement of volunteers for such work. Unfortunately, the rates of pay authorised, which were identical, practically, with those fixed for similar work in the Army, proved insufficiently attractive in a Force where, rank for rank, the rates of pay and allowances are higher. It was not found necessary, however, to rely entirely on whole-time instructors, as volunteers for unpaid part-time work came forward in considerable numbers and thus made possible the provision of many successful courses. In the first months of its existence, also, the scheme had the benefit of the valuable assistance of a number of professional teachers, owing to the fact that steps had been taken in the early summer of 1918, in view of the probable future requirements, to secure for the Force the services of more than five hundred professional teachers called up under the Military Services Act. These were entered in a variety of non-educational capacities, but were ear-marked for educational duties in the event of their services being so required at a later date. From the standpoint of those responsible for the direction of the educational work, therefore, the issue of the instructions for the demobilisation of Group 43 came all too soon. It was felt, however, that in the national interest, no hindrance ought to be placed in the way of the return of these teachers to civil life, and consequently in a comparatively few weeks the services of the great majority of them had been lost to the Force.

Another valuable source of supply was found among the educated women who had joined the W.R.A.F. It has been a feature of the scheme from its inception that it has made no distinction between the men and women of the Force. All ordinary classes have been open equally to both sexes. The W.R.A.F. has its representative on the organising staffs, both at area headquarters and at the Air Ministry, while a number of officers and section leaders are acting as instructors, not merely to their own members, but to officers and men, both in the home areas and overseas.

As regards the general character of the educational assistance given, those responsible for the organisation of the scheme found themselves faced at the outset with the necessity of deciding finally between two alternative lines of action. Was the headquarters staff to prepare and issue a programme of approved courses of study and syllabuses of instruction, or was the responsibility for discovering and dealing with the individual needs of each unit and man to rest with the education officer

concerned? No halfway course seemed possible, for it was realised that the issue of any recommended courses or syllabuses of instruction would inevitably tend to stereotype the character of the educational assistance provided in the units, with the result that the courses would become mechanical and lose their appeal, whatever care might be taken to emphasise the essentially advisory nature of the information issued.

The former system provides courses carefully planned in accordance with all that experience has shown to be most desirable, educationally wholesome, but often lacking in variety and in appeal to individual taste. Such courses can be provided relatively cheaply, and make no great call on the personal initiative and imagination of the staff. The latter system, on the other hand, gives each individual student the opportunity of selecting a course suited to his particular needs and tastes. The educational food provided may, in theory at least, be less nourishing and digestible, but since it is taken with appetite, is often assimilated to better advantage.

Obviously, the provision of such a variety of courses and their arrangement to meet the individual needs of a large number of students is no easy task, but one that makes considerable demands on the initiative, energy and discretion of the staff. The very existence of this demand, however, has its advantages in arousing the interest of the staff and in stimulating its activities so that it develops into a body of live men, each with his own individual responsibility, and avoids the danger of becoming a machine-like organisation in which each member carries out impersonally, if effectively, his allotted task. In view of the strongly individualistic organisation of the Air Force, it was determined with little hesitation to adopt the latter alternative, and so far there has been no occasion to doubt the soundness of that decision. The policy thus deliberately adopted at the inception of the scheme has continued to characterise it throughout. Education officers have been free to ask for any text book they felt to be best suited to meet the needs of any individual student. Where the internal resources of the unit could not supply the help required, a call could be made upon the area education officer for suitable arrangements to be made with the Local Education Authority, or for the services of a civilian teacher to be provided. Finally, in a limited number of exceptional cases, it was permitted to provide the individual student with a suitable course of correspondence tuition. In many cases, of course, it was not found practicable to provide the actual assistance asked for, but some alternative course could frequently be arranged bearing directly on the subject which the student had in view.

Even where no suitable alternative could be found and the applicant had eventually to fall back on some course of study quite different from that which he had originally contemplated, the system ensured that he was at least left with the feeling that an honest attempt had been made to help him individually, and not merely to serve some service end. It is not, of course, suggested that these conditions obtained in every unit of the Force; so much depends on the keenness of the education officer, and even more perhaps on the attitude of the officer commanding, but personal and individual consideration for every man coming forward for assistance was the ideal aimed at, and in the case of many units it was largely attained.

That men appreciated the help offered them and came forward in considerable numbers is shown by the fact that in the home areas in March last, in spite of the greatly reduced numbers and the general disorganisation due to rapid demobilisation, no less than 12,300 officers and men were under instruction.

The courses of instruction covered a wide field, and, as in the case of the Army, were not confined to what are ordinarily considered to be "educational subjects," but included a wide range of vocational subjects such as carpentry, farming, motor engineering and mechanical training.

At a very early stage in the development of the educational scheme, steps were taken to set up close liaison with other Government departments, and with certain outside bodies interested in similar problems, with a view to securing economy of effort, by avoiding overlapping, together with active co-operation and the sharing of experience gained. The Deputy Director of Education was formally appointed liaison officer with the War Office (S.D. 8), the Appointments Department of the Ministry of Labour, the Board of Education and the Ministries of Reconstruction and Pensions. The Air Force was represented on the conjoint Committee for the supply of lecturers in the home areas and overseas—formed in co-operation with the Army and Navy, Dominion Forces, the Victoria League and the Y.M.C.A. Universities Committee—and also on the Imperial Education Committee.

Especially fruitful was the liaison set up with the War Office (S.D. 8) and the Appointments Department. The former department has throughout given unstinted and invaluable help, while every request for assistance or advice has met with a most cordial response. The Air Force has had the benefit of the spade work done by the officials of this department (S.D. 8) in the preparation of a series of pamphlets covering a wide range of useful information in regard to books, courses of instruction, examinations, syllabuses and kindred matters. Airmen have been made free to sit for the Army Education Certificate, recognised for the purposes of matriculation by every university within the United Kingdom, as well as by the great majority of the great professional institutions. Vacancies have been placed at the disposal of the Air Force in the intensive courses of educational training which have been held under the War Office at Oxford, Cambridge and Catterick. Arrangements have also been made for the interchange of facilities as, for instance, where soldiers or airmen are detached from their units or need some special form of instruction. Here the Air Force has been able to make some return for the benefits received, by taking considerable numbers of Army students for "refresher" courses in technical training, especially in France and in Egypt.

Very valuable assistance has also been obtained from the Y.M.C.A., who were always willing to place their resources unreservedly at the disposal of the Royal Air Force.

Local Education Authorities throughout the country also have greatly assisted the scheme in placing their facilities at the disposal of the R.A.F. In order that nothing should be done which would interfere unduly with the needs of the civil population arrangements were made for close liaison with the Inspectors of the Board of Education, who were kept informed of all arrangements contemplated. On the financial side the general arrangement was that where airmen joined the ordinary class, the usual fees should be paid, and where a class was specially formed any additional expenditure involved should be met out of the R.A.F. funds.

Such co-operation with the Local Education Authorities was felt to be very desirable, not merely on the grounds of economy, but as forming points of contact between the Force and the general public. A constant difficulty has been that in so many cases Air Force units are stationed in out of the way places where few educational facilities are available.

To meet such cases as these, and the needs of those who require assistance in special subjects, an attempt was made to introduce a system of correspondence tuition by a body of volunteer teachers, drawn from both within and without the Force.

### (E) WAR-TIME LITERATURE.

No record of adult education during the war would be complete without some reference to the literature of the time. The period was marked by the publication of a quantity of topical literature of an informative and instructional kind, much of it designed to meet the needs of the ordinary man for information and enlightenment on the multifarious subjects, chiefly concerned with problems of the war and reconstruction, which claimed his interest, and also of adult students who were pursuing a course of study.

We have already referred to the "Aids to Study" and the "Foreign Series of Pamphlets" of the Council for the Study of International Relations, and the pamphlets of the Victoria League. At the beginning of the war the Clarendon Press began the publication of a long series of "Oxford Pamphlets," written by university and public men, and covering a wide range of war-time subjects, followed more recently by a series on the League of Nations. Short series issued by the "Athenæum" dealt with reconstruction problems, such as "The Politics of Industry," "Rural Life," "Taxation" and "Women in Industry"; and the Conference Papers (to which we have already alluded) published by Ruskin College also dealt with reconstruction subjects. Of these latter, over 15,000 were sold by the end of 1918. In addition to these, pamphlets, study guides, &c., too numerous to mention in detail, were issued by the Adult School Union, the League of Nations Union and other bodies, and by individual writers. In this connection, however, special reference must be made to the admirable series of two-penny booklets issued by the Ministry of Reconstruction on subjects with which the Ministry was concerned, *e.g.*, "Aims of Reconstruction," "Housing in Scotland," "Labour and Adult Education," "Rural Industries," "Juvenile Employment," "Prices during and after the War," "Art and Industry" and "The Classics in British Education." Published in a well-printed, attractive and convenient form, written in language of a non-technical kind, dealing with measures and policies and giving information which, for the purpose of the ordinary citizen, would otherwise be buried in Acts of Parliament, Government Reports and Blue Books, these are models which other Government Departments might well follow. We are informed that these pamphlets have been used by classes and study groups studying reconstruction and other current problems.

Certain of the larger and more comprehensive works which the war called forth, while scholarly in execution, were written with a view to the needs of the general reader and the adult student of scanty leisure. Of several of these, special cheap editions were issued for the use of working-class students. One of the most widely read was "The War and Democracy," which, published shortly after the outbreak of hostilities, attained a very large sale. Books of this kind did useful service in extending the knowledge of the public on questions of foreign policy, international relations and cognate subjects. At a later stage, when the march of events had aroused an absorbing interest in problems of reconstruction, there came a large output of books dealing with the many phases of this subject, and these gave a new impetus to the study of economic, social and political questions.



## (F) RESULTS OF WAR-TIME ACTIVITIES.

The last four years have thus witnessed a considerable extension of the appeal of adult education, leading to new developments full of future promise. The magnitude of the war, the issues which hung upon it, and the problems to which it gave rise acted as a mental stimulus to the pursuit of knowledge. As in the ferment of war old ideas were discarded and new ones sprang to life, social, economic and political institutions which many had hitherto passively accepted were brought to judgment and critically examined in the light of new conceptions. The interest which developed in the early part of the war in the causes and issues of the struggle, the histories of the countries engaged in it, &c., broadened as time went on to include the problems of the reconstruction of the national life in all its aspects, and the future organisation of international society, a widening range which is reflected in the subjects studied by adult students during this period. Thus, among the civil population at home, and particularly among the citizen armies—the members of which, it must be borne in mind, were fresh from civil life, retaining their civilian interests—there arose a new educational demand. At home, owing to depleted resources of teaching and organising power, it was impossible to take full advantage of the opportunity which the educational revival offered; but, nevertheless, a considerable amount of fresh ground was broken and a large volume of teaching work done in a more or less organised form by the various bodies concerned, much of it, be it noted, undertaken as an educational crusade by working men and women who were themselves students. Thus, by lectures, classes, study groups, reading circles and other means, many of them quite informal and unrecorded, a valiant effort was made to meet the need. For example, a movement to which we have referred elsewhere sprang up in the villages and country towns of Mid-Kent, which originated in the visit of one man to a summer school in 1915. On his return he organised an adult class in his own village, from whence the desire spread to the adjoining villages and small towns. This movement, entirely a product of war-time, and organised and taught by purely voluntary effort, now consists of over a dozen centres, associated together as the Kent Federation of the South Eastern District of the W.E.A. As regards the Army, we have related above how a similar desire for education arose in places far apart and unconnected, and spread rapidly throughout the Forces, and how from small and experimental beginnings a great scheme of adult education was developed on voluntary lines, and quickly extended throughout the armies, until ultimately the work was adopted by the State and became what we hope will be a permanent feature of the soldier's life.

In ways less directly educational, war-time was a period of development. The demands which the national crisis made on the private individual for a more active and thoughtful citizenship were many and various. The exigencies of the time placed upon him new duties both voluntary and obligatory, and led to his more active participation in national and local affairs. Many men and women took up public service for the first time as members of Food Control, War Pensions, War Agricultural and similar committees and advisory bodies. All this and many other forms of voluntary social service which necessity called forth, developed latent powers in the individual citizen, widened his outlook, and made for the growth of public spirit and intelligent citizenship.

The spread of the allotment movement as an outcome of the submarine menace had a value of its own. During the last two years of the war the cultivation of small plots was taken up with remarkable energy and

enthusiasm, and it was estimated that the number of allotment holders increased from about 1,000,000 just prior to the war to 1,800,000 at the beginning of 1919. The importance of this movement from the educational point of view was that it was largely an urban one, and thus included many sedentary and indoor workers, who for the first time were brought into direct contact with the land, and by practical experience in its cultivation came to learn something of its qualities and of the growth and structure of plants. Taken up under the threat of food shortage, this work on the land became for most a recreation or hobby, and will in many cases, we have no doubt, be continued after the pressing need for it has gone. With the growing strain of modern life, the increasing specialisation of industry and adoption of automatic processes, this recreative work on the land offers to the factory worker and business man, and to town dwellers in general, a use of leisure time pleasant, healthful, and, in the broad sense of the word, educational. We therefore hope that, on these grounds alone, apart from purely economic considerations, the allotment movement will be encouraged by all possible means.

In rural districts one of the most important developments of war-time has been the introduction into the country of the Women's Institute movement, a subject with which we have already dealt with in an earlier section of this Appendix. The rapid spread of the movement in the villages during the last few years is one of the most hopeful features of rural life, and has given a stimulus to the development of associated effort among women in the countryside.

In spite, therefore, of the inevitable difficulties with which adult education was confronted during the war, resulting in considerable dislocation and a slight contraction in certain of its phases, the period was marked by a quickening of intellectual interest and educational desire, leading to fruitful developments which will be carried forward to times of peace. Fresh fields were opened up and many who had hitherto been apathetic or had never come in touch with its activities participated in non-vocational adult education. Not all of these will become permanent converts; with the passing of the stimulus of war-time some will fall away and a portion of the field drop out of cultivation; but on balance there will be a distinct gain, and the general result will be that non-vocational adult education will come to be regarded as a necessary adjunct to citizenship and take a more prominent place in the educational system of the country.

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### PART III.

#### ADULT EDUCATION ABROAD.

Though it has not been possible to make a close examination of activities in the field of adult education in other countries, we have, nevertheless, felt that it would be of value to refer briefly to the present state of adult education in other parts of the world. We are aware of the difficulties of comparison. Education is interwoven with social conditions and institutions, and national traditions; it develops in response to definite needs and under stimuli which vary with time and circumstances. It is impossible, therefore, to pass judgment upon systems of education without having regard to the political, social and intellectual atmosphere in which they live. Yet it is interesting to pass in review some of the more important experiments and developments, if only to illustrate how widespread the movement for adult education really is and to provide examples which may have valuable lessons for those concerned with adult education in this country.

The State in different countries gives varying degrees of direct assistance to non-vocational adult education; but in practically all countries where activity of this kind is carried on, its success appears to depend largely upon voluntary organisations. The growth of the comparative study of education and the visits of educationists to other countries have led to the adaptation of foreign experience in many directions to national education. The educational systems of different countries do, however, maintain their main characteristics and, in the sphere of adult education, there are broad differences of form and method in different parts of the world. As the Workers' Educational Association is, perhaps, characteristic of the British Empire, so the Popular Universities are characteristic of Latin countries, the People's High Schools of Scandinavia and the Chautauqua Settlements of the United States of America.

The field covered by adult education abroad is already large, although the work varies greatly in scope, intensity, and degree of organisation, and nothing in the nature of a complete review can be attempted here. This chapter will be confined to an indication of the chief kinds of experience and to a brief treatment of specially noteworthy developments.

#### (A) THE BRITISH DOMINIONS.

The history of Adult Education in the Dominions is concerned largely with experiments following the same lines as those in England.

In Australia there has been a recent and rapid development of Adult Education since the establishment of the W.E.A. there in 1913. By 1918 the Governments had already made large grants in support of Tutorial classes, New South Wales contributing £3,000, Tasmania £675, and New Zealand £1,200; financial aid was also received from municipal councils. The contributions made by the Governments of the several States of Australia are increasing; even now they amount to over £12,000 per annum—a larger sum than has ever been paid in any one year for the same purpose by the Central Government and the Local Authorities in England. The movement has developed rapidly, although the classes appear to be chiefly confined to the large cities; and the activities of the W.E.A. have had an influence in making a connection between the Universities and the life of the cities. In the session 1917-18, in Australia, 46 Tutorial classes were held, whilst in New Zealand there were 23 classes. The persons attending classes in 1915 in New South Wales included 45 Trade Union Secretaries and organisers, 40 teachers, 37 engineers, 46 clerical workers, 10 carpenters, and many other grades of workers. In Canada there was during 1917-18 one tutorial class and in South Africa two. The subjects taken are chiefly economics and industrial history, which appear to have been somewhat neglected by the academic world before the demand for adult education was focussed by the W.E.A.

#### (B) UNITED STATES.

University Extension first began in the United States in 1887 and in 1889 Columbia University established Extension courses in science, from which time the movement has had a continuous existence. In 1890 the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching was founded in Philadelphia, and in 1891 the State of New York granted \$10,000 for University Extension. Most of the American Universities now provide teaching in accordance with the usual methods of University Extension. Lectures and classes are organised usually on a plan not very different from that adopted in England;

but many Extension Boards are considerably assisted by State funds.<sup>1</sup> There are a large number of bulletins and text-books on a variety of subjects issued in connection with Extension teaching. Some of the lectures are given in the University buildings, others at local centres; and in many cases there is a special effort at using the local elementary schools and at assisting education there by sending books from the University to the schools and by special courses for teachers.

The Extension system in the United States is, in general, however, more concerned with evening classes in the immediate vicinity of the University grounds than with local lectures at scattered centres. It also aims more at providing preparatory work in University subjects for qualifications for degrees than at general instruction. As an example, we may take the Extension system of Columbia University, New York, which arranges regular courses in agriculture, architecture, business organisation, economics, chemistry, engineering, English, history, languages, law and government, philosophy, music, shorthand and typewriting, and in the practical arts, such as cookery, textile manufacture, &c. It will be seen from these examples that the guiding conception is quite different from the principle governing University Extension work in this country; but, of course, the social situation in New York City is also very different from that of London or Birmingham, not to speak of Oxford or Cambridge. The number of Extension students following the various courses named numbered, in 1913-1914, 3,389, whilst in 1917-1918 there were 6,657 students enrolled. Students have to be registered and pay a fee of \$5 for the year as well as tuition fees. There are halls of residence which are open to Extension students, and points are gained in the extension courses, which assist the student in afterwards taking a degree.

In connection with the extension scheme, another extra-mural activity of the Universities is in study by correspondence. The professors and assistants on the University staff provide instruction by written directions, the correction of papers and the setting of examination questions for anyone who desires it. The courses so taken are usually counted to the credit of a student desiring a degree; so that the student who has taken a correspondence course can take a degree with a very short residence at the University. In the bulletin of the University of Chicago it is stated that "the courses appeal especially to the following classes: (1) students preparing for college or professional schools; (2) college students who are unable to pursue continuous residence study; (3) grammar and high school teachers who cannot avail themselves of resident instruction; (4) instructors in higher institutions who desire assistance in the advanced study of some subject; (5) professional and business men who wish to supplement their training; (6) ministers and Bible students who would fit themselves better to use the Scriptures; (7) parents uncertain how to deal wisely with their children."

The University in the United States has other activities besides Extension work which, although not strictly Adult Education in our sense of the term, have immense influence in the non-academic world. Many Universities have set up bureaus of information, advice and instruction on all social problems for the use of any workers. For example, the University of Colorado is prepared to answer questions in regard to Local Government and to make special investigations and reports. Indiana University has an inquiry bureau in connection with the information bureau of the State of Indiana. The University of Michigan prepares exhibits bearing on social reform. The University

<sup>1</sup> For the finances of University Extension work in this country see Appendix I, pp. 188-9.

of Wisconsin has a bureau which collects information on municipal government, pavements, sewers, street lighting, sanitation, &c. This bureau is available for use by all and, if requested by the State authorities, the University provides surveyors for any town which is installing a water system or planning new sites. The University also promotes and organises the use of elementary school buildings as lecture centres, libraries, polling places and places of recreation. A special University bureau is devoted to lectures and training in folk or community music.

The Chautauqua Summer School first organised in 1874 is, perhaps, the most typically American of all the educational activities of the United States. The School is a part of the attractions of a summer resort at Chautauqua, in the State of New York. The large grounds and many buildings available for use by persons of moderate means attract about 50,000 visitors every year, and rowing, sailing, and games provide an unacademic setting for the lectures and other educational efforts. About 20,000 persons on the average are resident at Chautauqua at the same time, but the greater number of these can hardly be considered to be students, as only about 3,000 every year enrol for courses of lectures. The lectures and concerts are regarded by most as popular entertainments. The activities at Chautauqua which may be classed as purely educational are of two chief kinds, lectures to large general audiences and courses of lectures and classes given to those who devote some time to study. The lectures to general audiences may be easily imagined: they are common in all parts of the United States and at all times of the year. The study courses are more important from our present point of view. A full course lasting for six weeks costs the student about £1 10s. The lectures are given in groups of ten, and they include in the subjects, English, literature, modern languages, classical languages and art, mathematics, science and education. The science classes, for which the same fee is payable, include demonstrations and experiments.

There are on an average about 110 instructors and lecturers at Chautauqua every year and about 300 courses are given. Fifty courses are given on what are called academic subjects, such as literature and economics, and twenty courses are for the training of teachers. There are fifty scholarships available for teachers in the public schools, by which the holders are enabled to attend the lectures and pay all expenses. In addition to the original foundation at Chautauqua in New York State there are now about 1,500 other summer settlements and schools of the same kind in various parts of the United States, and many of these have adopted the name of Chautauqua.

Another interesting example of education at work amongst adults in the United States is the People's Institute of New York City. This may be taken as typical of the many institutions which offer lectures and classes in the great cities, such as the Brooklyn Institute, the Ford Hall meetings in Boston and about four hundred others in all parts of the United States. The People's Institute was founded in 1897 for the organisation of discussions on subjects of political, economic and social importance. The object is the development of the sense of citizenship and of the knowledge necessary to all citizens in a democracy. The method used is that of popular lectures to large audiences with free discussion. Courses on modern psychology have been given at the Cooper Union Hall of the People's Institute to audiences of over 500, on the "Solution of health problems through community action" and other similar subjects. The institute has been the centre for musical and dramatic groups and for the development of local "settlement" work or night school classes in the public school buildings.

A great part of the activities of all such institutions in the United States is political education in the widest sense of the phrase. Many of the Cooper Union audience are immigrants who, although for some years resident in New York, are still insufficiently informed about the political life of their adopted country. This is a peculiar difficulty in America. But the institutes of which we have spoken are not intended mainly to educate foreigners: they are for the use of all citizens and their courses of lectures are intended to train the political judgment and to give political information. It is not possible to rely for these purposes upon the political parties or upon the newspapers; and the consequence has been that an increasing amount of genuine political education is being done by the popular lecturers at the institutes.

Perhaps the most significant development in the sphere of adult education in the United States is that which is taking place in the trade union movement. Special reference may be made to the recently established United Labour Education Committee of New York. In recent years certain unions in New York have appointed education directors. It was realised that the provision of adequate educational facilities for trade union members was possible only through the co-operation of interested trade unions. The experimental work which had been carried on prior to the establishment of the Committee has been met by difficulties, some of which have hampered the growth of adult education amongst working people in this country. The trade unions in New York who attempted educational work provided systematic classes in economic and social subjects, as well as in English, Yiddish, and similar auxiliary subjects. The results were regarded as disappointing, and the number of students who attended the classes was small. The partial failure of the schemes was attributed to the fact that provision was made for classes before steps had been taken to stimulate and organise the demand. It was also found that membership of the unions was spread over so wide an area of the City of New York that distances were too great for the classes to serve even the limited number of people who are anxious to undertake systematic study. As the Chairman of the United Labour Education Committee has said, the distance from the homes of members to the places where the classes were held "involved for them so many hardships and sacrifices as to overweigh the desire for education or as to make them look for substitute facilities, even if of a less satisfactory nature, within their own vicinity. Moreover, many of the members of labour organisations who made some provision for education found that the classes arranged were either too elementary in character or too limited in their choice of subject to satisfy their own particular needs." One of the chief difficulties was to be found in the organisation of the trade unions. None of these bodies succeeded in creating adequate machinery for the work which they desired to undertake. Trade union organisation, which was developed for an entirely different purpose, proved inadequate for the provision of educational facilities, and its organisation was too rigid to adapt itself to the educational needs of the unions. The educational directors, therefore, were more or less left without that administrative and organising assistance which was essential. As a result of these considerations and the experience of the trade unions interested, it was decided to federate trade union bodies for educational purposes. The United Labour Education Committee was formed, and its affiliated organisations at present are the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the Fancy Leather Goods Workers' Union, the Furriers' Union Joint Board, the Jewelry Workers' Union, the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, the Women's Trade Union League, and the Workmen's Circle. The United

Labour Education Committee consists of two members from every organisation having a membership of over 20,000, and one member each from those with a smaller membership, these members being selected from the central bodies of their organisation. The Chairman of the Committee has expressed the purpose and intentions of the new organisation as follows:—

“The task which the Committee faces is enormous. The total membership under the jurisdiction of the Committee in the City of New York alone is, in round numbers, 150,000. A broad-visioned, systematic educational campaign, having as its purpose to wake, develop and strengthen the inherent strivings of the people to the higher ideals of humanity and of human nature to the fulness and the beauty in life and to supply adequate mental food for their intellectual and psychological life, is connected with such enormous difficulties that the Committee feels that the mobilisation of all the men of Science, Art and Labour, who have this task at heart, will be absolutely indispensable. Moreover, the Committee realises that if the educational work is to accomplish its purpose and to reach the greater part of these 150,000 members and their dependents, it will have to create a very considerable number of carriers of this educational work, from the ranks of the labour masses themselves. It is felt that this great membership contains within itself a very considerable number of potential intellectual elements, who under necessary guidance and with satisfactory and competent preliminary training, could become a strong connecting link between the higher modern provinces of science and art and the workaday life of the labourer. The Committee realises that one of the most essential first steps in its activities must be these attempts—first, to mobilise all the representative men of Art, Science and Labour who have the cause of education at heart; and, second, to promote the springing up out of the ranks of labour of a substantial educated and responsive nucleus. Moreover, with the present unsettled time of reconstruction setting in, the necessity of creating a greater mutual understanding and promoting an ‘entente cordiale’ among Labour, Science and Art, the paramount factors of human progress, is becoming ever more desirable.”

Although the United Labour Education Committee was but recently instituted, it has already commenced work. “Art, Science and Labour Centres” have been established in all the residential sections of the City of New York. They are conducted on Saturday evenings or Sunday afternoons, the programme consisting of a lecture, music, and “educational moving pictures.” Classes in subjects of interest to the members of the trade union movement, in sociology and economics are conducted in the same centres on week-days, as well as classes in elementary and advanced English. These classes are called for owing to the large number of members of alien nationality. A section has been established “aiming to establish a theatre for the people, giving productions of modern art at a charge of \$1 for three performances for members of the organisations affiliated with the United Labour Education Committee and \$3.50 for other persons, with no classification of seats, people being seated by lot.” The section is under the guidance of a special Workmen’s Theatre Committee, which includes a number of people prominently identified with the stage.

There is also a section on music “with the aim of supplying music for all our membership and of arranging symphony orchestra concerts on the same basis as the Workmen’s Theatre for workmen, and of developing folk-music and understanding of music in general.” A committee of

experts has been appointed to further this object. Of particular interest is the Workmen's University Seminar, which may be described in the words of the Chairman of the United Committee:—

“ In order to create a substantial educating force within the ranks of Labour itself, the Committee plans to arrange a special auxiliary seminar, consisting of about from 75 to 150 selected members from the hundreds of locals affiliated with our Committee, the admission of members to the classes to be determined by their fitness and readiness to devote their energies and the training and higher education which the seminar will give them to the educational work of the Committee. This auxiliary seminar, or whatever name it will eventually adopt, is planned to be conducted on the lines in which the university seminaries for post-graduates usually are, with such modifications as the element and the special task may make necessary or as the instructors of the class may find advisable. It is planned that the class shall be under the guidance of the best authorities on labour, industrial and social problems and history, which the Committee may be able to procure.”

We have dealt at some length with the United Labour Education Committee, although its programme of work is still for the most part a project to be accomplished, because it represents a spontaneous movement on the part of organised Labour towards the provision of non-vocational adult education. Not the least interesting fact regarding the United Committee is that the affiliated organisations are largely composed of women workers. Whilst the Committee proposes to arrange concerts, cinema shows, visits to art galleries, debates and general lectures, it stresses the need for more serious and more systematic study. The insistence on the importance of seeking the co-operation of scholars wherever they may be found provides an interesting parallel with the procedure of the Workers' Educational Association in this country. At the outset the Committee is taking steps by means of its seminar to provide a steady stream of people from within the ranks of organised Labour to take part in the educational work of the Committee. The provision of teachers, which is now becoming an acute problem in this country, is referred to elsewhere in this Report, and the recommendations we make are based upon the necessity for adult educational movements providing more and more in the future from within their own ranks tutors and lecturers.

Another recent development in the United States is the establishment of a Trade Union College at Boston, Mass. This College, which is to open in the autumn of 1919, is maintained by the organised workers of Boston for the use of trade union members. The Governing Committee includes representatives of the organisations of transport workers, painters, tobacco strippers, freestone cutters, milk waggon drivers, shorthand writers, etc. The classes will be held in the evenings and attendance is to be confined to members of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labour. The Boston College has adopted the same principle of co-operation with the academic world as the United Labour Education Committee of New York, and the teachers are to be drawn from various universities, for example Harvard, Yale, Columbia, etc., and from the School of Social Research in New York.

### (C) EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

In France the State system of education is highly developed and makes considerable provision for the vocational training of adults; but non-vocational Adult Education is maintained chiefly by voluntary associations, assisted by the public authorities. The *Universités Populaires*



are perhaps the most interesting of all the French institutions for Adult Education. They came into existence about the year 1900 and there were 138 in existence in 1903. The idea was an old one. Societies of working men for study and discussion were the natural results of the industrial system and the growth of democracy; but it was not until the close of the nineteenth century that the idea of Adult Education really caught the imagination of the working classes in France. In Paris some *Universités Populaires* were formed under the influence of professors and students of the University; but others were formed both in Paris and elsewhere by the *syndicats* or trade unions; and the character of the instruction varies greatly in the different parts of Paris and in the provincial towns and villages. The general idea has been officially described by the Secretary of the Central Society of the *Universités Populaires* as follows:—"A *Université Populaire* is a secular association for the development of the higher education of the people, which serves to further the mutual education of citizens of every condition, which provides places of meeting to which the worker can come when his day's toil is ended, to learn, to rest and to amuse himself." Obviously, therefore, some of these institutions are working men's clubs, some are lecture societies and others are merely appendages of a local co-operative society or local branch of a *syndicat*.

Series of lectures are given where the *Université Populaire* is in touch with University professors and students, and in such centres groups are formed for the special study and discussion of literature and philosophy. There was a considerable decrease in the number of *Universités Populaires* in the years immediately preceding the war. In 1912-13 there were 136, and in 1913-14 only 85. Naturally, the abnormal situation in the early part of the war led to still more rapid decrease, and the movement almost disappeared. Latterly the number increased again from 30 in 1916-17 to 44 in 1917-18. But it appears from the official report that they are generally groups for reading in common rather than audiences for lectures or classes.

The whole conception is being changed. Entertainment and current information appear to be more desired than a thorough education, and the character of the groups is, therefore, changing. It is evident that the movement has lost its initial vitality; and those who are best qualified to judge suggest that the two reasons for the failure of the scheme are (1) the effect of political passions and (2) the lack of continuity in the subjects studied. The industrial and political situation in France, as is well known, creates great hostility between the more intelligent members of the working class and the bourgeoisie; it is, therefore, difficult to remove all atmosphere of controversy from Adult Education. Secondly, the worker is inclined to question the use of a succession of courses on disconnected subjects, and he discovers no tangible result accruing to him from such "general" education.

The idea of the popular university, although it originated in France, has had a more effective growth elsewhere. We shall mention the Italian scheme in detail below; but it may be noted here that popular universities of the French kind had, before the war, developed also in Belgium, Austria-Hungary and Norway. The movement spread from France to Spain (Valenza) in 1903, and in the following year a People's University was established, which since 1906 has received a small annual grant from the State.

The chief organisation for adult education in Italy is that of the *Università Popolari*. In almost every city and large town such an organisation is to be found, but, as in the case of France, the character of the *Università popolare* differs considerably in the different cities. In

most cases there are very few working men or women attending the classes, and the audience is generally more like that of our university extension than like that of the tutorial classes. Again, the courses of eight lessons are not generally inter-related, but the same audience will continue to attend a succession dealing with completely different subjects. These limitations in their use do not, however, prevent the *Università popolare* from contributing largely to the purpose of adult education. In the city of Milan, for example, in 1913 there were 45 different classes being carried on in different parts of the city at the same time, and these were attended solely by working men. The courses were of eight lectures and classes and the subjects included the elements of political economy, sound and light, social hygiene, &c. These attempts at popular education are strongly supported by the municipality, which is predominantly socialistic. As an accompaniment to the *Università Popolari*, a series of books has been issued for use in classes. These books are published jointly by the *Università Popolare* of Milan and the *Federazione Italiana delle Biblioteche Popolari*. The subjects include physical science, economics, history, current social problems, arts and classical literature. The books are published at less than a shilling for those which are not illustrated, and the relevant volumes are given gratuitously to all who attend the classes.

In Spain adult education is carried on under a system of university extension lectures and by the *Universidad Popular*. The former is consciously modelled on that of England; the latter is similar to the popular universities of the other Latin countries.

The Danish People's High Schools are unique in character. They are boarding schools for adults, which are not vocational but cultural in their purposes. The first high school established at Rodding in 1844 was the result of the work of Bishop N. F. S. Grundtvig (1783-1872). If Grundtvig provided the ultimate ideal for the education of adults, the method of teaching was largely due to the inspiration of Kristen Kold (1816-1870), the son of a shoemaker, who proved the excellence of a more vital system of teaching than that practised in the State schools of the time. It was through Kold that the People's High School became a genuinely democratic institution attracting chiefly the peasantry. Political divisions between the landowning class and the peasantry created hostility, in the years following 1870, to the People's High Schools among the bourgeoisie, but since 1901 the democratic tendency in Denmark has been in the ascendant and strong state support has been given to the schools.

Agricultural Schools were at one time founded in opposition to the People's High Schools, for it was argued by some that the basis of education for the rural population should be occupational and not general. It has been found possible, however, to continue both movements, and there are now in existence, but no longer in opposition, both People's High Schools and Agricultural Schools. The number of People's High Schools in 1911 was 80 and of Agricultural Schools, 19. The majority of the schools—73 out of 99—are owned by their Principals, and 24 are owned by shareholders, of whom the Principal is generally one. State aid and assistance from the local authorities are given, but the amounts are not large. There is a State Inspector who reports on all the schools, but his powers are very limited and his chief activity appears to be the collection and publication of statistics. Those who control the schools have successfully resisted all attempts at testing their efficiency by examinations. The schools are situated in country districts and the building and apparatus are of the simplest kind. There is generally only one large building, including common-rooms, class-

rooms and dormitories; but there is often a large amount of land attached to the school, for the growth of foodstuffs and for experiment. The teachers are generally young, about 46 per cent. of the men being under 35 years and over 50 per cent. of the women under 30 years. Some are part-time teachers, who are otherwise employed in the public schools or as local pastors. An association of teachers, recently formed, has secured uniform tuition rates.

About 7,000 young men and women in any one year are studying at the People's High Schools and the Agricultural Schools. The average age of the students is between 18 and 25. More than 60 per cent. of the boys and about 80 per cent. of the girls are already earning wages, and they pay their own expenses at the schools or depend upon scholarships. About half are the children of farmers working more than 20 acres of land, and about 20 per cent. are children of smaller farmers. There is apparently a tendency to distinguish between different schools as schools for richer and schools for poorer students. But the average cost for the course of five or three months is low, amounting to a little over £10, if tuition, books and other expenses are included. There are scholarships granted by the State—2,658 being awarded in 1910-1911. The boys usually attend for five months from November to March and the girls for three months from May to July; but there is no obligation on any one to stay for the full course. The character of the education given during the five or three months' course in the High Schools is partly the effect of the communal life, partly the effect of the subjects taught and the method of teaching. In every school the atmosphere is free and democratic, the Principal and his wife are in close touch with the students, and in most cases the whole body of students in residence at the school attend the same classes. The average number of students in each school is 29, but the numbers vary from 3 to 150, the smaller schools being in the majority. The chief subjects taught are Danish and history. The study of the Bible and religious subjects fill a large place at most of the schools; and the method is such as to dramatise and vitalise the historic development of the nation and the place which individual citizens can fill in that development. Great attention is given to arithmetic, and some form of physical science and gymnastics is practised every day. The curriculum, however, varies considerably in detail in the different schools. The course for boys is only different from that for girls, in so far as agriculture takes the place in the boys' curriculum, which is filled in the girls' by domestic science and art.

Another striking example of adult education in Denmark is to be found in the Lecture Society. There are about one thousand such societies in existence with ten meetings a year, having at each meeting an average attendance of one hundred persons. At these meetings papers are read and discussions initiated by the members, and the result has been a very rapid development of thought and action in the field of political and social interests.

In Austria before the war there was a Union of Associations for Adult Education, founded in 1893, and including in 1911 as many as 24 Associations. This was almost entirely for the German-speaking population of Austria proper, and was concerned with the provision of libraries, lectures, classes and concerts. Arrangements were also made for cheap popular travel to such places as Venice.

University extension, modelled on the English system, was begun in Vienna in 1890, and in the two following sessions 20 courses were given and 2,000 students attended. In the year 1905-6 there were 80 courses given in Vienna, with 11,339 students in attendance. Outside Vienna in 1906-7 there were 30 courses, with 8,435 students. As a result

of the university extension courses in Vienna, the *Volksheim* (People's Home) was established in 1901. There were 23 courses of lectures in the first year delivered in the building, which was also provided with reading rooms and library. In 1903 there were 81 courses, with 2,372 students, and a large new building was opened in place of the old building in November, 1905. It is in a popular quarter of Vienna, and is a four-storied building, with a large central hall seating 800 persons. Smaller halls seat 200 and 50, respectively, and there are reading rooms and physical and chemical laboratories. There are rooms for debates or meetings, and on the top floor there is a studio. The *Volksheim* carries on a wide range of activities. University extension courses were begun at Budapest in 1902, and in the year 1910-11 there were 18 courses delivered there, with about 600 people in attendance. The character of the movement does not seem to be in any way different from that with which we are familiar here.

In Germany, before the war, there was a growing movement for closer relations between the Universities and the people. Groups of students and professors at about 25 Universities, therefore, organised popular lectures and classes. These were not simply provided for the leisured or middle class, but aimed at instruction for working people. The chief subjects taught were the German language and arithmetic. During 1910-11 there were 136 courses in German and 121 in arithmetic, and there were in all subjects 10,979 students, principally workers. In Leipzig, for example, the students included a certain number of shop assistants and tradesmen, printers and compositors, and one-fifth of the students were women. The lectures and classes were generally held in the evenings of the winter months, but there were also holiday courses. There was also in Germany an organisation of People's High Schools on the Danish model. This organisation aimed chiefly at education in rural districts, and it followed much the same lines as the Danish system.

One of the earlier experiments made by the Labour movement in Germany was the Workers' School in Berlin, which was founded in 1891 in great part through the energy of Wilhelm Leibknecht. Its activities are carried on by means of evening classes in history, political economy and natural science. The more ambitious programme attempted at first has been curtailed. The School takes rooms in six districts of Berlin, at which courses of 10 lessons each were given at a charge of one mark for the course. A library, with 2,750 volumes, is at the service of students. The total number of students who have passed through the classes from 1891 to 1914 amounts to 15,000. In 1914 it was decided that the School should be subordinated to the general plan for the workers' education under the Education Committee for Greater Berlin, to which reference is made below.

The Labour movement in Berlin since 1887 has supported special theatrical performances, which, with some vicissitudes, were continued under the control of two societies—the *Freie Volksbühne* and the *Neue Freie Volksbühne*. In 1907 the 7,000 members of the latter were nearly all working people, and in 1914 the membership was composed as follows:—35 per cent. artisans, skilled workers and married women; 9 per cent. unskilled workers; 20 per cent. commercial clerks; 12 per cent. tailoresses, typists, &c.; 10 per cent. teachers and officials; 14 per cent. independent tradesmen. A people's theatre was erected in the Bülowplatz, which seats 2,000 persons. The total cost was about £216,000, of which £21,000 had been collected before the war. The theatre was opened in October, 1914.

The German Labour movement in general has taken an active interest in education in recent years and has organised lectures, classes and entertainments on an extensive scale. The Social Democratic Party decided, at its Congress at Mannheim in 1906, to devote some attention to the education of its members, and the Trade Union Congress at Dresden in 1911 made a similar decision. The result was that Education Committees were established for this purpose. In 1909 there were 124 in the German Empire, and in 1914 there were 287 local and 63 district Education Committees of the Social Democratic Party. In 1912 a District Education Committee was founded for the whole of Greater Berlin, and during the winter of 1913-14, 36 courses were arranged by the Committee. The subjects dealt with included "The scientific basis of the modern Labour movement," socialism, general political history, &c. There were 42 scientific lectures and two Beethoven concerts. The trade unions in Berlin have their own libraries. Forty-two trade unions possess amongst them 34 libraries, containing in all 55,916 volumes.

In almost every country there are to be found voluntary agencies of one kind or another concerned with adult education. Besides these, in many countries, national ballads and music, folk poetry and dances are important instruments of culture, and means of maintaining and developing a common social consciousness. It would take us too far afield to attempt an analysis of the influence of national literature and music upon the mind and character of peoples; but we are convinced that it travels far beyond the influence exerted by more formal educational agencies.

In closing this brief survey, we must refer to the interchange of experience which was an important feature before the war. Many foreign students attended extension summer meetings in this country, and, as we have already mentioned, foreign students were before the war to be found in residence at Ruskin College, Woodbrooke and Fircroft. Parties of adult school members and members of the W.E.A. have on more than one occasion visited Denmark and Germany, and the influence of the Danish High Schools on adult education in this country, chiefly through the medium of English adult schools, was very marked. On the other hand, the Workers' Educational Association and the Adult School movement have been a stimulus to development, not only in the overseas Dominions, but elsewhere. We may refer here to the proposals which have been made for the organised interchange of students and tutors between this country and the Dominions. A word may also be said regarding the modern language courses arranged before the war, primarily for teachers, in certain continental towns, *e.g.*, Caen, Tours, and which were attended by language teachers from this country. Many Local Education Authorities made a practice of providing scholarships to enable their teachers to take advantage of these courses.

Of the value of the organised interchange of visits between students of different countries there can be no doubt, and we hope that the bonds which were forged by the good will and enthusiasm of people in various countries before the war will be speedily strengthened and increased. There is no surer way of uniting the peoples of the world in friendship than by the personal association of men and women with common interests, more especially when those interests are concerned with the things of the mind and the spirit, transcending national frontiers and ignoring political barriers.

## APPENDIX II.

EXTRACTS FROM THE FINAL REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON  
UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN LONDON. [Cd. 6,717.] 1913.

## UNIVERSITY CLASSES FOR WORKING MEN AND WOMEN.

79. There is, however, one class of adult student for whom the university should, in our opinion, make further provision than that just indicated, though they will also, no doubt, benefit by some of the evening courses given in the day colleges. We refer to the large and increasing body of workers whose needs and desires have found expression through the Workers' Educational Association. We have been greatly impressed by the remarkable progress already made by that Association under the inspiring guidance of its general secretary, in arranging classes of a university standard for working men and women. We are even more impressed by the true spirit of learning, the earnest desire for knowledge, and the tenacity of purpose which have been shown by the students. These men and women desire knowledge, not diplomas or degrees, and we think that no university, and, above all, no city university, would justify its existence that did not do its utmost to help and encourage work of this kind. Such work is not essential to a university in the narrower sense of being a condition of its existence, but it is essential in the broader view, which lays upon a great seat of learning the duty of using its talents to the utmost, and offering its treasures freely to all who can benefit by them and sincerely desire to do so. In the branches of study which have proved most attractive to these students the benefit is reciprocal. The intimate personal knowledge the workers have of many important social and economic problems throws a light upon the history of industry, and on the relation of capital to labour, which is of inestimable value to the teacher and investigator. Systematic inquiries have been conducted that would have been impossible without the active and intelligent assistance of the workers, and we understand that some of the students themselves have made independent investigations under the guidance of their tutors. We think, therefore, that the University of London should be so organised and endowed as to enable it to establish and maintain a special centre to be identified with the work done in conjunction with the Workers' Educational Association, and to serve the social as well as the intellectual needs of its students. In a later part of our Report (*see* paragraph 411) we shall explain how we think this can be done. But we must point out here that although we think this special provision should be made by the University itself, the University will not be in the position to undertake this important work successfully unless it has previously obtained the means of providing satisfactorily for its own undergraduate and graduate students, and for its own professoriate. Unless the University has a distinguished and properly paid body of teachers who will constantly be sending out able and well-trained young graduates, the supply of teachers necessary for the conduct of the rapidly increasing number of classes for working men and women will fail at its source. The stronger the University can be made for its primary duties, the better it will be able to help forward this new and hopeful movement.

## UNIVERSITY EXTENSION WORK.

409. Under the Statutes of the University, the Board to Promote the Extension of University Teaching, apart from its members *ex officio*, consists wholly of members of the Senate elected by the Senate. In this respect it differs widely from the other two Standing Committees of the Senate; it is, moreover, a much smaller body. The duties of this Board are to advise the Senate upon the means best adapted to encourage and extend teaching of a university standard within the appointed radius; and upon the admission to any of the privileges of matriculated students (other than that of proceeding to a degree) of any person who may have profited by such teaching, and generally upon the subject of university extension and its relation to the teaching and courses of study of the University. Although the work of the Board was thus of a pioneer character, it almost immediately undertook important duties under a further Statute, which empowered the Senate, with the consent of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, respectively, to take over and, on the advice of this Board, to "perform all or any of the duties at present performed within the appointed radius by the Universities' Joint Board of the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching." This transfer of duties was effected in October, 1902, when the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge had already carried on the work for twenty-five years; its magnitude at that time is sufficiently indicated by the fact that in the last session 167 courses of lectures had been delivered at about 70 centres in different parts of the metropolitan area, the total number of entries being 15,204, while nearly 2,000 certificates had been awarded on the results of the examinations held at the close of the courses. It is recorded in the University Calendar for 1912-13 (p. 32) that the vigour and success of the work has been fully maintained since its transfer to the University of London, and we have no reason to doubt that this statement is accurate. But the real defect of the university extension system as a whole is laid bare in the next sentence in the Calendar, in which it is stated that in 1908 the Senate, in order to encourage thoroughness and continuity of work on the part of university extension students, established diplomas in history, in literature, and economics and social science, to be awarded for an approved four years' course of work, tested by examination. This important step was taken while the late Dr. R. D. Roberts was Registrar to the Board, and the attempt to bring into the movement in this way a larger number of serious students was conceived in a spirit which must secure the approval of everyone who is interested in maintaining a high standard of teaching. In some of the smaller classes and in some of the longer courses there is no doubt that work of a university standard is done by some at least of the students. But the conditions under which the ordinary extension courses have been given, the necessity that most of them should be maintained out of the fees of the students, the fact that most of the lecturers have not been university teachers, but men who confine their teaching to giving these lectures, and that the majority of the students, though doubtless interested in intellectual things, have not been prepared to do serious work, make it impossible for a university standard to be reached in most cases. A few of the students do admirable work, and the courses have undoubtedly been the means of discovering here and there men and women who, without their stimulus and assistance, might never have learned to study in the university spirit. Extension lectures are also a most valuable agency for bringing large numbers of persons into touch with the University and into sympathy with its ideals. With all its limitations, it is work of great value, which we desire to see extended and strengthened.

410. There is, however, another side of the extension work of the University which is more uniformly maintained at a high level. The University Board for the Extension of University Teaching is assisted in the selection of teachers for classes organised in connection with the Workers' Educational Association, and in deciding the subjects upon which lectures should be given to these classes, by a joint committee of 14 persons, seven of whom are appointed by the University, and seven by the Workers' Educational Association and other labour organisations. The classes here referred to are limited to a maximum of 30 students, are tutorial in their nature and not ordinary extension lectures. The students pledge themselves to regular attendance, so far as the conditions of their employment permit, and undertake to be regular in writing essays bearing upon the subject of the course. These classes open out a new and hopeful field for the spread of a pure love of learning—the main function of a university. We have already expressed our admiration of the results that have been attained by this Association in co-operation with all the universities, and we have quoted a passage from a special report made by two inspectors of the Board of Education (*see* paragraph 67). That passage, which defines in clear and admirable language the meaning of university education, is followed by another in which the inspectors say that they have applied the test to the work of the tutorial classes, and that “If . . . . the question be “put whether, so far as they go, and within the limits of time and “available energy, the classes are conducted in the spirit which we have “described, and tend to accustom the student to the ideal of work “familiar at a university, we can answer with an unhesitating affirmative; and in particular, the treatment both of history and economics “is scientific and detached in character. As regards the standard “reached, there are students whose essays compare favourably with “the best academic work.” This result is due partly, no doubt, to the fact that the teachers are nearly all of them men actually engaged in university teaching, and not men making their living by conducting tutorial classes, but quite as much it is due to the enthusiasm, the zeal, and the sincere desire for truth animating the students, who are drawn almost entirely from the working classes. There is, indeed, another condition making for the thoroughness of the teaching, and that is the considerable amount of financial aid which is forthcoming from the Board of Education and from the London County Council. Without this aid, it would be impossible to keep the classes as small as Mr. Mansbridge shows that they are at present. His evidence also indicates that the University of London is enabled to exercise a proper control over the tutorial classes within its area.<sup>1</sup>

411. At first, no doubt, the classes of the Workers' Educational Association were devoted to a study of those sides of history and theory which seemed to bear most closely upon the needs and difficulties of the worker in the modern industrial state. That was right and proper, for men and women of adult years, no less than younger students, will do the best work where their interests lie. Already, however, a demand is growing up for courses in literature and other subjects of value for their time of leisure, and we believe this demand will grow, until the students of the Workers' Educational Association will realise one of the greatest truths a university can enforce—the essential unity of knowledge. We think the University should consider the work it is doing for these men and women one of the most serious and important of its services to the metropolis, and that it ought to provide a well-equipped

<sup>1</sup> *Appendix to Final Report, p. 143.* Google



building in a convenient situation as the visible centre of the movement, where courses of lectures could be given by the best teachers, including, from time to time, lectures and addresses by the professors of the University; where debates could be held, and the students meet for social intercourse. The University already possesses in the Goldsmiths' College a building admirably suited for the purpose, and situated close to the homes of many thousands of the students it should attract. This building should be used in the evenings, on Saturday afternoons, and on Sundays, as the chief university centre for tutorial class students, and a residence should be provided within its walls, if possible, for a warden, who would be responsible for the organisation of its work and social life.

412. The Senate should appoint a suitably constituted committee, or, possibly, two separate committees, to supervise these two sides of the extension work of the University, but the duty of supervising the conditions of entry to the University should not be entrusted to them, as some of the witnesses who appeared before us have urged. The services of a secretary, who would devote himself to this branch of the administration, would be required.

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### APPENDIX III.

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EXTRACTS from the Final Report of the Royal Commission on University Education in Wales. [Cd. 8991.] 1918.

#### THE EXTRA-MURAL STUDENT.

129. The provision that the University and the Colleges can make for the extra-mural student falls for our present purpose under two heads: there is the organisation and direction of education in more or less special branches, the study of which does not need to be concentrated in one place, but, on the contrary, requires to be widely diffused if it is to be entirely successful, and in which the direction of the University is required in respect of students both below and above the normal age for attendance at the Colleges. There is, in the next place, the function of bringing, by means of tutorial classes, the opportunities of study on a university plane to the doors of those who are already pursuing some career, but have the necessary desire for self-improvement and the energy to pursue it along with their ordinary vocations. We have had some interesting and valuable evidence on both these matters.

130. Types of the first kind of work may be found in Music and in the Arts and Crafts allied to Architecture. We reserve for a later page what we have to say about Music, as the important place it fills in Welsh life requires that it should have a place to itself in our Report. Miss Rathbone drew attention to the neglect of Arts and Crafts in North Wales. "One is met on every hand by the poor condition of architecture. It is an extraordinary condition of things for people of so much taste as the Welsh have naturally." But one hopeful fact, she says, is that "the native stone-masons and stone-cutters, the smiths and joiners of North Wales, are notable craftsmen, and it is out of these native crafts that a truly national art will grow." Her hope is to see the College found a School of Crafts somewhat on the lines of the London County Council School of Building. Lectures by men who have distinguished themselves in careers allied to the subject should be given to students of the School and be open to the public. But

after that, "the only way to develop fine art is to base it on the crafts of the district. . . . If we start with a mere professor of fine arts and nothing else, it will end in the air." The witness agreed that the full development of her idea would require close co-operation between the College and the Local Education Authorities in whose sphere the earlier stages, at any rate, of the students' work would fall. A very interesting extension of Miss Rathbone's scheme into the sphere of town-planning will be found in Mr. Lleufer Thomas's statement of evidence. In South Wales he would have the College recognise, as far as it can, work in Architecture done at local Technical Schools as leading up to and forming part of a degree course, and he referred to the growing interest of the miners in the subject of town-planning. "I believe," he says in a later answer, "that there is latent in the soul of the people a love of beautiful things, and of beauty, but, speaking generally, there is too little house-pride and too little care, at all events, of gardens and of the surroundings of houses." One reason why so much importance is attached in Wales to the University undertaking some things which in England are often provided by Local Education Authorities may be found in another answer by Mr. Lleufer Thomas:—

"We have to depend for the quality of the teaching in our schools entirely upon the University, and unless those who become teachers in the schools are really brought into touch with this kind of teaching at the University . . . they may have no message to take to the people in the country."

131. Turning to our second class of extra-mural work, we have been greatly struck by the earnest and hopeful spirit in which witnesses have spoken of University tutorial classes for adults who are already workers. The Colleges have made a good beginning with such classes in co-operation with the Workers' Educational Association, but they feel that it is only a beginning and that, in Sir H. Reichel's words, "there are all sorts of possibilities in connection with this great W.E.A. movement." To all who desire to see the Welsh University brought into living contact with the Welsh people, we commend the study of the evidence given to us by Mr. Robert Richards, the Bangor College Lecturer to the Tutorial Classes in Economics, by Mr. Silyn Roberts, who started the experiment in connection with the Quarrymen's Union at Festiniog, and by the representatives of the Workers' Educational Association, Mr. Lleufer Thomas, Mr. Phillip Thomas, and Dr. Stanley Watkins.

132. So far the demand for this kind of instruction has been confined to the industrial centres and has hardly touched rural Wales; women have taken but a small part in it; and the range of subjects has seldom extended beyond economics and industrial history. In the industrial areas the demand among workers for education of a university standard and a non-vocational nature is said to be very great. "It is not," says Mr. Lleufer Thomas, "something we desire to stimulate; we are trying to guide it in the right direction, but there is a large volume of existing demand on the part of the workers for it which we are not able to meet, as we have not the funds and cannot provide the teachers and libraries." In the rural areas the demand is believed to exist also, but it has hardly yet found a voice, and has to be evoked if not created. "My idea is," said Mr. Richards, "that we should try, by means of these classes, to revive village life." And again, "I do not think there would be any difficulty at all in establishing classes in almost every hamlet in Wales." Mr. Silyn Roberts takes the same hopeful view.

133. There is a general desire amongst those interested in the movement to see women take a more active part in it. A considerable number of those who have hitherto done so have been teachers who attended

with examinations in view. In the Festiniog case women do not appear to have been invited. Mr. Richards tells us he found some prejudice at first against their attendance, but that this has disappeared. In South Wales women are said to be taking an active part on local branches of the Workers' Educational Association, though their actual attendance at classes is very small. There must be many women for whom the present preference for economic subjects is not very attractive, but we are told that "where women are earning their living in factories or some such work, they take interest in these subjects and come there to understand them."

134. The excessive preponderance of classes in economics, whether for men or women, is not likely to be a permanent feature. As Mr. Thomas Jones pointed out, "the men who take advantage of the classes feel acutely their economic and social conditions first of all, but I am quite sure they are not going to be satisfied with economics; they will hunger and thirst for other subjects." Much more might be done in history, English and Welsh literature, philosophy, art and music. Mr. Lleufer Thomas tells us that "there is a great field for the history of Wales and the literature of Wales as an instrument of culture in the rural Welsh-speaking districts . . . because we have an existing tradition of peasant culture already in the villages." All the witnesses thought agricultural economics a hopeful subject, also horticulture and forestry, in spite of their approximation to the vocational side of instruction. Speaking of the North Wales quarrymen, Mr. Richards thought he could "detect an interesting change in their intellectual standpoint recently. Owing to the conditions of their employment, there is a considerable amount of leisure in quarrying, and the result is there is a great deal of discussion and debate, especially during the dinner hour. Formerly the great subject was theology and still on Mondays theology has the run; but on other days of the week other subjects are becoming quite popular." He goes on to say that some would prefer Welsh literature and history, and that in his opinion Greek Philosophy "would be a very popular subject."

135. The provision of teachers of the right quality is felt to be a great difficulty. The occasional participation of the University Professor in the work is desirable and, indeed, vital if the University atmosphere and standard are to be maintained. But, of course, he cannot often be spared, and those who do the bulk of the work must be young, to stand the travelling, and must give themselves up to the work with enthusiasm. The representatives of the Workers' Educational Association emphasised the need for guarantees that the teacher was of the right type and able to keep the work at the true University level; they would secure this by the constitution of a joint committee of their own body and the University or the College, which would be responsible for the selection of tutors; secondly, by the teachers being given a recognised position on the College staff, so that they may take some part in the College work, and so keep thoroughly in the University atmosphere; and thirdly, they would have all the tutorial classes inspected by the Board of Education. Mr. Richards laid greater stress on the recruiting of local teachers. "My idea was that in each centre where "we have these classes there should be, so to speak, a small university, "with teachers coming down from the University College once a week "on various nights, and so gradually train men who would take lectures "in the outlying parts of the country. I have done that in one or two "cases." The difference between them is not important; one is thinking mainly of an industrial population, while the other is dealing with the rural problem. With the large staff that would be required on either

view, the question naturally arises whether an able young man would find a sufficient opening for a career in this work. Mr. Lleufer Thomas wishes to see the proposed joint committees put in a position "to give some guarantee of permanency for a number of years, at any rate. . . . We cannot attract the best men for this kind of work unless they realise there is a career for quite a number of years. . . . Our difficulty at the present time is that the whole thing is too precarious for them." It seems not unreasonable to hope that the interest of young graduates of both sexes in this movement may be quickened by the organisation in the Colleges of courses in public administration and social studies such as those suggested to us on behalf of the Aberystwyth College by Messrs. Thomas Jones, F. Llewellyn-Jones, and Lleufer Thomas, and on behalf of Bangor by Sir H. Reichel. The statements submitted by these gentlemen, and the evidence they gave in explanation of them, deserve to be very seriously and widely studied.

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### SOCIAL SCIENCE AND ADMINISTRATION.

259. The considerations we have touched upon in our last section make us look with interest and hopefulness to the movement which has arisen in Wales, as elsewhere, in favour of instituting courses of study which shall be a more direct preparation for the duties of citizenship than any hitherto provided. To begin with, there is special need for such courses from the vocational point of view. Year by year we are placing more and more duties upon local administration, and we are doing but little to provide young people with a training in the history, theory and practice of our institutions and political and social machinery. Under present conditions a large proportion of our municipal and local administration is discharged by men with a legal training. Acts of Parliament and the procedure required by them make this form of training valuable and, to a certain degree, essential; but it would be better if the legal habit were infused with a larger humanistic and scientific spirit, and it is for the University to see that the opportunities for bringing this about are not wanting.

260. But of still greater importance is the need of some such courses for those who will not use them for a directly vocational purpose; courses in which history, economics, natural science, ethics and philosophy generally will find a place, not as specialised studies, but as tending to build up a sound and healthy disposition with regard to the problems of modern life and an enlarged capacity to look at things from other points of view than that of the calling in which each is engaged. The cultivation of such an attitude of mind is desirable for the employer and for the employed; for the minister of religion, the teacher, the doctor and the official, who come daily into contact with the evils and weaknesses of our social and economic systems; and for the great mass of citizens who are more and more feeling the call to devote part of their leisure and energies to some kind of social service.

### THE EXTRA-MURAL STUDENT.

261. We have no doubt that the work of the University and its Colleges outside their walls—the carrying the University to the people—ought to undergo a great and immediate expansion. There is in Wales a great desire both to give and to receive instruction conceived in the true university spirit; and we are glad to find that this movement owes little, if anything, to a supposed desire of the extra-mural student for a degree. The ruling motive is a recognition of the claim of all who are

willing to learn to have the opportunity opened to them as widely and effectively as possible. We do not think the University or College authorities need any spur or any special recommendations from us in this immensely important sphere of their influence. Given the means for organising a proper staff without overtaxing the strength of those who are responsible for the College students, we feel sure that they will take up the work which we have described in §§ 129-35 with the needful energy and enthusiasm. We do, however, think that some further organisation on the side of the University would be of advantage. We recommend the formation of a University Extension Board to deal with the subject, though we consider that its constitution may be left to the University Authorities to determine. Its main function should be to make a general survey of the field. The Colleges will rightly undertake the greater part of the work; but there may be parts of the country left untouched, or certain subjects unnoticed, or a danger of effort and resources being wasted by want of combination; and on all such matters a University Board should be able to intervene with advantage, and to afford common ground for exchange of experience and discussion of new plans. We recommend that the Extension Board should report annually to the Court on the whole subject, and that the reports of the colleges on their own extra-mural work should be presented to the University Court through this Board. Another useful function which the Board should perform would be that of promoting and co-ordinating the work of more special bodies concerned with subjects for which there would be a demand from extra-mural students. It would have to be in close touch with the University College of Medicine, with Public Health Authorities, and with the bodies concerned with Music and Celtic studies. We recommend that it should present to the University Council, from time to time, an estimate of expenditure required for new developments, and that, where these are such as would be better undertaken by the Board than by particular Colleges, the Council should place such grants as they may think fit at the disposal of the Board.

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273. (ii) *Grants from Local Education Authorities.*—In the next place come grants from the Local Education Authorities. Until recently the Local Education Authorities had in general shown little sustained interest in the work of the University and even less inclination to contribute financially towards its expenses. It is true that all the three existing Constituent Colleges undertake a certain amount of extension work in agricultural subjects for County Authorities in their respective areas, and for this work receive from those Authorities payments which are calculated to cover its cost. These are, however, simply payments for specific pieces of work done and are in no sense grants in aid of the general income of the College. Cardiff is the only College which receives anything in the shape of contributions in aid of its general income and, except in the case of an apparently precarious grant from Glamorgan, these are burdened with conditions as to the remission of fees to students coming from the contributing Authorities' areas. When the necessary deduction is made for the expense of the Extension work and for the remission of fees, it appears that the Cardiff College does not receive more than £2,500 a year from Local Education Authority grants in aid of its general maintenance. When it is borne in mind that the annual expenditure of the University and its three Colleges amounts now to between £70,000 and £80,000, the inadequacy of the Welsh Local Authorities' contributions stands out very clearly. We have, however, been glad to see from the evidence given before us that this

is now fully realised by the Local Education Authorities themselves and that a profound modification of their attitude may be looked for as regards the future. It was with the greatest satisfaction that we learned of the proposal, which has gained wide support, for raising a rate of 1d. in the £ over the whole country in aid of university education, and we cannot too strongly express the hope that Wales will successfully carry into effect a project so full of promise for its future welfare. One of the chief conditions of the nation's progress in the difficult times ahead will be its willingness to support and utilise a properly equipped and organised system of higher education. In no way can that willingness find such effective expression as through the action of the popularly elected bodies, upon whom the Education Bill now before Parliament lays the duty of "providing for the progressive development and comprehensive organisation of education in respect of their areas." Wales has made a good beginning with its elementary and secondary schools: it must see to it that their work is not robbed of much of its fruit by any deficiency in the provision of education of the highest grade.

We recommend to the Welsh people with all possible earnestness the scheme which has been put forward for placing at the disposal of the University the produce of 1d. rate over the whole country. Supplemented by an equivalent Government grant such a fund would enable university education in Wales to be at last established on a really worthy basis.

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#### APPENDIX IV.

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EXTRACTS from the Report of the Committee appointed to enquire into the position of Natural Science in the Educational System of Great Britain. [Cd. 9011.] 1918.

##### ADULT EDUCATION.

165. For the most part we have hitherto been considering education organised and systematised in schools and universities, and we have been dealing with students, as yet youthful and immature. There is, however, a class of learners, who are at last making their demands felt, and justly insisting that they should receive, however late in life, the educational opportunities which are due to them: these are largely men and women who have reached maturity without receiving any education which they regard as adequate, and who are eager to make good their deficiencies in knowledge. We are glad to see that a Sub-Committee has been set up by the Reconstruction Committee to consider the needs of these adult students.

The movement is not a new one; in a certain sense it began a hundred years ago with the foundation of Mechanics' Institutes and the work of Dr. Birkbeck, when elementary and technical education were less generally diffused than now. Forty years ago the University Extension system began to provide a considerable amount of extra-mural teaching for students who could neither come into residence nor take a full university course, and though the greater part of the science teaching originally so organised has passed into the hands of Local Education Authorities, it is directly from University Extension that the later tutorial classes and study circles have been developed. It is

only' in the last few years that there has been a considerable growth of adult classes, and it was not until 1904 that the Workers' Educational Association was founded. This latter organisation has created, or at any rate focussed, a remarkable demand for adult education, but up to the present that demand has been chiefly for knowledge of economic, social and historical subjects.

At present, so far as we can learn, the little instruction which is given in science to adults, apart from that provided in technical schools and universities, is conveyed chiefly through the agency of field clubs, natural history societies and mechanics' institutes. If this movement for adult education is to take the important part in the national life which seems to be opening up before it, it is essential that the education which it provides should be wide and liberal and should give opportunities for study not confined to a limited range of intellectual interests. If it is to fulfil this requirement it must assign an adequate place in its scheme to the teaching of natural science. No modern intellectual system can afford to neglect the realm of natural knowledge: to be ignorant of its influences and lessons is to belong to the past and to distrust the future.

166. We are aware that those responsible for the Workers' Educational Association recognise in their programme for educational reconstruction the position of science as "a staple part of an education of the traditional secondary type," and that they recommend that the technical schools should include in their curriculum "the study of the sciences upon which different industries are based." These few words are however the only explicit references to science in the programme and its exposition; partly it would seem from a fear lest scientific teaching should be devoted wholly to increasing the manual efficiency of artisans the subject has been to a certain extent discredited, and is not even yet appreciated as an integral part of a liberal education. There has, in fact, been no serious demand for instruction in science from the students who compose the classes organised by the Association.<sup>1</sup> To this statement one exception must however be made. In the neighbourhood of Leeds the tutorial classes in biology have aroused considerable enthusiasm in working class circles over a period of several years. Mr. Walker, the tutor responsible for conducting these classes, wrote to us in reply to an inquiry: "Last night I met a class of 21 adults, men and women, chiefly factory workers, all in their second year of attendance. They walked varying distances up to 8 miles to meet in class, and during our ten meetings since the commencement of the session only two absent marks are recorded in the register." Though this is a solitary instance it shows what can be done when the teaching is of the right kind, and we desire to emphasise the importance of developing tutorial classes in science along with other subjects. In this connection it may be of interest to quote the following observations which we have received from Mr. H. Wager, F.R.S., Acting Professor of Botany at Leeds University, who speaks with knowledge of the classes referred to above:

"The success of science classes for adult students depends in a special degree on the character of the teaching and the personality of the teacher. It is more difficult to secure the right sort of teaching for adult students in science than in such a subject as economics. The teaching of science to adults may fail either because it is too elementary and does not deal with scientific matters of general interest—it is

<sup>1</sup> Thus, in the provisional list of Tutorial Classes in the United Kingdom for 1917-18, out of 122 classes five only are devoted to Natural Science. (Biology, 4; Natural History, 1.)

unreasonable to expect grown-up people to be profoundly interested in the text-book accounts of the properties of oxygen and hydrogen—or because it is too technical and specialised. It is not easy to get a teacher who will be successful in avoiding both these pitfalls. On the other hand, it is a profound mistake to suppose that working men are naturally lacking in interest in scientific matters. They are fully alive to really good teaching of science by a teacher who knows how to bring out their powers of reflection and judgment. If they cannot get this kind of intellectual stimulus in science, they can as a rule get it in such a subject as economics, simply because they are themselves more or less acquainted with the facts upon which the problems of economics are based.”

167. If, as has been suggested, adult education is to become a recognised department of the extra-mural teaching of the universities, a serious responsibility devolves on these bodies to include science in this work.

Popular lectures on science will no doubt play an important part in calling the attention of large audiences to the interest and importance of the subject. This work has for more than a century been carried on by the lectures at the Royal Institution, and from time to time brilliant speakers like Huxley have done much to create an interest in the methods and results of science. The work of such an organisation as the Gilchrist Educational Trust has been, and will continue to be, of great service. But if even the best popular lectures are to have any permanent effect they must lead on to more serious work involving individual effort, to courses and to circles where systematic study will be carried on.

Again, there is a wider audience who are out of reach of popular lectures and who cannot attend university extension and tutorial classes; those who depend for their education on books. There is a real need for well-written books and other publications in which the main results of recent scientific research and the achievements of science in the past are set forth in a manner which will appeal to intelligent men and women who have not made a special study of science. It is one of the unfortunate results of the increasing specialisation of scientific work that the original papers, reports and treatises recording or summarising the results of research are beyond the comprehension of those who do not possess a considerable amount of scientific and mathematical knowledge. Science needs its skilled interpreters as well as its active pioneers.

We are by no means sure that the popular interest in science is as great to-day as it was thirty years ago. Until this general interest in science is extended and increased and the deficiencies of adult education in this respect are made good, an important piece of work in national education remains to be done.

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## APPENDIX V.

EXTRACTS from the Report of the Committee appointed to enquire into the position of Modern Languages in the Educational System of Great Britain. [Cd. 9036.] 1918.

### (ii) MODERN STUDIES AND THE INCREASE OF KNOWLEDGE.

37. No country can afford to rely on its domestic stores of knowledge. The whole civilised world is a co-operative manufactory of knowledge. In science, technical and pure, in history, antiquities, law, politics, economics, philosophy, new researches are constantly leading to new discoveries, new and fruitful ideas are giving new pointers to thought, new applications of old principles are being made, old stores are being rearranged, classified, and made available for new purposes. In this



work all the civilised countries of the world collaborate, and in no branch of knowledge, abstract or concrete, disinterested or applied to the uses of man, can the specialist neglect the work of foreign students. To obtain access to these sources of knowledge some languages are more useful than others, but many have at least a limited utility. The knowledge contributed by foreigners to the common store is useful to commerce and industry, but most of all it is needed in the Universities, which have all learning for their province. In our circuit of the Universities we enquired whether the students in general could read foreign books; a reading knowledge of French appeared to be fairly widespread, but seldom fully adequate for the purposes of study; knowledge of German was much rarer. One foreign language once well learnt, we believe that most persons of average ability can with encouragement and a little assistance learn a second language by themselves for reading purposes. But there must be a sufficient motive. The chief motive that is needed is that the young student should believe that foreign languages are a valuable possession, and this he will only believe when he has learnt to use one freely for his pleasure and profit.

38. For the acquisition of information not to be found in English books a reading knowledge is sufficient. But for the general widening of the bounds of knowledge, a speaking knowledge is also valuable to the ambitious student. Intercourse with foreign scholars, and visits to foreign universities, are of great value; and, therefore, even the speaking knowledge should not be underrated by those who have the increase of knowledge mainly in view.

### (iii) VALUE OF KNOWLEDGE CONCERNING FOREIGN COUNTRIES AND . PEOPLES.

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59. In this connexion we must not omit to notice those disinterested studies of Modern Languages which are carried on by a considerable number of adults in evening classes provided by public authorities, by the Workers' Educational Association, and by other bodies. We are satisfied that many of these students acquire foreign languages not with any hope of material advantages, but as a means of enlarging their sphere of interest and widening their outlook. That is true, to some extent, not only of modern languages such as French, German and Italian, but also of Latin and Greek. This class of student deserves, in our opinion, all possible encouragement, and they must be borne in mind in any systematic effort that may be made to increase and improve opportunities for Modern Studies.

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184. . . . Nor must we forget the small class of students who learn modern languages without hope of pecuniary profit but to satisfy their desire for wider knowledge. In the year 1915-16 fifteen classes in French were arranged by the Workers' Educational Association on the initiative of the students, and it is believed that a large proportion of those who attended these classes did so with the desire either of studying French literature, or of becoming better acquainted with the French people through holiday visits. While the provision of evening classes in languages for adults is part of the expenditure which a nation can incur with the certainty of adequate material return, we think that disinterested study also deserves encouragement, even though the students may have received no previous language training; and in such classes the manner and purpose of the instruction might well be largely determined in co-operation with the students themselves.

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